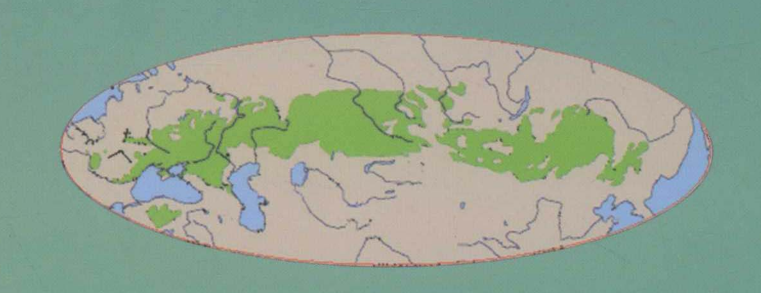
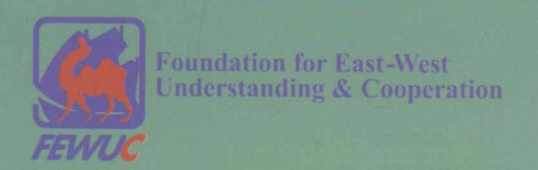


A Concise Commentary on *Memoirs on the Western Regions* in the Official Histories of the Western and Eastern Han, Wei, Jin, and Southern and Northern Dynasties

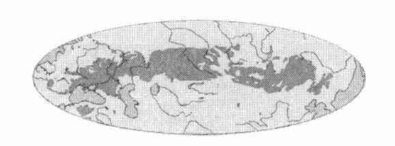
Yu Taishan





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ISBN 978-7-100-10532-3
9 787100 105323 >
PRICE:¥198.00



Monograph Series on Eurasian Cultural and Historical Studies

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A Concise Commentary on *Memoirs on the Western Regions* in the Official Histories of the Western and Eastern Han, Wei, Jin, and Southern and Northern Dynasties

Commentary translated by **Li Qiancheng**

Historical texts translated by **Yu Taishan** *et al.*, and

edited by **Victor H. Mair**



2014年 · 北京

图书在版编目（CIP）数据

两汉魏晋南北朝正史西域传要注：英文 / 余太山著，（美）李前程译. —北京：商务印书馆，2014
ISBN 978－7－100－10532－3

Ⅰ. ① 两… Ⅱ. ① 余… ② 李… Ⅲ. ① 西域－地方史－汉代－英文 ② 西域－地方史－魏晋南北朝时代－英文 Ⅳ. ① K294.5

中国版本图书馆CIP数据核字(2013)第318286号

两汉魏晋南北朝正史西域传要注
（英文）

余太山 著
〔美〕李前程 译

商 务 印 书 馆 出 版
（北京王府井大街36号 邮政编码 100710）
商 务 印 书 馆 发 行
三河市尚艺印装有限公司印刷
ISBN 978－7－100－10532－3

2014年4月第1版　开本 880×1230 1/16
2014年5月北京第2次印刷　印张 57
定价：198.00元

First Edition

ISBN 978-7-100-10532-3

I. A Concise Commentary on the "Memoirs on the Western Regions" in the Official Histories of the Western and Eastern Han, Wei, Jin, and Southern and Northern Dynasties II. Yu Taishan, Li Qiancheng

English editor: **Bruce Doar**

The publication of this book is funded by
The Foundation for East-West Understanding & Cooperation

Published by the Commercial Press
36 Wangfujing Street, Beijing 100710, China
Printed in the People's Republic of China

Contents

Preface to the English Edition

This book is a contribution to the project, “The Mediterranean Sea and China in Ancient Times”, a cooperative venture with Western scholars under the auspices of the Foreign Affairs Department of the Academy of Social Sciences of China.

I was told that our colleagues in this cooperation would like to commence with the collection of source materials, which take two forms, textual and archeological. The Western scholars will work on materials discovered in the West, and the Chinese scholars on those found in China. The task of collecting the source materials was assigned to the Institute of History of the Academy of Social Sciences of China, with myself in charge. The outcome is the volume, *Liang Han Wei Jin Nanbeichao zhengshi Xiyu zhuan yaozhu* 兩漢魏晉南北朝正史西域傳要注, or *A Concise Commentary on the “Memoirs on the Western Regions”in the Official Histories of the Western and Eastern Han, Wei, Jin, and Southern and Northern Dynasties* (Zhonghua shuju, 2005) and the essay, “Hanwen shiji youguan Luoma diguo de jizai” 漢文史籍有關羅馬帝國的記載, or “Records about the Roman Empire in Chinese Histories” (*Wenshi* 文史 69 [2004.4]: 9-57). Both deal with source materials in Chinese concerning our project’s theme, “The Mediterranean Sea and China in Ancient Times”, with the former broad in scope and the latter having a narrower focus.

Although the book has “Concise Commentary” for its title, it is more than commentaries and annotations; rather, it is a collection of relevant materials focusing on the Western Regions, which can be seen as a collection of materials for research. I hope that it can save Western scholars some efforts in their search for source materials.

When the book was published, I wanted to have it translated into English. For this purpose I contacted Professor Victor H. Mair of the University of Pennsylvania: I was

to produce a draft translation, and he was to revise it and produce the final manuscript. Unfortunately, our cooperation was not completed for various reasons.

Professor Li Qiancheng was then persuaded to undertake the arduous task of translating the section devoted to Commentary. This has fulfilled my wish of many years; no words can express my delight and gratitude.

Finally, my gratitude goes to Dr. Babis Ziogas. Without the support from the Foundation for the East-West Understanding, it would have been impossible for this book to see print.

Yu Taishan

4 August, 2011

The commentaries are provided for the original texts in Chinese. English translations of the Chinese texts are included for the convenience of readers in the West. In order to avoid confusion, I have tried my best to use existing English translations of the memoirs. Alterations have been made for the sake of stylistic unity. The versions included here were edited and finalized by Professor Victor H. Mair of the University of Pennsylvania. The following are the versions used in the translations of the original historical text:

1. F. Hirth, "The Story of Chang K'ién, China's Pioneer in Western Asia", *JAOS* 37 (1917): 89-152.

2. B. Watson, *Records of the Grand Historian of China, translated from the Shih chi of Ssu-ma Ch'ien,* 2: 264-289 (*Shih chi* 123: "The Account of Ta-yüan"). New York: Columbia University Press, 1961.

3. A. F. P. Hulsewé and M. A. N. Loewe, *China in Central Asia, the Early Stage: 125 B.C.-A.D. 23.* Leiden: Brill, 1979.

4. F. Hirth, *China and the Roman Orient.* Shanghai and Hong Kong: 1885.

5. R. B. Mather, trans. *Biography of Lü Kuang* 吕光. Berkeley: University of California, 1959.

6. C. B. Wakeman, trans., *Hsi Jung* (*the Western Barbarians*): *An Annotated*

Translation of the Five Chapters of the T'ung Tien on the Peoples and Countries of Pre-Islamic Central Asia. UMI, 1990.

7. D. D. Leslie and K. H. J. Gardiner, *The Roman Empire in Chinese Sources.* Roma: 1996.

I wish to express my gratitude in particular to A. F. P. Hulsewé and M. A. N. Loewe, whose masterful translation of the "Memoir on the Western Regions" of *Hanshu* is reproduced in its entirety. I am grateful to Professor M. A. N. Loewe and the press, E. J. Brill, for their permission to use the translations in the book.

Preface

It was with mixed feelings that I finished my portion, a translation of Professor Yu Taishan's Commentary; it seems that the task was completed exactly when I began to have an idea about how to do it in a better way—like in so many other things in life. I had never imagined, not even in my wildest dreams, that my interest in the fictional Western Regions in Chinese literature would lead to its historical counterpart.

Here I would like to express my gratitude to Professor Yu Taishan, who on many occasions came to my aid with specific terms and toponyms, and read through the translations. Moreover, I am grateful to him for providing me with his own translations of many passages which have appeared in his works, "A Study of Sakā History", "A Hypothesis about the Sources of the Sai Tribes", and "A History of the Relationship between the Western and Eastern Han, Wei, Jin, Northern and Southern Dynasties and the Western Regions", all included in the *Sino-Platonic Papers*, nos. 80 (July 1998), 106 (September 2000), and 131 (March 2004). Some of these are revised and incorporated into the book. My gratitude also goes to Professor Victor H. Mair, the editor of the series in general and of these pieces in particular. I would have been unable to undertake the translation of the Commentary without the English version of the original historical text provided by Professor Yu Taishan. The "Memoirs" were translated or edited from existing versions by Professor Yu Taishan himself. Again, Professor Victor H. Mair meticulously edited the complete versions of all the individual memoirs. I thank them both for their enormous efforts and their dedication. Occasionally I have used the translations by other Scholars; in such cases I have specified the sources in parenthese. Finally, my thanks go to Bruce Doar, from whose editorial expertise I have benefited much.

LQ

December, 2011

Conventions

1. Different interpretations are not listed, to avoid distractions from the interpretations offered in this book, which form a coherent system.
2. Passages that have nothing to do with the Western Regions are omitted, in order to highlight what is more important.
3. The scope is determined by the content of the memoirs; no digressions are included.
4. The most important materials from certain official histories in which the individual memoirs occur are included (with some sections briefly annotated).
5. No annotations focusing on linguistic or lexical issues are included, unless absolutely necessary.
6. The sources of included alternate views are specified.
7. The texts, including punctuation, follow the editions issued by the Zhonghua shuju 中華書局; variations are indicated.

Introduction

The purpose of this book is to provide a systematic commentary on the writings about the Western Regions preserved in the memoirs on the vast area in the official histories of the Western and Eastern Han, Wei, Jin, Southern and Northern Dynasties.

The memoirs on the Western Regions in the official histories of the Western and Eastern Han, Wei, Jin, Southern and Northern Dynasties, collectively constituting a complete system, are important primary sources for studies on Central Asia, South Asia, Western Asia, and even Europe and North Africa prior to the seventh century CE and are specially valued by scholars in China and elsewhere. Since the annotations by Ding Qian 丁謙 toward the end of the Qing Dynasty, there have been no attempts to interpret this body of materials in a systematic manner, except for some works on individual pieces. Today, when great progress has been made in the historical study of the area, particularly Central Asia, a new annotated edition of this body of literature with a commentary should be on our agenda.

There are fifteen official histories for the period of the Western and Eastern Han, Wei, Jin, Southern and Northern Dynasties, eleven of which include memoirs on the Western Regions; namely, the "Dayuan liezhuan" 大宛列傳 (Memoir on Dayuan) in *Shiji* 史記, the "Xiyu zhuan" 西域傳 (Memoir on the Western Regions) in *Hanshu* 漢書, the "Xiyu zhuan" 西域傳 (Memoir on the Western Regions) in *Hou-Han shu* 後漢書, the "Xi Rong zhuan" 西戎傳 (Memoir on the Western Rong) in *Jinshu* 晉書, the "Xibei zhu Rong zhuan" 西北諸戎傳 (Memoir on the various Rong of the Northwest) in *Liangshu* 梁書, the "Xiyu zhuan" 西域傳 (Memoir on the Western Regions) in *Weishu* 魏書, the "Yiyu zhuan (xia)" 異域傳下 (Memoir on foreign lands) of *Zhoushu* 周書, the "Xiyu zhuan" 西域傳 (Memoir on the Western Regions) in *Suishu* 隋書, the "Xiyu zhuguo zhuan" 西域諸國傳 (Memoir on the various states in the Western Regions) of *Nanshi* 南史, the "Xiyu

zhuan" 西域傳 (Memoir on the Western Regions) of *Beishi* 北史, and the "Xi Rong zhuan" 西戎傳 (Memoir on the Western Rong) in *Weilüe* 魏略 as quoted in the *Sanguo zhi* 三國志 annotated by Pei Songzhi 裴松之. Specifically, it can be noted:

1. The "Dayuan liezhuan" (Memoir on Dayuan) in *Shiji* is, strictly speaking, only the combined biographies of Zhang Qian 張騫 and Li Guangli 李廣利, but it launched the tradition of memoirs on the Western Regions in official historiography, so it is the first piece in this book.

2. In four of the memoirs, namely, the "Xi Rong zhuan" of *Jinshu*, the "Xibei zhu Rong zhuan" of *Liangshu*, the "Yiyu zhuan (xia)" of *Zhoushu*, and the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Suishu*, only the materials pertinent to the Western Regions are commented on.

3. The current text of the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Weishu* is copied from the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Beishi*. The latter, however, appropriated texts from the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Weishu,* the "Yiyu zhuan (xia)" of *Zhoushu*, and the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Suishu*. Thus, the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Weishu* which I have commented upon is actually the "Xiyu zhuan" of the *Beishi* with the texts from *Zhoushu* and *Suishu* expunged.

4. The "Xiyu zhuguo zhuan" of *Nanshi* often repeats the "Xibei zhu Rong zhuan" of *Liangshu*, so my commentary focuses on textual variations.

5. Since the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Beishi* appropriated texts from the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Weishu,* the "Yiyu zhuan" of *Zhoushu*, and the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Suishu*, my commentary on it focuses on the source of the records.

6. The "Xi Rong zhuan" of *Weilüe* 魏略 as quoted in the *Sanguo zhi* annotated by Pei Songzhi preserves the most important records about the events that occurred in the Western Regions during the Cao Wei 曹魏 period, so it is also included in this volume and commented upon.

The "Concise Commentary" in the title indicates my attention to the most important issues. On the other hand, this title also implies that I have avoided writing on things about which I know little. Needless to say, interpretations and discussions about this body of literature will continue, with different emphases and from various perspectives. I retain an open mind to different views, and look forward to exchanging ideas with my colleagues, so as to enhance my own understanding of this subject.

一《史記·大宛列傳》[1] 要注

A CONCISE COMMENTARY ON CHAPTER 123 OF *SHIJI*, "THE MEMOIR ON DAYUAN"*

大宛 [2] 之跡，見自張騫。張騫，漢中 [3] 人。建元中爲郎。是時天子問匈奴 [4] 降者，皆言匈奴破月氏 [5] 王，以其頭爲飲器 [6]，月氏遁逃而常怨仇匈奴 [7]，無與共擊之。漢方欲事滅胡 [8]，聞此言，因欲通使 [9]。道必更匈奴中 [10]，乃募能使者。騫以郎應募，使月氏，與堂邑氏胡奴甘父 [11] 俱出隴西 [12]。經匈奴，匈奴得之，傳詣單于 [13]。單于留之，曰："月氏在吾北 [14]，漢何以得往使？吾欲使越 [15]，漢肯聽我乎？"留騫十餘歲 [16]，與妻，有子，然騫持漢節不失。

The first knowledge of Dayuan 大宛 [2] dates from Zhang Qian 張騫. Zhang Qian was a native of Hanzhong 漢中 [Prefecture][3]. During the Jianyuan 建元 reign-period [140-135 BCE], he served as a courtier. At that time the Son of Heaven made inquiries concerning deserters from the Xiongnu 匈奴[4], and they all reported that the Xiongnu had defeated the king of the Yuezhi 月氏 [5] and made a drinking vessel of his skull[6]. The Yuezhi had fled, but, while they were enraged with the Xiongnu,[7] there was no party with whom they could attack them jointly. As it happened, the Han 漢 wished to start operations to eliminate the Hu 胡[8]; and, hearing of this report, they wished to make contact [with the Yuezhi] by means of envoys[9]. Their route would perforce have to pass through the lands of the Xiongnu.[10] A call was then issued for persons able to undertake the mission. In his capacity as a courtier, [Zhang] Qian answered the call and was sent to the Yuezhi. Setting out from Longxi 隴西 [Prefecture] [11] in the company of Ganfu 甘父 , formerly a Hu slave of the Tangyi 堂邑 clan, [12] he took the short route

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* The English version of this memoir is from *China in Central Asia: The Early Stage: 125 B.C.-A.D. 23* by A. F. P. Hulsewé and M. A. N. Loewe, the translation of the "Memoir on Chang Ch'ien and Li Kuang-li", chapter 61 of *Hanshu*, with alterations by Yu Taishan. The text here is edited by Victor H. Mair.

through [the land of] the Xiongnu, who captured him and had him sent to their *Chanyu* 單于.[13] The *Chanyu* said: “The Yuezhi lie to the north of us; [14] how may Han send its envoys there? If I wished to send envoys to Yue 越[15], would the Han be willing to let me [do so]?” For over ten years he detained [Zhang] Qian[16], giving him a wife by whom he had children. However, [Zhang] Qian [constantly] retained the Han emblems of authority, never losing them.

[1] This chapter is generally regarded as the first memoir treating the Western Regions, launching a tradition in official Chinese historiography. This is correct, but judging from the content of this memoir, it is more appropriate to regard it as the combined biographies of Zhang Qian 張騫 and Li Guangli 李廣利. The life and works of both Zhang Qian and Li Guangli were related to Dayuan, so they share one biographical chapter. According to *Shiji suoyin* 史記索隱, this chapter “should be placed after ‘Chaoxian liezhuan’ 朝鮮列傳 (Memoir on Chaoxian), rather than inserted between ‘Kuli liezhuan’ 酷吏列傳 (Biographies of harsh officials) and ‘Youxia liezhuan’ 遊俠列傳 (Biographies of wandering knights). The present arrangement probably came about because of a hiatus in Sima Qian’s work and an error on the part of Zhu Shaosun 褚少孫 when preparing the supplement. Fortunately, this was not a grave mistake”. As a matter of fact, many chapters after the 118th are combined biographies of historical figures with similar accomplishments; therefore, it should not be regarded as improper for this memoir to be inserted between “Kuli liezhuan” (Biographies of harsh officials) and “Youxia liezhuan” (Biographies of wandering knights). Otherwise, the memoir should have been placed immediately after “Chaoxian liezhuan” (Memoir on Chaoxian), because the subjects of “Nan Yue liezhuan” 南越列傳 (Memoir on the Southern Yue), “Dong Yue liezhuan” 東越列傳 (Memoir on the Eastern Yue), “Chaoxian liezhuan” (Memoir on Chaoxian), and “Xinan Yi liezhuan” 西南夷列傳 (Memoir on the Southwestern Yi) are all areas that were under the management of Han, not combined biographies of the historical figures as in this memoir.[1] The “Zhang Qian, Li Guangli zhuan” 張騫李廣利傳 (Biographies of Zhang Qian and Li Guangli) in *Hanshu* 漢書 is also based on this chapter; I will therefore deal with the textual variations whenever relevant. This memoir also forms the basis of several paragraphs of the “Xiyu zhuan” 西域傳 (Memoir on the Western Regions) in *Hanshu*; textual comparisons can be found in my commentary on the *Hanshu* chapter.

[2] Dayuan was the name of a state in the present-day Ferghāna Basin.[2]

[3] Hanzhong 漢中 was the name of a prefecture. Its seat of government was located east of present-day Hanzhong, Shanxi 陕西 Province. *Shiji suoyin* 史記索隱 quotes *Yibu qijiu zhuan* 益部

耆舊傳 by Chen Shou 陳壽: "Zhang Qian is a native of Chenggu 成固 of Hanzhong [present-day Chenggu, Shanxi Province]. "

[4] The Xiongnu were nomadic tribes north of the Gobi Desert. According to the "Xiongnu liezhuan" 匈奴列傳 (Memoir on the Xiongnu) in *Shiji*, "At this time [i.e., during the reign of the First Emperor of Qin], the Eastern Hu were very powerful and the Yuezhi were likewise flourishing. The *Chanyu* or chieftain of the Xiongnu was Touman 頭曼. Touman, unable to hold out against the Qin forces, had withdrawn to the far north.... Touman's oldest son, the heir apparent to his position, was named Modu 冒頓, but the *Chanyu* also had a younger son by another consort whom he had taken later and of whom he was very fond. He decided that he wanted to get rid of Modu and set up his younger son as heir instead, and he therefore sent Modu as a hostage to the Yuezhi nation. When Modu arrived among the Yuezhi, Touman made a sudden attack on them. The Yuezhi were about to kill Modu, but he managed to steal one of their best horses and escape, eventually making his way back home. His father, struck by his bravery, put him in command of a force of ten thousand cavalry". When Modu became the *Chanyu*, the Xiongnu "inflicted a crushing defeat, killing the ruler of the Eastern Hu, taking prisoner his subjects, and seizing their domestic animals. Then he returned and rode west, attacking and routing the Yuezhi, and annexed the lands of the ruler of Loufan 樓煩 [3] and the king of Baiyang 白羊 to the south of the [Yellow] River".[4] Thus, "the kings and leaders of the right live in the west, the area from Shang 上 Prefecture[5] west to the territories of the Yuezhi, Di 氐, and Qiang 羌 tribes. The *Chanyu* has his court in the region north of Dai 代 [6] and Yunzhong 雲中 [prefectures]".[7] (Burton Watson, trans., *Records of the Grand Historian of China*, 2 vols. [New York: Columbia University Press, 1961], 2:160-161, 162, 163; Romanization and some terms modified.) This is to say, it was during the reign of *Chanyu* Modu (209-174 BCE) that the Xiongnu began to thrive, defeating the Yuezhi in the west and the Eastern Hu in the east and making frequent encroachments on the south, to become the most serious menace to the border of the Western Han.[8]

[5] The Yuezhi were nomadic tribes. Before their defeat by the Xiongnu, they were extremely strong; their territories stretched from north of the present-day Mount Qilian 祁連 in the east and east of the present-day Tianshan [Mountains] and the Altai Mountains in the west. Their influence even extended to the Hetao 河套 area.[9]

[6] The drinking vessel here refers to a wine vessel or container. The Commentary by Yan Shigu 顔師古 (hereafter the Yan Commentary) on the "Zhang Qian, Li Guangli zhuan" in *Hanshu* states: "From what is recorded in 'Xiongnu zhuan' 匈奴傳, '[the Xiongnu] drank blood from a vessel made of the skull of the king of the Yuezhi, whom they had defeated, and made an oath', the

drinking vessel certainly refers to a wine cup". As is recorded in the *History* (IV, 65) of Herodotus, the Scythians also had this custom: "The skulls of their enemies, not indeed of all, but of those whom they most detest, they treat as follows. Having sawn off the portion below the eyebrows, and cleaned out the inside, they cover the outside with leather. When a man is poor, this is all that he does; but if he is rich, he also lines the inside with gold: in either case the skull is used as a drinking-cup".[10] The Xiongnu treated the king of the Yuezhi in such a way; this custom could also have influenced the Yuezhi.[11]

[7] "The Yuezhi had fled, but, while they were enraged with the Xiongnu…": *Chanyu* Modu began to deal with the Yuezhi after he had defeated the Eastern Hu and eased the threat from the east. He launched two large-scale attacks on the Yuezhi. The first was carried out at the end of the third century BCE, thwarting the Yuezhi's momentum toward the east. The second occurred in 177 to 176 BCE; as a result, the Yuezhi abandoned the land they had possessed, and most of them migrated westward to the valleys of the Ili and Chu Rivers. The Yuezhi who had migrated to the west are referred to as the Da Yuezhi. The statement that "the Xiongnu had defeated the king of the Yuezhi", understood in the context of the following record, "the *Chanyu* Laoshang of the Xiongnu killed the king of the Yuezhi and made a drinking vessel of his skull", should refer to the *Chanyu* Laoshang (r. 174-161 BCE). That is, the Yuezhi who had migrated westward to the Ili and Chu Rivers had suffered another defeat at the hands of the Xiongnu, with their king killed. However, this defeat by *Chanyu* Laoshang did not force the Da Yuezhi to abandon the valleys of the Ili and Chu Rivers. The statement that "the Yuezhi had fled" means only that they were defeated in battle.

[8] "Hu" here refers to the Xiongnu. The statement, "The Yuezhi had fled, but, while they were enraged with the Xiongnu, there was no party with whom they could attack them jointly", etc., can serve as collateral evidence. "Hu" here is an abbreviated term for the Xiongnu.[12]

[9] Zhang Qian's first journey to the west as an envoy was to contact the Yuezhi in order to attack the Xiongnu jointly. One can conclude that at the time when Zhang Qian commenced his journey, the Da Yuezhi, who "were enraged with the Xiongnu", were still active in the valleys of the Ili and Chu Rivers.

[10] "Their route would perforce have to pass through the Xiongnu": During the Jianyuan 建元 reign-period of Emperor Wu 武, the Yuezhi were in the valleys of the Ili and Chu Rivers. The Xiongnu, after they had driven the Yuezhi out of the lands they formerly possessed, not only controlled large areas of land north of the Qilian Mountains and east of the Tianshan and Altai Mountains, but also the southern foothills of the Altai, including Dzungaria and the oasis states of the Tarim Basin, which used to be controlled by the Yuezhi. This is why Zhang Qian, when he set out from Longxi 隴西 for

the Da Yuezhi, had to pass through areas under the control of the Xiongnu, and was finally detained by them.

[11] Longxi 隴西 was the name of a prefecture. Its seat of government was located south of present-day Lintao 臨洮, Gansu 甘肅 Province.

[12] "Ganfu 甘父, formerly a Hu slave of the Tangyi 堂邑 clan": According to *Shiji suoyin*, this "refers to a Hu slave named Ganfu who belonged to someone in Tangyi county. The subsequent 'Tangyi Fu' 堂邑父 is probably the abbreviation made by later historians, who omitted 'Gan'. 'Gan' was probably his family name". I believe that "Ganfu 甘父 , formerly a Hu slave of the Tangyi clan", was originally a Xiongnu. Zhang Qian had to pass through the areas under the control of the Xiongnu, and for this reason had a Xiongnu accompany him. "Tangyi clan" here refers to the Marquis of Tangyi 堂邑侯. See the "Gaozu gongchen houzhe nianbiao" 高祖功臣侯者年表 in *Shiji*.

[13] The *Chanyu* 單于 was the supreme chief of the Xiongnu. Here it refers specifically to the *Chanyu* Junchen 軍臣 (r. 161-126 BCE).

[14] "The Yuezhi lie to the north of us": This supports the fact that as late as when Zhang Qian was detained, the Yuezhi were still active in the valleys of the Ili and Chu Rivers.

[15] Yue here refers to the Southern Yue, the name of a tribe in the south of present-day Hunan 湖南, in Guangdong 廣東 and Guangxi 廣西, and in the north of Vietnam.

[16] "Over ten years": From the second year of the Jianyuan reign-period (139 BCE) to the sixth year of the Yuanguang 元光 reign-period (129 BCE). Zhang Qian set out in the second year of the Jianyuan reign-period.[13]

居匈奴中[17]，益寬，騫因與其屬亡鄉月氏，西走數十日至大宛[18]。大宛聞漢之饒財，欲通不得，見騫，喜，問曰："若欲何之？"騫曰："爲漢使月氏，而爲匈奴所閉道。今亡，唯王使人導送我。誠得至，反漢，漢之賂遺王財物不可勝言。"大宛以爲然，遣騫，爲發導（繹）[譯][19]，抵康居[20]，康居傳致大月氏[21]。大月氏王已爲胡所殺，立其太子[22]爲王。既臣大夏[23]而居，地肥饒，少寇，志安樂，又自以遠漢，殊無報胡之心[24]。騫從月氏至大夏[25]，竟不能得月氏要領[26]。

Living among the Xiongnu people,[17] when in the course of time he was allowed greater liberty, he found an opportunity to escape with his followers in the direction of the Yuezhi and after speeding west for days numbered by the tens, he reached Dayuan 大宛.[18] Dayuan had heard of Han's abundant wealth and had wished to establish contact,

but had not been able to do so. [The king of Dayuan] was delighted when he received [Zhang] Qian and asked him: "Where do you wish to go?" [Zhang] Qian said: "I was going on a mission to the Yuezhi for Han and my way was blocked by the Xiongnu. Now that I have escaped, it rests with you to send someone to guide me on my way. If I do actually succeed in reaching my destination and returning to Han, the wealth and goods which Han will present to you will beggar description." Dayuan believed this, and sent off [Zhang] Qian, providing him with interpreters and guides.[19] He reached Kangju 康居[20], who passed him on to the Da Yuezhi[21]. The king of Da Yuezhi had been killed by the Hu, and the crown prince[22] had been established as king; having subjugated Daxia 大夏[23], he occupied that country. The land was fertile, with few brigands, and [the Da Yuezhi] had set their minds on [a life of] peace and contentment. In addition, they considered themselves too far away from Han, and had no intention at all of taking revenge on the Hu.[24] From the Yuezhi, [Zhang] Qian reached Daxia[25], but in the end he was unable to rouse the interest of the Yuezhi.[26]

[17] "Living among the Xiongnu people": The "Zhang Qian, Li Guangli zhuan" of *Hanshu* reads instead, "living in the west of the Xiongnu territories" 居匈奴西. Since Zhang Qian was captured after setting out from Longxi and was sent to the *Chanyu*, i.e., escorted to the court of the *Chanyu* west of the Gobi Desert, it was from north of the Desert that Zhang Qian sped west for Dayuan. If understood in light of the "Zhang Qian, Li Guangli zhuan" in *Hanshu*, it seems that Zhang Qian reached Dayuan via the southern foothills of the Altai Mountains. That is to say, although Zhang Qian was escorted to the court of the *Chanyu* north of the Gobi Desert, he had been detained in the west of the Xiongnu territories before he sped further west to Dayuan.

[18] The most likely route for Zhang Qian to reach Dayuan was by way of the northern shore of the Balkhash Nor, southward down the Chu River, then through the Kirghiz Mountains, and finally down the Narin River to reach the Ferghāna Basin. When Zhang Qian escaped, he reached the area of the Yuezhi by way of Dayuan, evidence that he knew that the Yuezhi had already abandoned the valleys of the Ili and Chu Rivers. Zhang Qian reached Dayuan in the sixth year in the Yuanguang reign-period (129 BCE) of Emperor Wu.

[19] The king of Dayuan was delighted to see Zhang Qian; he was obviously eager to establish contact and trade with Han, which shows that Dayuan already had some knowledge of Han and knew of its abundant wealth. Thus, the king believed Zhang Qian's promise of Han's reward in wealth and

goods, and sent Zhang Qian off with interpreters and guides. "*Daoyi*" 導繹 should be read as "*daoyi*" 導譯. This can be corroborated by the statement in the subsequent text, "Wusun 烏孫 provided interpreters and guides to accompany [Zhang] Qian" (烏孫發導譯送騫還).[14]

[20] Kangju was a nomadic tribe active on the northern bank of the Syr Darya. However, the Kangju which Zhang Qian traversed in order to reach the Da Yuezhi in the valley of the Amu Darya should refer to the lands under the control of Kangju, i.e., Sogdiana between the Syr Darya and Amu Darya. One reason for this assumption is that when Zhang Qian traveled from Dayuan to reach the court of the king of the Da Yuezhi on the northern bank of the Amu Darya, there was no need to make a detour at the northern bank of the Syr Darya, whereas Sogdiana lay on his route. In other words, Zhang Qian reached the Da Yuezhi via Kangju, showing that Sogdiana was then under the control of the Kangju. It is recorded in the "Sima Xiangru liezhuan" 司馬相如列傳 in *Shiji* that Sima Xiangru wrote in a proclamation to the people of Ba and Shu, "Kangju and other regions in the west, translating and retranslating their strange tongues, have come to pay their respects, bowing their heads to the ground, and bringing gifts of tribute to our court" 康居西域, 重譯請朝, 稽首來享. (Burton Watson, trans., *Records of the Grand Historian of China,* 2:322; with modifications) The proclamation was issued at the end of the Yuanguang reign-period (130/129 BCE). From this we know that Kangju had sent envoys to the Han court before Zhang Qian escaped from captivity, thus being the first state to send envoys to Han.[15]

[21] The Da Yuezhi mentioned here no longer inhabited the valleys of the Ili and Chu Rivers. About 130 BCE, the Wusun, who were subject to the Xiongnu, launched an expedition against the Da Yuezhi and prevailed. The Da Yuezhi people were forced to abandon the valleys of the Ili and Chu Rivers and migrate to the west again. They reached the valley of the Amu Darya via Ferghāna, and conquered Daxia, which was located mainly on the southern bank of the river. When Zhang Qian arrived, the Da Yuezhi had established their royal court on the northern side of the river, controlling a large area of land that used to belong to Daxia. Zhang Qian probably learned about the second western migration of the Da Yuezhi when he escaped from the Xiongnu, who held him in captivity. This is why he did not travel to the valley of the Ili River, but instead went straight south to Ferghāna via the northern shore of the Balkhash Nor.

[22] "Crown prince" (*taizi* 太子): The "Zhang Qian, Li Guangli zhuan" in *Hanshu* reads instead "*furen*" 夫人 [royal consort]. The contradiction arises from the following fact. When the king of the Da Yuezhi was killed, the crown prince was too young. Although he was established as king, his mother served as regent. In this memoir and in *Hanshu*, the story is told from different perspectives.

[23] The state of Daxia was located in the valley of the present-day Amu Darya.[16]

[24] The Yuezhi conquest of Daxia had occurred in 130 BCE, about one year earlier than Zhang Qian's arrival in the valley of the Amu Darya. The Da Yuezhi were a nomadic tribe. When they migrated to the valley of the Gui 媯 River (Amu Darya) from the valleys of the Ili and Chu Rivers, their way of life did not change, and their king toured both sides of the Gui River. It was natural for a nomadic people to gradually turn to farming and eventually found a capital after entering an agricultural area. When Zhang Qian reached the Da Yuezhi people territory, he discovered that the Da Yuezhi "had set their minds on [a life of] peace and contentment", "as the land was fertile", certainly a manifestation of this historical trend.

[25] When Zhang Qian arrived among the Da Yuezhi in 129 BCE, they had already occupied the land that the Daxia used to possess south of the Gui River; only the royal court was located north of the river. The king, however, made tours of inspection to the north and south, crossing the Amu Darya. Zhang Qian, in order to rouse the interest of the Yuezhi, "reached Daxia from the Yuezhi". Obviously, Zhang Qian reached the former capital of Daxia from the royal court of the Yuezhi in order to meet with the king of the Da Yuezhi, who happened to be staying south of the river.

[26] "*Yaoling*" 要領: According to the Yan commentary on the "Zhang Qian, Li Guangli zhuan" in *Hanshu*, "*Yao* 要 refers to the waist of a dress, and *ling* 領, its collar. When one holds a dress, one holds it by the collar and the waist. Zhang Qian was unable to rouse the interest of the Yuezhi, and had nothing to bring back to Han; hence the metaphor". The reason for Zhang Qian's failure to rouse the interest of the Yuezhi is spelled out in the text. But ultimately, the Da Yuezhi were settled in a place as far from Han as the valley of the Amu Darya; it was impossible for them to attack the Xiongnu jointly with Han. Zhang Qian's failure in this respect was historically inevitable. On the other hand, although the purpose of Zhang Qian's mission was unfulfilled, it opened up a new horizon for the Han people. Han's management of the Western Regions was inaugurated by this mission.

留歲餘[27]，還，並南山[28]，欲從羌中歸[29]，復爲匈奴所得[30]。留歲餘[31]，單于死，左谷蠡王攻其太子自立，國内亂[32]，騫與胡妻及堂邑父俱亡歸漢[33]。漢拜騫爲太中太夫，堂邑父爲奉使君。

After staying there for over a year[27], he returned, making his way along the Southern Mountains[28], as he wished to go back by way of the Qiang 羌 peoples[29]; he was again captured by the Xiongnu[30]. After he had endured over a year's detention

there,[31] the *Chanyu* died, and the Luli 谷蠡 King of the Left attacked the crown prince and usurped the throne; thus the state was thrown into confusion.[32] In company with his Hu wife and [Gan] fu of Tangyi, [Zhang] Qian escaped back to Han.[33] Han appointed [Zhang] Qian Supreme Counsellor of the Palace, and Tangyi [Gan] fu Master Who Served as an Envoy.

[27] "Staying there for over a year": From the first year of the Yuanguang reign-period (134 BCE) to the first year of the Yuanshuo 元朔 reign-period (128 BCE). Zhang Qian embarked on his return journey late in the first year of the Yuanshuo reign-period.

[28] The "Southern Mountains" here refers to the Southern Mountains in the Western Regions, i.e., the present-day Karakorum, Mount Kunlun, and Āltin-tagh.

[29] The Qiang peoples moved around as nomads in what is present-day Gansu and Qinghai. Some of them were active as far away as Dunhuang 敦煌, west of the northern foot of Mount Kunlun. Since it was likely that Zhang Qian reached Loulan 樓蘭 southwest of the Lop Nor via the Southern Route, then travelled north to Gushi 姑師 northwest of the Lop Nor, and was captured again by the Xiongnu while going east from Gushi, to "go back by way of the Qiang peoples" might then have been his original plan. The " 羌中 " ["among the Qiang"] in the text may refer to the area inhabited by the Qiang people in the Southern Mountains of Han, i.e., the present-day Qilian Mountains.

[30] Zhang Qian probably travelled along the Southern Route, reached Loulan southwest of the Lop Nor after passing Yutian 于闐 and Wumi 扜罙, and then travelled to Gushi northwest of the Lop Nor. After he had learned that "the Qiang people would hate it [i.e., Han envoys passing through]" 羌人惡之, he went "a little further north" 少北 (for more details, see below), and was again captured by the Xiongnu.

[31] "He had endured over a year's detention there": From the second to the third year of the Yuanshuo reign-period.

[32] The "Xiongnu zhuan" of *Shiji*: "In the following winter, *Chanyu* Junchen 軍臣 of the Xiongnu died. His younger brother, Yizhixie 伊稚斜, the Luli King of the Left 左谷蠡王, established himself as the *Chanyu*, defeating the crown prince of *Chanyu* Junchen, Yudan 於單." This event occurred in the third year of the Yuanshuo reign-period.

[33] Zhang Qian reached Han in the third year of the Yuanshuo reign-period. When Zhang Qian was, again, captured and brought to the *Chanyu*, he might have been escorted back to the site of his

previous exile, and was able to join his Xiongnu wife, who returned to Han together with Zhang Qian. It was in the midst of the confusion after the death of *Chanyu* Junchen that they managed to escape.

騫爲人彊力，寬大信人，蠻夷愛之。堂邑父故胡人，善射，窮急射禽獸給食。初，騫行時百餘人，去十三歳[34]，唯二人得還。

[Zhang] Qian was a man of strong physique and of considerable generosity; he inspired the trust of others and the barbarians loved him. Tangyi [Gan] fu 堂邑 [甘] 父 was formerly a person of the Hu; and, being an expert marksman, in [times of] critical shortages he would shoot animals to provide a supply of food. At the time [Zhang] Qian had started his journey, over a hundred men set out, but thirteen years later[34] only two succeeded in returning.

[34] "Thirteen years": From the second year of the Jianyuan reign-period to the third year of the Yuanshuo reign-period.

騫身所至者大宛、大月氏、大夏、康居，而傳聞其旁大國五六[35]，具爲天子言之[36]。曰：

The states reached by [Zhang] Qian in person comprised Dayuan, Da Yuezhi, Daxia, and Kangju, and those of which he heard tell included five or six large states bordering them.[35] He told the Son of Heaven in full about them in the following terms:[36]

[35] "Those of which he heard tell included five or six large states bordering them": According to this text, they are Wusun, Yancai, Anxi, Tiaozhi, Lixuan, and Shendu.

[36] Among the states Zhang Qian passed through or heard about in his first mission to the west, Dayuan, the Da Yuezhi, Daxia, Kangju, Wusun, and Yancai are probably all related to the Sakā peoples in the Behistun inscription of Darius I (521-486 BCE) of Achaemenian Persia (I, 12-20; II, 5-8, and V, 20-30).[17] According to the *Geography* of Strabo (XI, 8),[18] the Sakās were mainly made up of four tribes: the Asii, the Gasiani, the Tochari, and the Sacarauli. By the end of the 7th century BCE at the latest, the Asii and other tribes already lived in the valleys of the Ili and Chu Rivers. Around the 520s BCE, the Asii and the other tribes expanded westwards as far as the right bank of the Syr Darya

from the valleys of the Ili and Chu Rivers, and drove away the Massagetae, who originally lived there. In around 177/176 BCE, the Sakā tribes were forced to abandon the valleys of the Ili and Chu Rivers because of the western migration of the Da Yuezhi. Some of them moved south, scattered in the Pamir Region, and then moved east and entered the oases in the Tarim Basin. In around 140 BCE, large numbers of Sakās crossed the Syr Darya and moved south. A group of them entered Ferghāna and another group, Bactria. The latter destroyed the Hellenic kingdom of Bactria. The states they founded (made up mainly of the Tochari) were respectively referred to as Dayuan and Daxia by Zhang Qian. "Da-yuan" 大宛 [dat-iuat] and "Da-xia" 大夏 [dat-hea] both appear to have been transcriptions of "Tochari". At about the same time, another group of Sakās (who were probably mainly made up of the Asii), going downstream along the Syr Darya, migrated to the littoral of the Aral and Caspian Seas. Zhang Qian referred to these Sakās as "Yancai" 奄蔡, and those who remained on the northern bank of the Syr Darya as "Kangju" 康居. "Yan-cai" [iam-tziat] and "Kang-ju" [kang-kia] may be taken as transcriptions of "Asii" and "Sacarauli" respectively. In 130 BCE, the Wusun 烏孫 made a campaign against the Da Yuezhi; they defeated the latter and occupied the valleys of the Ili and Chu Rivers. The Da Yuezhi once more migrated west and reached the valley of the Amu Darya, defeating the Daxia and occupying their territory. Thus, the states of the Wusun and the Da Yuezhi were founded. "Wu-sun" [a-sən] and "Yue-zhi" [njiuk-tjie] may be taken as transcriptions of "Asii" and "Gasiani" respectively, and might have been somehow related.[19]

"大宛在匈奴西南，在漢正西，去漢可萬里[37]。其俗土著[38]，耕田，田稻麥。有蒲陶[39]酒。多善馬，馬汗血，其先天馬子也[40]。有城郭屋室。其屬邑大小七十餘城，衆可數十萬。其兵弓矛騎射。其北則康居，西則大月氏，西南則大夏，東北則烏孫[41]，東則扜罙[42]、于窴[43]。于窴之西，則水皆西流[44]，注西海[45]；其東水東流[46]，注鹽澤[47]。鹽澤潛行地下，其南則河源出焉。[48]多玉石，河注中國。而樓蘭[49]、姑師[50]邑有城郭[51]，臨鹽澤[52]。鹽澤去長安可五千里[53]。匈奴右方居鹽澤以東，至隴西長城，南接羌，鬲漢道焉。

"Dayuan 大宛 is to the southwest of the Xiongnu and due west of Han, at a distance of about 10,000 *li*[37]. The way of life is that the inhabitants are settled on the land.[38] The fields are worked and sown with rice and wheat. They have wine made of grapes[39] and many good horses. The horses sweat blood, and it is said that their progenitors were descended from the Heavenly Horses.[40] They have walled cities and houses; the large

and small settlements belonging to them amount to more than 70 towns, and contain an aggregate population of several hundreds of thousands. For military weapons they have bows and lances, and they shoot arrows while on horseback. North of this state is Kangju; in the west are the Da Yuezhi; in the southwest is Daxia; in the northeast are the Wusun [41]; and in the east Wumi 扜罙 [42] and Yutian 于窴[43]. The rivers to the west of Yutian all flow west,[44] running into the Western Sea.[45] Its eastern rivers flow east,[46] running into the Salt Marsh.[47] To the south of it is the source from which the [Yellow] River rises.[48] There is an abundance of jadestone. The River flows through the Middle Kingdom. And the towns of Loulan 樓蘭 [49] and Gushi 姑師 [50] with their city walls[51] closely border on the Salt Lake[52]. The Salt Lake is possibly 5,000 *li* from Chang'an 長安[53]. The right part of the Xiongnu live to the east of the Salt Lake as far as the long wall in Longxi. To the south they adjoin the Qiang 羌, where they block the Han communication routes.

[37] "About 10,000 *li*" (Distance 1): This is the distance from Chang'an to the seat of the king's government of Dayuan via the court of the Xiongnu. It is likely that Zhang Qian set out for Dayuan from the court of the Xiongnu north of the Gobi Desert. The earlier statement, "Dayuan is to the southwest of the Xiongnu", indicates that the distance covers the journey via the court of the Xiongnu.[20]

[38] This memoir classifies the states in the Western Regions into two categories according to their economy: those whose people are settled on the land and those whose people are nomads. The nomadic states have strong troops; their people move around with their stock-animals. The states whose inhabitants are settled on the land cultivate the soil and build houses and walled towns. This knowledge came from Zhang Qian's report to Emperor Wu after his first mission to the West. The report is mainly concerned with the states in the Western Regions west of the Congling 葱嶺 or Cong Mountains (Pamirs), a result of the purpose of his first mission and the historical reality at that time. Zhang Qian had personally been to Dayuan, Kangju, Da Yuezhi, and Daxia in the Western Regions. In addition, he had heard about Wusun, Yancai, Anxi, Tiaozhi, Lixuan, and Shendu. Among them, Kangju, Da Yuezhi, Wusun, and Daxia are typical nomadic states, while the rest, namely, Dayuan, Daxia, Anxi, Tiaozhi, Lixuan, and Shendu, are typical states whose inhabitants are settled on the land and till the soil. The Tochari, who had founded Dayuan and Daxia, were originally nomads, but they became settled after they had entered the Ferghāna Basin and Bactria.

[39] *Putao* 蒲陶 is probably a transliteration of "*buδawa*" in Iranian.[21]

[40] The "Yueshu " 樂書 in *Shiji*: "The expedition against Dayuan brought horses, named *pushao* 蒲梢, that run one thousand *li* a day. [Emperor Wu] thereupon composed a poem: 'Heavenly Horses of the Western Extremity / Come ten thousand *li* to the Virtuous / By Divine strength and prestige the outer states are subjugated / [Our forces] traverse the Flowing Sands, and barbarians in the four directions submit.'" (天馬來兮從西極, 經萬里兮歸有德. 承靈威兮降外國, 涉流沙兮四夷服 .) *Shiji jijie* 史記集解 quotes Ying Shao 應劭: "The sweat of the Dayuan horses resembles blood soaking their bodies; the color of their froth is reddish brown." This memoir calls them "the horses of Ershi" 貳師 ; it quotes the noblemen of Dayuan: "The horses of Ershi are [Da]yuan's treasured horses."

[41] Wusun was a nomadic tribe. When Zhang Qian escaped from Xiongnu captivity and went west, the tribe had already migrated to the valleys of the Ili and Chu Rivers. This is why the text states that "Wusun is at a distance of about 2,000 *li* northeast of Dayuan".[22]

[42] Wumi 扜冞, an oasis state, was located around the ruins of present-day Dandān-Uiliq.[23] In *c.* 177-176 BCE, the Sakās were driven out of the valleys of the Ili and Chu Rivers by the Da Yuezhi who moved west. Some of the Sakās crossed the Congling (Pamirs) and moved south. Ptolemy in his *Geography*[24] (VI, 13) called "Sacara" the area located to the east of Sogdiana, to the west of the Pamirs, to the south of the Syr Darya, and to north of the Hindukush. According to Ptolemy, some small tribes which moved within this region were the Caratae, the Comari, the Comediae, the Massagetae, and the Grynaci, among others. It seems that the Sakās can be divided into four tribes (the Asii and other tribes), which could be further divided into a number of smaller tribes with their own names. It is likely that, after they had arrived in the Congling region, these Sakā tribes gradually infiltrated the Tarim Basin and formed many small states. "Wumi" [a(kio)-miai], Comari, and Comediae can be regarded as variant transcriptions of the same name,[25] which is also "Khema" in Kharoṣṭhī documents.[26]

[43] Yutian 于寘, an oasis state, was located near present-day Hetian 和闐 , most probably Yotkan.[27] Yutian [hiua-dyen] and Gasiani can be taken as transcriptions of the same name. The state was probably founded by the Gasiani who migrated along the Southern Route in the Western Regions.[28]

[44] "The rivers to the west of Yutian all flow west": The rivers were the Amu Darya and the Syr Darya.

[45] The "Western Sea" here refers to the Caspian.

[46] The east flowing river refers to the Tarim River.

[47] The Salt Marsh 鹽澤 is generally believed to refer to the Lop Nor because of its high salt content.

[48] This is the theory of the underground source of the Yellow River, first seen in the "Haiwai

bei jing" 海外北經 of *Shanhai jing* 山海經: "The mountain, where Yu 禹 piled up stones, is to the east, and the Yellow River flows [out from underneath]." According to Guo Pu's 郭璞 commentary, "The Yellow River rises from Mount Kunlun and flows underneath. When it reaches the Congling, it flows into the Salt Marsh. From the Salt Marsh it again turns south. When it flows out of this mountain, it becomes a river in the Middle Kingdom". *Shiji zhengyi* 史記正義 quotes *Kuodizhi* 括地志: "The Puchang 蒲昌 Sea is also called Youze 泑澤 (Lake of the Black Water) or Yanze 鹽澤 (Salt Marsh)."

[49] Loulan 樓蘭, an oasis state, was located at the site of Charquduq near present-day Ruoqiang 若羌, southwest of the Lop Nor.[29] Loulan [lo-lan] can be taken as a transcription of Sacarauli, i.e., Sakā [K]rauli or Sakā Krorai[mna]. The state was probably founded by the Sacarauli at the eastern end of the Tarim Basin.[30]

[50] Gushi, a small oasis state, was located in the vicinity of the present-day ruins of Loulan, northwest of the Lop Nor. Gushi [ka(kia)-shei] can be taken as a transcription of the Gasiani; it was probably founded by the Gasiani when they reached the eastern end of the Tarim Basin.[31]

[51] According to *Chanyu* Modu's letter to the Han court recorded in the "Xiongnu liezhuan" of *Shiji*, Loulan, the predecessor of Shanshan 鄯善, was included among the "people who carry bows" 引弓之民.

[52] Loulan and Gushi, on the route of Zhang Qian's return journey from his first mission to the Western Regions, both border on the Salt Lake; one is to the southwest of the Lop Nor, the other to its northwest.[32]

[53] "5,000 *li* from Chang'an" (Distance 2): The text states that "the towns of Loulan and Gushi with their town walls closely border on the Salt Lake". Since Zhang Qian has indicated the distance from the Salt Lake to Chang'an, he has in fact recorded the approximate distance between the seats of the royal governments of the two states and Chang'an.

"烏孫在大宛東北可二千里[54]，行國[55]，隨畜，與匈奴同俗。控弦者數萬，敢戰。故服匈奴[56]，及盛，取其羈屬，不肯往朝會焉。[57]

"Wusun 烏孫 is at a distance of about 2,000 *li*[54] northeast of Dayuan. It is a land of nomads.[55] The people move around in company with their stock-animals and follow the same way of life as the Xiongnu. Of trained bowmen numbering several tens of thousands, all are daring warriors. Formerly [the state] had been in submission to the

Xiongnu[56]; later, with the growth of prosperity, the state accepted [the need to maintain] ties but was unwilling to proceed to court meetings.[57]

[54] "About 2,000 *li*" (Distance 3): The distance between the seat of the king's government of Dayuan and that of Wusun. The seat of Wusun's royal government was in the valley of the Narin River.

[55] "Land of nomads" 行國: See note 38.

[56] "Formerly [the state] had been in submission to the Xiongnu": This commenced in 177/176 BCE, when *Chanyu* Modu of the Xiongnu defeated the Yuezhi.

[57] "With the growth of prosperity…": This began in 130 BCE, when the Wusun migrated to the valleys of the Ili and Chu Rivers and drove away the Da Yuezhi.

"康居在大宛西北可二千里[58]，行國，與月氏大同俗。控弦者八九萬人。與大宛鄰國。國小[59]，南羈事月氏，東羈事匈奴。

"Kangju 康居 is at a distance of about 2,000 *li*[58] northwest of Dayuan. It is a land of nomads, and followed very much the same way of life as the Yuezhi. They have eighty or ninety thousand trained bowmen. The state is conterminous with Dayuan and is small[59]. In the south [the inhabitants] were constrained to serve the Yuezhi, in the east, to serve the Xiongnu.

[58] "About 2,000 *li*" (Distance 4): The approximate distance between the seat of the king's government of Dayuan and that of Kangju, roughly the distance from Ferghāna to Turkestan north of the Syr Darya.

[59] "Small" does not refer to size, but to its population.

"奄蔡[60]在康居西北可二千里[61]，行國，與康居大同俗。控弦者十餘萬。臨大澤[62]，無崖，蓋乃北海[63]云。

"Yancai 奄蔡[60] is at a distance of about 2,000 *li*[61] northwest of Kangju. It is a land of nomads, and follows very much the same way of life as the Kangju. They have more than 100,000 trained bowmen. It is situated on the Great Marsh[62], which [seems]

to have no [further] shore and is presumably the Northern Sea[63].

[60] Yancai was a tribe of nomads, active to the north of the Aral Sea.33

[61] "About 2,000 *li*" (Distance 5): This is the approximate distance from the king's seat of government of Kangju to that of Yancai.

[62] The Great Marsh: The present-day Aral Sea.

[63] The Northern Sea 北海: Referring to either the Aral Sea or the Caspian Sea. This is perhaps a Persian name.

"大月氏在大宛西可二三千里[64]，居嬀水[65]北。其南則大夏，西則安息[66]，北則康居[67]。行國也，隨畜移徙，與匈奴同俗。控弦者可一二十萬。故時彊，輕匈奴，及冒頓立，攻破月氏[68]，至匈奴老上單于，殺月氏王，以其頭爲飲器。[69]始月氏居敦煌[70]、祁連[71]閒，及爲匈奴所敗，乃遠去，過宛，西擊大夏而臣之，遂都嬀水北，爲王庭。[72]其餘小衆不能去者，保南山[73]羌，號小月氏。[74]

"The Da Yuezhi 大月氏 are at a distance of about two or three thousand *li*[64] west of Dayuan. They dwell to the north of the Gui 嬀 River[65]. South of them is Daxia 大夏; in the west is Anxi 安息[66]; in the north, Kangju[67]. It is a land of nomads. The people move around accompanied by their stock-animals and follow the same way of life as the Xiongnu. There are more than 100,000 trained bowmen, and for this reason they rely on their strength and think lightly of the Xiongnu, but when [the *Chanyu*] Modu 冒頓 ascended the throne he attacked and defeated the Yuezhi.[68] Eventually the Xiongnu *Chanyu* Laoshang 老上 killed the king of the Yuezhi, making his skull into a drinking vessel.[69] The Yuezhi had dwelt between Dunhuang 敦煌[70] and the Qilian 祁連[71], but when they were beaten by the Xiongnu, the Yuezhi thereupon went far away, passing Dayuan and proceeding west to attack and subjugate Daxia. The capital was established north of the Gui River to house the king's court.[72] The remaining small group [of the Yuezhi] who were unable to leave sought protection among the Qiang 羌 tribes of the Southern Mountains[73] and were termed the Xiao Yuezhi 小月氏.[74]

[64] "About two or three thousand *li*" (Distance 6): It should be "about two thousand *li*"; "three" is erroneously inserted. This is the approximate distance between the seat of the king's government of

Dayuan and that of the Da Yuezhi.

[65] The Gui River 媯水: i.e., the Amu Darya. "Gui" 媯 [kiua] is a transcription of Vakhshu or Wakshu.[34]

[66] Anxi 安息 refers to Parthian Persia. "Anxi" 安息 [an-siək] is generally regarded as a transcription of Arshak,[35] the name of the Parthian royal family.

[67] "In the north, Kangju": At that time, Kangju occupied Sogdiana.

[68] In the "Xiongnu liezhuan" of *Shiji* (ch. 110), the following is recorded: In the 4th year (176 BCE) of the first period of the Emperor Wen's 文 reign, *Chanyu* Modu presented a letter to Han, which said: "At present, because my officials have violated the agreement, I punished the Xian King of the Right, and made him march west to seek out the Yuezhi for attack. With Heaven's blessing, superior officials and soldiers, and strong horses, [the king] wiped out the Yuezhi, killing them or forcing them to surrender. Loulan, Wusun, Hujie 呼揭, and the twenty-six [should be thirty-six] states nearby have become the territory of the Xiongnu. All the people who carry bows have become one". Since Loulan (southwest of the Lop Nor), Wusun (near Yiwu 伊吾), and Hujie 呼揭 (southern foot of the Altai Mountains)[36] were conquered by the Xiongnu, the Yuezhi were unable to stay in their former land. Therefore, they abandoned their former land to migrate to the valleys of the Ili and Chu Rivers; this should have occurred at the time of *Chanyu* Modu.

[69] This is to say that the Da Yuezhi, who migrated to the valleys of the Ili and Chu Rivers, received another heavy blow from the Xiongnu during the reign of *Chanyu* Laoshang, with their king killed. But this blow did not force them to abandon the valleys of the Ili and Chu Rivers; the purpose of Zhang Qian's first mission to the west was to contact the Da Yuezhi in this area.

[70] "Dunhuang" here is generally believed to refer to the prefecture of Dunhuang in Han times. The prefectural seat of government was located to the west of present-day Dunhuang. However, it must be pointed out that the information concerning the former land of the Yuezhi came from Zhang Qian's report of 126 BCE to Emperor Wu, presented after he had returned from his mission to the Da Yuezhi. "Dunhuang" as a place name did not occur in the texts before Han. The name did not exist until Emperor Wu divided the territory of the prefecture of Jiuquan 酒泉 to establish new prefectures in the sixth year (111 BCE) of the Yuanding 元鼎 reign-period. It is obvious that Zhang Qian could not have indicated the former land of the Yuezhi with reference to the prefecture of Dunhuang or the seat of its government, because the prefecture of Dunhuang had not been established at that time.[37] In other words, Zhang Qian did not use the name "Dunhuang" when he reported the location of the former lands of the Yuezhi to Emperor Wu, but used an old place name, the geographical location of

which roughly corresponded to that of the later prefecture of Dunhuang. The reason why the name "Dunhuang" occurs in Zhang Qian's report concerning the former lands of the Yuezhi is probably that Sima Qian used the new name to replace the old one. As for the old place name that Zhang Qian could have used in his original report, I believe that it might have been "Dunhong" 敦薨 which occurs in the "Beishan jing" 北山經 of *Shanhai jing*. The "Dunhuang" in "between Dunhuang and Qilian" may refer to "the Dunhong Mountains", the present-day Qilian Mountains.[38]

[71] Since the "Dunhuang" (i.e., the Dunhong Mountains) used by Zhang Qian to indicate the former land of the Yuezhi refers to the present-day Qilian Mountains, the "Qilian" used to indicate the former lands of the Yuezhi would not refer to the present-day Qilian Mountains, but to the present-day Tianshan 天山 Mountains instead.[39]

[72] The Da Yuezhi gave up the valleys of the Ili and Chu Rivers in 130 BCE. "Passing Dayuan", etc., indicates that the Da Yuezhi migrated west by passing through the northern foothills of the Tianshan Mountains. According to this text, Zhang Qian had sent his deputy envoy to the Da Yuezhi during his mission to Wusun early in the Yuanding reign-period (116 BCE). When his deputy envoy returned to Han, the envoy from the Da Yuezhi might have accompanied him. The Da Yuezhi in the valley of the Amu Darya first sent their envoy to the Western Han during the Yuanding reign-period (116-111 BCE) at the earliest.

[73] The "Southern Mountains" here is the same as in the text above; they both refer to the Southern Mountains of the Western Regions. This is perhaps because the Da Yuezhi, when they were defeated by the Xiongnu, split; one group migrated west by way of the northern end of the Tianshan Mountains, while the other (old and weak) entered the Southern Mountains. "The remaining small group [of the Yuezhi] who were unable to leave sought protection among the Qiang tribes of the Southern Mountains": The Southern Mountains may well be regarded as the Southern Mountains of the Western Regions. There are scholars who believe that this smaller group resided in the present-day Qilian Mountains; this is inaccurate at least. The Xiao Yuezhi should have scattered between the present-day Qilian Mountains and the Southern Mountains of the Western Regions. The so-called "Qiang tribes of the Southern Mountains" should also include the Qiang tribes of the Southern Mountains of the Western Regions.

[74] The "Wei jiangjun, Piaoqi liezhuan" 衛將軍驃騎列傳 in *Shiji* records a decree of Emperor Wu: "The General of Piaoqi, crossing the Juyan 居延 [Marsh][40] and then passing through [the territory of] the Xiao Yuezhi (the Little Yuezhi), campaigned at the Qilian Mountains and captured the the Qiutu 酋涂 King.... We shall increase Qubing's 去病 fief by 5,000 households, and confer upon the

colonels who have arrived in [the territory of] the Xiao Yuezhi following [Qubing] the noble rank of Left Shuzhang 左庶長 (Left Militia General)". The Xiao Yuezhi mentioned in Emperor Wu's decree should be the remnants who were left at the eastern end of the Tianshan Mountains when the Da Yuezhi migrated west, and they were probably on the route taken by Huo Qubing when he "campaigned at the Qilian mountains", the Han troops having first "passed through [the territory of] the Xiao Yuezhi" before the battle.[41]

"安息在大月氏西可數千里[75]。其俗土著，耕田，田稻麥[76]，蒲陶酒。城邑如大宛。其屬小大數百城，地方數千里，最爲大國。臨嬀水，有市，民商賈用車及船，行旁國或數千里。以銀爲錢，錢如其王面，王死輒更錢，效王面焉。[77]畫革旁行[78]以爲書記。其西則條枝[79]，北有奄蔡、黎軒[80]。

"Anxi 安息 is at a distance of about several thousand *li* [75] west of the Da Yuezhi. The way of life is that the inhabitants are settled on the land. The fields are worked and sown with rice and wheat.[76] They have wine made of grapes. Their cities and towns are like those of Dayuan. Several hundred towns, large and small, belong [to Anxi]. The territory extends for several thousand *li* and it is the largest of the states. It is situated on the Gui 嬀 River. It has markets, and folk and merchants travel by vehicle or boat to the neighboring states, perhaps several thousand *li* distant. They use silver to make coins, the coins bearing an [image] of their king's face. Whenever a king dies, a changed coinage is cast on which the new king's face is represented.[77] They rule [pieces of] leather, with lines running horizontally[78], to form written records. West of this state is Tiaozhi 條枝[79]; north are Yancai 奄蔡 and Lixuan 黎軒[80].

[75] "About several thousand *li*" (Distance 7): The approximate distance between the seat of the king's government of the Da Yuezhi and that of Anxi.

[76] "The fields are … sown with rice and wheat": This is perhaps something Zhang Qian heard on his journey, because rice was not produced in Parthian Persia until the era of Sassanids.[42]

[77] Zhang Qian first reached the Western Regions during the reign of the Parthian king Fraates II (r. 138/137-129 BCE). The obverse of the coins bore the representation of the king's face. The statement, "Whenever a king dies, a changed coinage is cast on which the new king's face is represented," reflects the custom in the ancient Middle East.[43]

[78] "With lines running horizontally": *Shiji jijie* quotes *Hanshu yinyi* 漢書音義: They "write horizontally to keep records."

[79] Tiaozhi 條枝 refers to the Syrian kingdom under the Seleucids. Tiaozhi 條枝 [diəu-tjie] is an abbreviated transcription of the kingdom's capital, [An]tiochi[a].[44]

[80] Lixuan refers to Ptolemaic Egypt. Lixuan 黎軒 [lyei-xian] is an abbreviated transcription of the kingdom's capital, [A]lexan[dria].[45]

"條枝在安息西數千里[81]，臨西海[82]。暑溼。耕田，田稻[83]。有大鳥[84]，卵如甕。人衆甚多，往往有小君長，而安息役屬之，以爲外國。[85]國善眩[86]。安息長老傳聞條枝有弱水[87]、西王母[88]，而未嘗見[89]。

"Tiaozhi 條枝 is at a distance of several thousand *li* [81] west of Anxi. The state is situated on the Western Sea[82]; it is warm and damp. The fields are worked and sown with rice [83], there are birds' eggs as [large as water] jars[84]. The population is very numerous and in many places there are minor overlords or chiefs. Anxi subjugated it and treated it as an outer state[85]; the people are expert at conjuring[86]. It is said: The elders of Anxi have learned by hearsay that in Tiaozhi there is the Weak Water[87] and the Queen Mother of the West[88]; but they have all the same never seen them.[89]

[81] "Several thousand *li*" (Distance 8): The approximate distance between the seat of the king's government of Anxi and and that of Tiaozhi.

[82] The Western Sea here refers to the Mediterranean.

[83] "The fields are ... sown with rice": This is what Zhang Qian heard somewhere and mistakenly believed.[46]

[84] "There are birds' eggs as [large as water] jars": These big birds are commonly believed to be ostriches.

[85] "Anxi subjugated it and treated it as an outer state": Tiaozhi here was subject to Anxi and served as its subordinate state. According to Western historical works, during the reign of the King of Anxi, Mithridates I (171-139/138 BCE), the state reached the height of its power. It captured the Syrian king, Demetrius II (r. 145-139/138 BCE and 129-125 BCE), who invaded Anxi. Fraates II, who succeeded to the throne, defeated the invading Syrian army for the second time, wiping out 300,000 troops and killing their king, Antiochus VII (r. 139/138-129). Fraates II later released Demetrius II

imprisoned by Mithridates I, and wedded his daughter, making her his consort.[47] It should not be difficult to see that this act of Fraates's sought to control Syria more effectively and that Demetrius II, for his own release and restoration, had to make certain promises in response to the political and economic demands of the Persians. This was perhaps the background for the inclusion of Tiaozhi, which was subject to Anxi, in the text.

[86] "The people are expert at conjuring": According to the Yan Commentary quoted in *Shiji zhengyi* 史記正義, "These days, performances such as swallowing knives, exhaling fire, having melons multiply and trees grow, hacking humans in two, and dissecting horses are examples".

[87] "Weak Water": Literally, "the water that is not able to bear boats". But Ruoshui 弱水 here is perhaps a textual error for Ruoshui 若水. Ruoshui 若水 was imagined to be in the far west, perhaps because of the ancient memory of some people or tribe who migrated from the west.[48]

[88] The "Queen Mother of the West": According to one theory, her prototype was Koubaba, i.e., Cybele, the great goddess of Anatolia, and also related to such deities as Anat worshipped in the city-states like those on the shores of the Mediterranean in Syria from the 14th to the 12th centuries BCE.[49] In Chinese works (such as *Mutianzi zhuan* 穆天子傳), the Queen Mother of the West was always placed in the western extremity. The text here even more explicitly states that the deity was situated on the eastern shore of the Mediterranean, which accords with the theory that she is Cybele. Perhaps at the beginning Cybele was one among many deities and, towards the end of the Hittite Empire around 1180 BCE, she was taken to be the patron goddess of the Phoenicians, the new conquerers of Anatolia. Her position became more exalted, and her influence extended to the entire Mediterranean region, being accepted by the Greeks and Romans. If Queen Mother of the West were really Cybele, this could be regarded as an example of the spread of Mediterranean culture to the east as recorded in Chinese historical works.

[89] The Queen Mother of the West and the Weak Water are often mentioned together, but there is no evidence that one is necessarily related to the other. To sum up, the two may constitute the preserved memories of some tribes among the ancient Chinese, who had migrated from the west; they do not, however, necessarily belong to the same system.

"大夏在大宛西南二千餘里[90]嬀水南。其俗土著[91]，有城屋，與大宛同俗。無大君長，往往城邑置小長。[92]其兵弱，畏戰。善賈市。及大月氏西徙，攻敗之，皆臣畜大夏。大夏民多，可百餘萬。其都曰藍市城[93]；有市，販賈諸物。[94]其東南有身毒國[95]。"

"Daxia 大夏 is at a distance of more than two thousand *li* [90] southwest of Dayuan, on the south bank of the Gui 媯 River. The way of life is that the inhabitants are settled on the land[91], and dwell in walled cities and houses and follow the same way of life as Dayuan. They have no major overlord or chief, and minor chiefs are frequently established in the towns.[92] The army is weak and afraid of fighting. The people are expert traders. When the Da Yuezhi migrated west, they attacked and defeated Daxia, making all the Daxia into their subjects. The population of Daxia may amount to more than a million. Their capital is called Lanshi 藍市[93], and it has markets for the sale of all sorts of merchandise.[94] Southeast of this state is the state of Shendu 身毒[95]."

[90] "More than two thousand *li*" (Distance 9): The distance between the seat of the king's government of Dayuan and that of Daxia, the latter being Lanshi. At that time the royal court of the Da Yuezhi was to the north of the River Gui; it was a shorter distance to travel from Dayuan to the Da Yuezhi's royal court than from Dayuan to Lanshi; hence the two figures: one, "approximately two thousand *li*"; the other, "more than two thousand *li*".

[91] After their conquest of Daxia, the Da Yuezhi "had set their minds on [a life of] peace and contentment". This indicates that the area was arable.

[92] "They have no major overlord or chief, and minor chiefs are frequently established in the towns": This may indicate the situation after the Hellenic Kingdom of Bactria was defeated, when different groups of Sakās established different and independent administrations.

[93] Lanshi 藍市 [lam-zhiə] is perhaps an abbreviated transcription of Alexandria, another name of Bactra, located near present-day Balkh.[50]

[94] "It has markets for the sale of all sorts of merchandise": This is what Zhang Qian learned in his first mission to the west. By that time the Daxia had remained in Bactria for a decade, and had in the interval changed their way of life. Their people had already become sedentary agriculturists, and inhabitants were "settled on the land". Because the Daxia "have no major overlord or chief", their so-called "capital", the town of Lanshi, probably refers to Bactra, the largest town in that region, which had been the capital of the Hellenic Kingdom of Bactria. Lying to the south of the Amu Darya, the town was very prosperous as one of the hubs of East-West commerce at that time.

[95] Shendu 身毒 is in the valley of the present-day Indus. Shendu [sjien-tuk] is a transcription of Sindhu in Sanskrit or Hindu in Iranian.[51]

騫曰："臣在大夏時，見邛竹杖[96]、蜀布[97]。問曰：'安得此？'大夏國人曰：'吾賈人往市之身毒。[98]身毒在大夏東南可數千里[99]。其俗土著，大與大夏同，而卑溼暑熱云。其人民乘象以戰。其國臨大水[100]焉。'以騫度之，大夏去漢萬二千里[101]，居漢西南。今身毒國又居大夏東南數千里，有蜀物，此其去蜀不遠矣。今使大夏，從羌中，險，羌人惡之；少北，則爲匈奴所得；從蜀宜徑[102]，又無寇。"

[Zhang] Qian said: "When I was in Daxia, I noticed the bamboo staves of Qiong 邛[96] and the cloth of Shu 蜀[97]; when I asked how these had been acquired, the men of Daxia said: Our merchants go and buy them in Shendu.[98] That state lies several thousands of *li*[99] southeast of Daxia. The way of life is that the inhabitants are settled on the land, and is very much like that of Daxia, but the place is low, damp, and very hot. The people ride on elephants to fight their battles, and the state borders on a large river[100]. According to my reckoning, Daxia lies 12,000 *li*[101] away from Han in the southwest; we now find that the state of Shendu lies several thousand *li* to the southeast of Daxia and is in possession of goods from Shu. Were an envoy to be sent to Daxia to make his way through the Qiang, he would find it dangerous going, and the Qiang people would hate it; and were he to go a little further north, he would be captured by the Xiongnu; but if he were to go by way of Shu, he would be on a direct route,[102] and, moreover, there would be no brigands."

[96] "The bamboo staves of Qiong 邛": According to *Shiji zhengyi*, "Mount Qiong 邛 at Qiongdu 邛都 produces this type of bamboo; hence the 'bamboo of Qiong'. It is long between joints, with a solid inside, and is perhaps a parasitic plant or scandant vine. There are people who lean upon them as staves". Mount Qiong is Mount Qionglai 邛崍, southwest of present-day Rongjing 榮經, Sichuan 四川 Province. The "bamboo of Qiong" was probably a kind of rattan bamboo.

[97] "The cloth of Shu": This refers to cloth produced in Shu, generally believed to be ramie cloth. Shu is the name of a prefecture; its seat of government was on the site of present-day Chengdu 成都, Sichuan Province.

[98] This is the earliest report in Chinese historical works about the economic contacts with the valley of the Amu Darya in Central Asia and the subcontinent of South Asia.

[99] "Several thousands of *li*" (Distance 10): This refers to the approximate distance between the

seat of the king's government of Daxia, Lanshi, and Shendu.

[100] "Large river": The Indus.

[101] "12,000 *li*" (Distance 11): This refers to the distance from the seat of the king's government of Daxia, via that of Dayuan, to the Han capital, Chang'an; i.e., the aggregate of "more than 2,000 *li*," the distance between Lanshi and the seat of the king's government of Dayuan; and "about 10,000 *li*," the distance between the latter and Chang'an.

[102] "If he were to go by way of Shu, he would be on a direct route" 從蜀宜徑: According to the Yan Commentary on the "Zhang Qian, Li Guangli zhuan" in *Hanshu*, "*Jing* 徑 means *zhi* 直, direct; *yi* 宜 is the same as *dang* 當, meaning 'should'. From Shu to Daxia, the route should be a direct one". In my opinion, Zhang Qian did see products from Shu in Daxia, but the statement, "if he were to go by way of Shu, he would be on a direct route," was his conjecture.

天子既聞大宛及大夏、安息之屬皆大國，多奇物，土著，頗與中國同業[103]，而兵弱，貴漢財物；其北有大月氏、康居之屬，兵彊，可以賂遺設利朝也[104]。且誠得而以義屬之[105]，則廣地萬里，重九譯，致殊俗[106]，威德徧於四海[107]。

So the Son of Heaven heard that [places] such as Dayuan, as well as Daxia and Anxi, were all large states with many rare goods; that the people were settled on the land and that their way of life was rather similar to that of the Middle Kingdom[103]; however, their forces were weak, and they prized Han wealth and goods. [He heard that] to their north, there were [peoples or places] such as the Da Yuezhi and Kangju whose forces were strong; it would be possible to present them with gifts and hold out advantages with which to bring them to court.[104] If they were really won over and made into subjects by the exercise of moral pressure,[105] it would be possible to extend [Han] territory for 10,000 *li*. With [the help of] a series of interpreters, those whose customs were strange could be brought to court,[106] and imperial prestige could be exercised throughout the area within the Four Seas[107].

[103] "Their way of life was rather similar to that of the Middle Kingdom" 頗與中國同業: For "*tongye*" 同業 (meaning "similar way of life"), the "Zhang Qian, Li Guangli zhuan" in *Hanshu* substitutes "*tongsu*" 同俗 ("similar customs").

[104] "It would be possible to present them with gifts and hold out advantages with which to

bring them to court" 設利朝也: The Yan Commentary on the "Zhang Qian, Li Guangli zhuan" in *Hanshu* states: "*She* 設 means *shi* 施, to present. To present them with profits, so that they are persuaded to come to the court." "To present them with gifts and hold out advantages with which to bring them to court" was a policy directed at various states in the Western Regions; the policy was based on the fact that "they prized Han wealth and goods". Essentially, it was designed to attract these people with the more advanced economy and culture of the Central Plains.

[105] "If they were … made into subjects by the exercise of moral pressure": According to the Yan Commentary on the "Zhang Qian, Li Guangli zhuan" in *Hanshu*: "Not by means of military power".

[106] "With [the help of] a series of interpreters": According to *Shiji zhengyi*, "Words have been interpreted nine times before they reach us". "With [the help of] a series of interpreters, those whose customs were strange could be brought to court", one of the purposes of which was to "seek rare goods" 求奇物. The other purpose was for the states in the Western Regions to send envoys and princes to attend the Han court, so as to spread Han's prestige and power throughout the area within the Four Seas and adorn the peace and prosperity.

[107] "It would be possible to extend [Han] territory for 10,000 *li*. With [the help of] a series of interpreters, those whose customs that were strange could be brought to court, and imperial prestige could be exercised throughout the area within the Four Seas": This was the Western Han's common purpose, not only in opening communications with the Western Regions, but also in "subduing the barbarians of the four directions". The policies of Han's management of the Western Regions were to a great extent based on the understanding of the various states in that area as a result of Zhang Qian's first mission to the west, which had a lasting and significant impact on the administration in this area for a long time to come. This is what is meant by the following statement in Sima Qian's preface, "Taishigong zixu" 太史公自序, to *Shiji*: "After Han's contact with Daxia, the distant barbarians in the extreme west looked toward the east with admiration and longed to see the Middle Kingdom."

天子欣然，以騫言爲然，乃令騫因蜀犍爲[108]發閒使，四道並出，出駹[109]，出冄[110]，出徙[111]，出邛[112]、僰，[113]皆各行一二千里。其北方閉氐[114]、筰[115]，南方閉巂[116]、昆明[117]。昆明之屬無君長，善寇盜，輒殺略漢使，終莫得通。然聞其西可千餘里有乘象國，名曰滇越[118]，而蜀賈姦出物[119]者或至焉，於是漢以求大夏道始通滇國[120]。

The Son of Heaven was delighted and believed [Zhang] Qian's report. He thereupon gave orders that, in accordance with [Zhang] Qian's suggestions, secret missions should be sent out from Shu 蜀 and Jianwei 犍爲 [108] [Prefectures] to reconnoiter, proceeding simultaneously by four routes. Leaving from Mang 駹[109], Ran 冄[110], Xi 徙[111], Qiong 邛[112], and Bo 僰[113], each one travelled one or two thousand *li*. In the north their way was blocked by the Di 氐 [114] and the Zuo 筰[115], and in the south by the Xi 巂 [116] and Kunming 昆明 [117] [tribes]. Peoples such as the Kunming had no rulers or chiefs and were accomplished brigands; they always killed or pillaged the Han envoys, and in the end none were able to get through. However, it was learned that several thousand or more *li* to the west there was the state of the elephant riders, named Dian Yue 滇越[118], and that merchants of Shu who were surreptitiously taking their goods out had sometimes reached there[119]. Thereupon Han for the first time made contact with the state of Dian 滇[120], in the search for a route to Daxia.

[108] Jianwei 犍爲 was a prefecture. Its seat of government was located in present-day Yunlian 筠連, Sichuan Province.

[109] Mang 駹 was a Yi tribe in the southwest, active in what is present-day Maowen 茂汶, Sichuan Province.

[110] Ran 冄 was a Yi tribe in the southwest, active in present-day Maowen 茂汶, Sichuan Province. For the tribe "Ran" 冄, the "Zhang Qian, Li Guangli zhuan" of *Hanshu* substitutes "Zuo" 莋.

[111] Xi 徙 was a Yi tribe in the southwest, active in what is present-day Hanyuan 漢源, Sichuan Province.

[112] Qiong 邛 was a Yi tribe in the southwest, active in present-day Xichang 西昌, Sichuan Province, and north of present-day Lijiang 麗江 and Chuxiong 楚雄, Yunnan 雲南 Province.

[113] Bo 僰 was a Yi tribe in the southwest, active in the south of Sichuan and the northeast of Yunnan.

[114] Di 氐 was a Yi tribe in the southwest, active in the southeast of present-day Gansu 甘肅, southwest of present-day Shanxi 陝西, and northwest of present-day Sichuan.

[115] Zuo 筰 was a Yi tribe in the southwest, active in present-day Hanyuan, Sichuan Province, and the surrounding area.

[116] Xi 巂 was a Yi tribe in the southwest, active in present-day Xichang, Sichuan Province.

[117] Kunming 昆明 was a Yi tribe in the southwest, active to the west of present-day Sichuan

and in the west and north of present-day Yunnan.

[118] Dianyue 滇越: One theory is that the state of Dianyue was located between Assam and Burma. "Dian Yue" 滇越 [tien-hiuat] is a Chinese transcription of Danava.[52]

[119] For *jian chu wu* 姦出物, the "Zhang Qian, Li Guangli zhuan" in *Hanshu* reads, *jian chu wu* 間出物. According to the Yan Commentary, it means "surreptitiously taking their goods out and trading".

[120] The state of Dian 滇國: Its capital was to the east of present-day Jinning 晉寧, Yunnan.

初，漢欲通西南夷，費多，道不通，罷之。[121] 及張騫言可以通大夏，乃復事西南夷。[122]

Previously, when Han had wished to open communications with the barbarians of the southwest, the expenses had been great, the passage could not be effected, and [the attempt] had been abandoned.[121] When Zhang Qian reported that it would be possible to communicate thereby with Daxia, a further venture was undertaken with the barbarian peoples of the southwest.[122]

[121] The "Xinan Yi liezhuan" 西南夷列傳 in *Shiji* records: "Zhang Qian, the Marquis of Bowang 博望, returned from his mission to the land of Daxia and reported that while he was there he had seen cloth produced in Shu and bamboo canes of Qiong. On inquiring how they had gotten to Daxia, he was told, 'They come from the land of Shendu 身毒, which lies some 2,000 *li* southeast of here. We buy them in the shops of the Shu merchants there'. He was told that Shendu was situated some 2,000 *li* west of Qiong. 'Daxia, which is situated southwest of our country', Zhang Qian reported to the emperor with enthusiasm, 'is eager to open relations with China and is much distressed that the Xiongnu are blocking the road in between. If we could find a new route from Shu via the land of Shendu, however, we would have a short and convenient way to reach Daxia which would avoid the danger of the northern route!' The emperor therefore ordered Wang Ranyu 王然于, Bo Shichang 柏始昌, Lü Yueren 呂越人, and others to go on a secret expedition through the region of the southwestern Yi and on to the west to search for the land of Shendu. When they got as far as Dian 滇, Changqiang 嘗羌, the king of Dian, detained them and sent a party of ten or twelve men to the west to find out the way to Shendu for them. The Chinese party waited over a year, but all the roads to the west had been closed off by the inhabitants of Kunming 昆明,[53] so that none of the men who had been sent ahead

were able to reach Shendu". (Burton Watson, trans., *Record of the Grand Historian of China* [New York: Columbia University Press, 1961], 2: 293-294; with modifications.) Emperor Wu's involvement with the Southwestern Yi began in the sixth year of the Jianyuan reign-period (135 BCE), but it was given up in the fourth year of the Yuanshuo 元朔 reign-period (125 BCE). The attempt was resumed in the first year of the Yuanshou 元狩 reign-period (122 BCE) in order to establish contact with Daxia.

[122] This is to say that the route taken by Han envoys was obstructed by the Kunming, and they were unable to reach Shendu via the area inhabited by the Southwestern Yi. They had heard that to the west of Kunming there was Dian Yue, and they reached the state of Dian in their attempts to find a route to Daxia. There may be scholars who would suggest that the fact that Han envoys were unable to get through does not mean that merchants were unable to get through. But those envoys sent by the Han court were all so-called "secret emissaries". In other words, they traveled incognito, and it is possible that they disguised themselves as merchants when they set out on the journey. The reason why "in the end none were able to get through" is not so much that the nature of their "secret" mission was discovered as that the route they took was one that even merchants were unable to use. If the "direct route" that Zhang Qian referred to was really in existence at that time, and was not found because Han envoys, "proceeding simultaneously by four routes", were in the dark about it, the situation would have been very different when the King of Dian, after Han had "made contact with the state of Dian", sent men "to find out the way to Shendu" for Han. For more than a year "none of the men who had been sent ahead were able to reach Shendu", even with the king's assistance, so it is very doubtful whether the so-called Chuan-Dian-Mian [Burma] -Yin [India] 川 – 滇 – 緬 – 印 route actually existed at that time.[54]

騫以校尉從大將軍擊匈奴，知水草處，軍得以不乏，乃封騫爲博望[123]侯。是歲元朔六年[124]也。其明年[125]，騫爲衛尉，與李將軍俱出右北平[126]擊匈奴。匈奴圍李將軍，軍失亡多；而騫後期當斬，贖爲庶人。[127]是歲漢遣驃騎破匈奴西域[128]數萬人，至祁連山。其明年[129]，渾邪王率其民降漢[130]，而金城[131]、河西西並南山[132]至鹽澤空無匈奴[133]。匈奴時有候者到，而希矣。其後二年，漢擊走單于於幕北。[134]

As a colonel, [Zhang] Qian had accompanied the Supreme General in campaigns against the Xiongnu, and thanks to his acquaintance with [the resources of] water and pastures, the army had been able to get by without a shortage. [Zhang] Qian was

thereupon invested with the title of Marquis of Bowang[123]. This was in the sixth year [123 BCE] of the Yuanshuo 元朔 reign-period.[124] In the following year[125], as Chamberlain for the Palace Garrison, [Zhang] Qian set out from Youbeiping 右北平 [Prefecture] [126] to attack the Xiongnu, accompanied by General Li 李. The Xiongnu surrounded General Li, and the army suffered severe losses. Being late for his rendezvous, [Zhang] Qian was deemed worthy of death by beheading, but he redeemed himself from punishment by degradation to commoner's status.[127] In this year the General of Cavalry on the Alert (Piaoqi 驃騎) defeated the Xiongnu in their western territories[128], [killing] men by the tens of thousands and reaching the Qilian 祁連 Mountains. In the following year [129] the Hunxie 渾邪 King surrendered to the Han with his people.[130] [The area] west of Jincheng 金城 [131] and Hexi 河西 [Prefectures] and along the Southern Mountains[132] as far as the Salt Marsh was empty and without Xiongnu[133]; occasional patrols of the Xiongnu went there, but only rarely. Two years later Han attacked and drove the *Chanyu* to the north of the desert.[134]

[123] Bowang: *Shiji zhengyi* quotes "Dili zhi" 地理志: "Bowang county 博望縣 [of] Nanyang 南陽." Bowang County was southwest of present-day Fangcheng 方城 County, Henan 河南 Province.

[124] The "Jianyuan yilai houzhe nianbiao" 建元以來侯者年表 in *Shiji* records: "As a colonel, [Zhang Qian] had accompanied the Supreme General in the campaign against the Xiongnu in the sixth year [of the Yuanshuo reign-period]. He was well acquainted with [the resources of] water and the pastures. Previously, he had been sent as an envoy to Daxia, a distant and inaccessible land. For these services he was enfeoffed. On the day *jiachen* 甲辰 in the third month of the sixth year [of the Yuanshuo 元朔 reign-period] (123 BCE) Zhang Qian was invested with the title of the Marquis of Bowang". The record in the "Wei jiangjun, Piaoqi liezhuan" of *Shiji* is more or less identical.

[125] "In the following year" (*qi ming nian* 其明年): The "Zhang Qian, Li Guangli zhuan" reads *hou ernian* 後二年, "two years later". In my opinion, *qi ming nian* (the first year in the Yuanshou reign period) refers to the year when Zhang Qian became Superintendent of the Guards (*weiwei* 衛尉); *hou ernian* refers to the year when Zhang Qian was stripped of his title.

[126] Youbeiping 右北平 was the name of a prefecture; its seat of government was in present-day Jixian County 薊縣, Tianjin 天津.

[127] According to the "Jianyuan yilai houzhe nianbiao" in *Shiji*: "In the second year [of the Yuanshou reign-period], the Marquis [of Bowang] Zhang Qian acted in a cowardly way when he led

the army in a campaign against the Xiongnu. He was deemed worthy of death by beheading, but he redeemed himself from punishment by degradation to commoner's status, with his title stripped." According to the "Li jiangjun liezhuan" 李將軍列傳 in *Shiji*: "Two years later, Li Guang 李廣, the Chamberlain for Attendants 郎中令, led 4,000 cavalry out of Youbeiping, and the Marquis of Bowang led 10,000 cavalry by a different route to rendezvous with Li Guang….The troops under Li Guang's command were almost wiped out. Li Guang made his way back with what remained of his army. According to the laws of Han, the Marquis of Bowang tarried and was late for the rendezvous, and was deemed worthy of death by beheading, but he redeemed himself from punishment by degradation to commoner's status."

[128] For "Xiongnu in their western territories" (*Xiongnu xiyu* 匈奴西域), the "Zhang Qian, Li Guangli zhuan" of *Hanshu* reads *Xiongnu xibian* 匈奴西邊. In the "Wei jiangjun, Piaoqi liezhuan" in *Shiji*, Hunxie is referred to as "Xiongnu's Xiyu King" 匈奴西域王. However, since "Xiyu" refers to the vast area west of the Yumen 玉門 and Yang 陽 Barriers, *Xiongnu xiyu* is replaced by *Xiongnu xibian* in *Hanshu*.

[129] "In the following year": The "Zhang Qian, Li Guangli zhuan" in *Hanshu* reads "in the autumn" (其秋). Both versions follow the previous text, referring to the second year of the Yuanshou reign-period (121 BCE). The version in *Hanshu* is more accurate.

[130] According to the "Jianyuan yilai houzhe nianbiao" in *Shiji*: "The Hunxie King surrendered with his community of 100,000; he was ennobled, with a feoff of 10,000 households. The day *renwu* 壬午 in the seventh month of the second year [of the Yuanshou reign period] (121 BCE) was the beginning of the first year of the Marquis of Ding 定 , Hunxie".

[131] Jincheng 金城 is the name of a county; its seat is northwest of present-day Lanzhou 蘭州, Gansu Province.

[132] The "Southern Mountains" here should be the Southern Mountains of Han 漢南山, i.e., the present-day Qilian Mountains 祁連山.

[133] In the autumn of the second year of the Yuanshou reign-period (121 BCE), the *Chanyu* of the Xiongnu was angered by the defeat of the kings of Hunxie 渾邪 and Xiutu 休屠 in the west, and wanted to have them summoned to his court and killed. The Hunxie King thus plotted to surrender to Han with the Xiutu King. Afterwards, the Hunxie King killed the Xiutu King because the latter broke their contract, and led his people to surrender to Han. After Hunxie had surrendered, Han sent Zhang Qian as an envoy to the Wusun in the first or second year of the Yuanding 元鼎 reign-period (116 or 115 BCE), in an effort to induce them to move east and live in their former lands, i.e., the present-day

area from the Barkul to Hami 哈密. Because the Wusun did not move east to their former lands and Han lacked the strength to garrison it, this area soon reverted to the control of the Xiongnu. In both the second year of the Tianhan 天漢 reign-period (99 BCE) and the third year of the Zhenghe 征和 reign-period (90 BCE) of Emperor Wu 武, Han had conducted campaigns on the eastern end of the Tianshan Mountains, but was unable to occupy this area. The Xiongnu returned as soon as the Han army withdrew.

[134] "Han attacked and drove the *Chanyu* to the north of the desert": The event occurred in the fourth year of the Yuanshou reign-period (119 BCE).

是後天子數問騫大夏之屬。騫既失侯，因言曰：[135]

The Son of Heaven thereupon asked [Zhang] Qian several times about the states such as Daxia. Since he had already lost his noble rank, [Zhang] Qian took the opportunity to report as follows: [135]

[135] The records about Wusun's founders are different in the "Zhang Qian, Li Guangli zhuan" in *Hanshu*: "While I was living among the Xiongnu I heard of the Wusun. The king of the Wusun was titled the *Kunmo* 昆莫, and the *Kunmo*'s father was named Nandoumi 難兜靡; originally the Wusun had lived with the Da Yuezhi between Qilian and Dunhuang, and they had been a small state. The Da Yuezhi attacked and killed Nandoumi, seizing his land; his people fled to the Xiongnu. An infant *Kunmo* had recently been born, and the *Xihou* 翎侯 Bujiu 布就,[55] who was his guardian, took him in his arms and fled. He laid him in the grass and searched for food for him, and on coming back saw a wolf suckling the child; and there were also ravens holding meat in their beaks and hovering at [the child's] side. Believing this to be supernatural, he then carried [the child] back to the Xiongnu, and the *Chanyu* loved and reared him. When the *Kunmo* reached thirty years of age (*zhuang* 壯), the *Chanyu* delivered to him his father's people. He had him lead troops, and on several occasions he did so meritoriously. At the time the Yuezhi had already been defeated by the Xiongnu; heading west, they attacked the king of the Sai 塞. The king of the Sai moved a considerable distance to the south and the Yuezhi then occupied his lands. Once the *Kunmo* had grown to adulthood, he asked permission of the *Chanyu* to avenge the wrongs done to his father. Going west he attacked and defeated the Da Yuezhi, who again fled west, moving into the lands of Daxia. The *Kunmo* despoiled the population of the Da Yuezhi, and then remained in occupation. His forces gradually grew stronger, and at the

death of the *Chanyu* he was no longer willing to attend at the court of the Xiongnu and serve them. The Xiongnu sent cavalry to attack him, but had no success; and with an even greater respect for his supernatural powers they kept their distance. At present the *Chanyu* has recently suffered at the hands of the Han and the *Kunmo*'s lands are empty and deserted. Barbarians have great attachment to their former lands, and are greedy for Han goods. If we could only make use of the present opportunity to send generous presents to Wusun, and induce [its people] to move farther east and live in their former territory; and if Han would send a princess to them for marriage and establish brotherly relations, the situation would be such that they would agree, and this would result in cutting off the right arm of the Xiongnu. Once a link has been forged with Wusun, the states such as Daxia to its west could all be induced to come to court and become outer subjects of Han" (A. E. P. Hulsewé and M. A. N. Loewe, *China in Central Asia*, pp. 214-218; with modifications). The contradictions in the two texts arise from the following factors. The Wusun were originally a nomadic tribe in the Hami 哈密 area. It is quite possible that they were subject to the Yuezhi for some time. In 177/176 BCE, *Chanyu* Modu of the Xiongnu launched a large-scale attack on the Yuezhi; the Yuezhi gave up their former lands and retreated west. It is quite possible that the defeated Yuezhi lashed out at the Wusun and killed their *Kunmo*, Nandoumi, at the time when Liejiaomi 獵驕靡, the son of Nandoumi, had just been born. The rest of the Wusun went with the orphan to the Xiongnu for shelter. After Liejiaomi had grown up, *Chanyu* Junchen ordered him to lead his men to defend the western border of the Xiongnu. In 130 BCE, Liejiaomi made an expedition to the valley of the Ili and Chu Rivers with the support of the Xiongnu. After *Chanyu* Junchen died, Liejiaomi "was no longer willing to attend at the court of the Xiongnu and serve them". It has been pointed out that, according to *Hanshu*, the *Kunmo* had settled down in "the land of the Sai" before the *Chanyu* died; however, according to *Shiji*, the *Kunmo* led his people far away after the *Chanyu* had died. This shows that there are contradictions between *Shiji* and *Hanshu*.[56] In my opinion, the focus in both books concerning the death of the *Chanyu* is the same, that is, to stress that the Wusun did not cast off the control of the Xiongnu and become an independent state until the *Chanyu* died. Because *Shiji* does not refer to the *Kunmo*'s attack on the Da Yuezhi, its statement is rather general and not as clear as that of *Hanshu* nor is it as orderly in its narration of the events: the Wusun settled in "the land of the Sai" after they had driven the Da Yuezhi away and, then, at the time of the death of the *Chanyu*, were no longer willing to attend at the court of the Xiongnu and serve them. This is the only difference between *Shiji* and *Hanshu* on the point at issue. As for the above-mentioned *Chanyu*, he was undoubtedly *Chanyu* Junchen, who died in 126 BCE. For the Sai people mentioned in the "Zhang Qian, Li Guangli zhuan" of *Hanshu*, see my commentary and

annotation on the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu*.

"臣居匈奴中，聞烏孫王號昆莫[136]，昆莫之父，匈奴西邊小國也。[137]匈奴攻殺其父，而昆莫生弃於野。烏嗛肉蜚其上，狼往乳之[138]。單于怪以爲神，而收長之。及壯，使將兵，數有功，單于復以其父之民予昆莫，令長守於西域[139]。昆莫收養其民，攻旁小邑，控弦數萬，習攻戰。單于死，昆莫乃率其衆遠徙，中立，不肯朝會匈奴。匈奴遣奇兵擊，不勝，以爲神而遠之，因羈屬之，不大攻。今單于新困於漢，而故渾邪地[140]空無人。蠻夷俗貪漢財物，今誠以此時而厚幣賂烏孫，招以益東，居故渾邪之地，與漢結昆弟，其勢宜聽，聽則是斷匈奴右臂也。[141]既連烏孫，自其西大夏之屬皆可招來而爲外臣。[142]"天子以爲然，拜騫爲中郎將，將三百人，馬各二匹，牛羊以萬數，齎金幣帛直數千巨萬，多持節副使，道可使，使遣之他旁國。

"When I was living among the Xiongnu I heard of the Wusun; the king was entitled *Kunmo*[136], and the *Kunmo*'s father was [chief of] a petty state on the western borders of the Xiongnu.[137] The Xiongnu attacked and killed his father, and the *Kunmo*, at his birth, was cast away in the wilderness, where meat was brought to him by ravens and a wolf nursed him with her milk[138]. The *Chanyu* believed this to be supernatural and raised the child to manhood. When he had come of age, [the *Chanyu*] had him lead troops, and on several occasions he did so meritoriously. [The *Chanyu*] delivered to the *Kunmo* his father's people, and made him governor of the "western regions"[139]. Receiving charge of his people, the *Kunmo* attacked the neighboring small settlements. He had trained bowmen by the tens of thousands who were accustomed to attack and fight. After the *Chanyu*'s death, the *Kunmo* led his people far away, declared neutrality, and was no longer willing to attend at the court of the Xiongnu. The Xiongnu sent cavalry to attack him, but they had no success. Believing him to be supernatural, they kept their distance. Thereupon they tried to restrain and control him, but did not make any serious attack on him. The *Chanyu* has recently suffered at the hands of the Han and the Hunxie's former lands are empty and deserted[140]. Barbarians are greedy for Han goods. If we could only make use of the present opportunity to send generous presents to Wusun, and induce [its people] to move farther east and live in the Hunxie's territory; and if Han could establish brotherly relations, the situation would be such that they would agree, and

this would result in cutting off the right arm of the Xiongnu.[141] Once a link has been forged with Wusun, the states such as Daxia to its west could all be induced to come to court and become outer subjects of Han.[142]" The Son of Heaven agreed with this [advice] and appointed [Zhang] Qian to be Leader of the Gentlemen of the Palace, with a force of 300 men; each man had two horses, and the cattle and sheep were counted by the tens of thousands. He took gold, valuables, and silk worth an enormous amount, and there were a large number of deputy envoys bearing their insignia to be sent to the neighboring states, if the roads were feasible.

[136] *Kunmo* 昆莫 was the title of Wusun's king.

[137] The former land of Wusun was located in present-day Hami 哈密.

[138] Although the name of Wusun 烏孫 is a transliteration, given the legend of the king being fed by the ravens and suckled by a wolf, the characters in Chinese also connote "offspring of the ravens". 57

[139] The "western regions" here, as stated above, refers to the western regions of the Xiongnu.

[140] "The Hunxie's former lands" (*Hunxie di* 渾邪地): The "Zhang Qian, Li Guangli zhuan" in *Hanshu* reads "*Kunmo*'s lands" (*Kunmo di* 昆莫地). For *Hunxie zhi di* 渾邪之地 (Hunxie's lands) in the subsequent text, *Hanshu* reads *[Kunmo] gudi* [昆莫] 故地 (former lands of the *Kunmo*). In my opinion, "Hunxie's lands" should have been "the western regions the Xiongnu". Here, it is not explicitly stated that the "Xiyu" or the "western regions" guarded by the *Kunmo* was the former land of the Wusun, but the land was obviously the area where the *Kunmo* had lived and herded before he moved far away, and was indeed "the *Kunmo*'s land" in *Hanshu*. Actually there is no contradiction here between *Shiji* and *Hanshu*. The reason why *Hanshu* changed "Hunxie's land" into "the *Kunmo*'s land" is only that "Hunxie's land" was not exactly equivalent to "the *Kunmo*'s land". The Wusun were still small in number and weak before they moved west and, as regards the geographical region, "the *Kunmo*'s land" was undoubtedly included within "Hunxie's land".

[141] Hunxie's former land was located in the present-day Hexi Corridor 河西走廊 and the area to its west. At that time this territory was "empty and deserted" because the Hunxie King had surrendered to Han. If this territory was controlled by a state allied with Han, the situation would be very favorable to cutting off the connection between the Xiongnu and the Western Regions. Therefore, the destination of Zhang Qian's second mission to the Western Regions was also the valley of the Ili and Chu Rivers, identical with his first. "Cutting off the right arm of the Xiongnu", so to speak, means

that Han could sever Xiongnu's connection with the Western Regions through Wusun. While the Western Han's influence filtered into the Western Regions gradually and the balance of power changed in a direction that was favorable to the Western Han, it began to carry out the stratagem of "severing the right arm of the Xiongnu" by driving out the Xiongnu and replacing their influence in the Western Regions: it no longer looked to form alliances with states like Wusun in the Western Regions.

[142] "Once a link has been forged with Wusun, the states such as Daxia to its west could all be induced to come to court and become outer subjects of Han": The purpose of Zhang Qian's mission to Wusun, in addition to "cutting off the right arm of the Xiongnu", was also to open up the route from east to west. Before Zhang Qian was sent on his mission to Wusun, Wusun, as a dependency of the Xiongnu, had in fact been obstructing the communications between Han and the various states in the Western Regions.

騫既至烏孫[143]，烏孫王昆莫見漢使如單于禮，騫大慙，知蠻夷貪，乃曰："天子致賜，王不拜則還賜。"昆莫起拜賜，其他如故。騫諭使指曰："烏孫能東居渾邪地，則漢遣翁主爲昆莫夫人。"烏孫國分，王老，而遠漢，未知其大小，素服屬匈奴日久矣，且又近之，其大臣皆畏胡，不欲移徙，王不能專制。騫不得其要領。

As soon as he reached Wusun[143], the king of Wusun, the *Kunmo*, received [Zhang] Qian with ceremonial such as that [used for receiving] a *Chanyu*. Knowing the greed of these barbarians, [Zhang] Qian was greatly mortified and said: "The Son of Heaven has sent some gifts, and unless the king makes obeisance, I shall return with them [to Han]." The *Kunmo* stood up and made obeisance, and the other [parts of the ceremonial were continued] as formerly. [Zhang] Qian gave [the *Kunmo*] a message of guidance from the Han emperor, saying: "If the [people of] Wusun are able to move east and dwell in the Hunxie's lands, then Han will send a princess to be the *Kunmo*'s wife." The Wusun state was divided; the king was old, thought that Han was remote, and had no informed idea of its size. Moreover [Wusun] was close to the Xiongnu, to whom it had been subject for a long period, so that none of the senior officials, who were afraid of the Hu, wished to move. The king was unable to exercise complete and unified control. [Zhang] Qian was unable to rouse his interest.

[143] There are no clear records on which route Zhang Qian took when he went on the mission to Wusun. We can speculate that he went west along the northern foot of the Āltin-tagh until he reached Loulan, which was located southwest of the Lop Nor, then went north from Loulan to reach Gushi, which was located northwest of the Lop Nor (in the area of the present-day ruins of the ancient town of Loulan), and then went further west along the Konche Darya until he arrived at Wusun by way of Qiuci 龜茲.[58] At that time, Han had won a significant victory over the Xiongnu. Especially after Hunxie, the king of the Western Regions of the Xiongnu, had surrendered to Han in the second year of the Yuanshou 元狩 reign-period, "[the area] west of Jincheng 金城 and Hexi 河西 [Prefectures] and along the Southern Mountains as far as the Salt Marsh was empty and without Xiongnu", as mentioned in *Shiji*. Since there were no Xiongnu all along the Southern Mountains as far as the Salt Lake (Lop Nor), it is quite possible that Zhang Qian went to Wusun by this route. In addition, Han had driven the Xiongnu to the north of the Gobi Desert in the fourth year of the Yuanshou reign-period (119 BCE). The Xiongnu, however, did not lose control over the southern foothills of the Altai Mountains, including the Dzungharian Basin. Therefore, the Northern Route of the Tianshan Mountains was not necessarily an easy road for Zhang Qian. As for Zhang Qian's journey home, it is reasonable to think that he took the same way.

昆莫有十餘子，其中子曰大祿[144]，彊，善將衆，將衆別居萬餘騎。大祿兄爲太子，太子有子曰岑娶[145]，而太子蚤死。臨死謂其父昆莫曰："必以岑娶爲太子，無令他人代之。"昆莫哀而許之，卒以岑娶爲太子。大祿怒其不得代太子也，乃收其諸昆弟，將其衆畔，謀攻岑娶及昆莫。昆莫老，常恐大祿殺岑娶，予岑娶萬餘騎別居，而昆莫有萬餘騎自備，國衆分爲三，而其大總取羈屬昆莫，昆莫亦以此不敢專約於騫。[146]

The *Kunmo* had more than ten sons. The Dalu[144], whose position was in the middle of the group, was a man of valor and a skillful leader, and he had led over 10,000 horsemen away to take up his abode separately. The elder brother of the Dalu was heir apparent [to the *Kunmo*] and he had a son who bore the title *Cenzou*[145]. The last words of the heir apparent, who had died while still young, to his father, the *Kunmo*, were: "You must without fail appoint the *Cenzou* as heir, and do not allow any other man to take his place." In his sorrow, the *Kunmo* had promised to do this, and so on the death of his father the *Cenzou* became heir apparent. The Dalu was angry at being prevented from

acting as heir apparent. Thereupon, he collected his brothers and led a large group of the people in revolt, planning to attack the *Cenzou* and *Kunmo*. The *Kunmo*, being old, was in constant fear that the Dalu might kill the *Cenzou*. He therefore gave the *Cenzou* more than ten thousand horsemen and ordered him to take up residence separately; the *Kunmo* himself retained over ten thousand horsemen as a measure of self-defence. [The people of] the state were divided into three parts, being on the whole tied and subject to the *Kunmo*. Therefore, the *Kunmo* did not dare to take it upon himself to conclude that treaty with [Zhang] Qian.[146]

[144] Dalu 大祿 was the title of an office in Wusun; it is used here as a personal name.

[145] For "*Cenzou*" 岑娶, the "Xiyu zhuan" in *Hanshu* reads 岑陬. It was the title of an office in Wusun, but is used here as a personal name.

[146] Wusun had established its state in the valley of the Ili and Chu Rivers and, as is recorded in the text, they were "no longer willing to attend at the court of the Xiongnu and serve them" after the death of *Chanyu* Junchen. However, their land lay close to the Xiongnu, and thus was controlled by the Xiongnu. This must have been the primary reason why Zhang Qian was still unable to rouse the interest of the Wusun. Of course, other factors, among them the division within the state, the old age of the king, the distance from Han, also had some impact.

騫因分遣副使使大宛、康居、大月氏、大夏、安息、身毒、于窴、扜罙及諸旁國[147]。烏孫發導譯送騫還，騫與烏孫遣使數十人，馬數十匹報謝，因令窺漢，知其廣大。[148]

Zhang Qian, therefore, sent his deputy envoys on separate missions to the states of Dayuan, Kangju 康居, Da Yuezhi, Daxia, Anxi, Shendu, Yutian, Wumi 扜罙, and the adjacent states.[147] Wusun provided interpreters and guides to accompany [Zhang] Qian, together with a mission from Wusun; this comprised men and horses, each numbered by the tens, and it was to render thanks [to the emperor]. The mission was ordered to use the opportunity to make a thorough observation of Han and find out its extent.[148]

[147] The "Zhang Qian, Li Guangli zhuan" in *Hanshu* does not mention such states as Anxi, Shendu, Yutian, and Wumi. The states to which Zhang Qian's deputy envoys were sent were visited

by Zhang Qian in person or were those about which he gained information during his first mission to the Western Regions. Among them, Yutian and Wumi must have been the oasis states on the Southern Route through which he passed on his first mission to the Western Regions.

[148] This can be seen as the beginning of Wusun's alliance with Han. The support or opposition of Wusun was crucial for the Western Han's ultimate conquest of the Xiongnu.

騫還到 [149]，拜爲大行，列於九卿。歲餘，卒。[150]

On his return[149] [Zhang] Qian was appointed Superintendent of State Visits ranked as one of the nine ministers of state. After about a year [Zhang] Qian died.[150]

[149] There are no clear records on the date when Zhang Qian departed on his mission to Wusun in historical works. It is generally assumed that he set out in the fourth year of the Yuanshou reign-period (119 BCE) and returned home in the second year of the Yuanding reign-period (115 BCE). In my opinion, in the fourth year of the Yuanshou reign-period, Han troops attacked the Xiongnu north of the Gobi Desert, and thus the roads to the Western Regions were opened up. It is not impossible that Zhang Qian was sent in this year. However, strictly speaking, this year can only be taken as the earliest possible date when Zhang Qian could have set out. On the basis of this memoir or the "Zhang Qian, Li Guangli zhuan" in *Hanshu* (ch. 61), it can be seen that Zhang Qian did not encounter any obstructions, and seemingly did not stay in Wusun for a long time. Since Zhang Qian returned to his homeland in the second year of the Yuanding reign-period (115 BCE) according to the "Hanji" 漢紀 in *Zizhi tongjian* 資治通鑒, it is reasonable to assume that Zhang Qian set out in the first or second year of the Yuanding reign-period (116 or 115 BCE).

[150] Zhang Qian was appointed Superintendent of State Visits in the second year of the Yuanding reign-period (115 BCE), and died in the third year.[59]

烏孫使既見漢人衆富厚，歸報其國，其國乃益重漢。其後歲餘，騫所遣使通大夏之屬者皆頗與其人俱來，於是西北國始通於漢矣。[151] 然張騫鑿空 [152]，其後使往者皆稱博望侯，以爲質 [153] 於外國，外國由此信之。

The envoys of Wusun returned to their state after observing the large numbers of Han people and the abundance of Han's wealth; and the state's appreciation of Han

was considerably enhanced. About a year later the deputy envoys whom he had sent to make contact with states such as Daxia all came to court, in many cases with people from those places, and for the first time the states of the northwest then came into communication with Han.[151] It was [Zhang] Qian who had pioneered the way,[152] and all those who subsequently went there as envoys mentioned the name of the Marquis of Bowang as a pledge of good faith[153] among the outer states, who then trusted them.

[151] "Daxia" 大夏 here may mean several minor chiefs of the original Daxia subject to the Da Yuezhi. Both "Da Yuezhi" and "Daxia" are mentioned here, which seems to indicate that they were two independent states. Actually, this shows that although the Da Yuezhi had conquered Daxia, they did not completely destroy the native administrative structure. The so-called "five *Xihou*" may have been original minor chiefs in the towns of Daxia. All these *Xihou* had a measure of autonomy, and the Da Yuezhi people only collected taxes from them. In this memoir it is recorded: "The deputy envoys whom Zhang Qian had sent to make contact with states such as Daxia all came to court, in many cases with people from those places". If it is true that the Daxia were among the people from those places, then they would probably be representatives of the indigenous administration subject to the Da Yuezhi.

[152] The interpretation offered by Su Lin 蘇林, cited in Pei Yin's 裴駰 *Shiji jijie* 史記集解, is: "*Zao* 鑿 means to open up, and *kong* 空 means to make passable. In other words, Zhang Qian had pioneered the way to the Western Regions". *Shiji suoyin* 史記索隱 comments: "It means that the Western Regions was full of dangers and obstacles, and had no ways or paths. Now it is opened up and is passable". However, the archaeological and textual evidence shows that the way to the Western Regions had been pioneered as early as the pre-Qin period.[60] In view of this, the so-called *zaokong* in Sima Qian's statement may not refer to the opening of the roads to the Western Regions in a general sense. The text emphasizes that Han began to exchange envoys with the various states in the Western Regions after Zhang Qian's two missions to the west. Specifically, what is meant by the statement that "for the first time the states of the northwest came into communication with Han" is the official ties rather than unofficial contacts, the traffic being bi-directional rather than uni-directional.

[153] *Shiji jijie* quotes Ru Chun 如淳: "*Zhi* 質 means sincerity and credit. Zhang Qian was a man of credit and honor, so subsequent envoys evoked his name as a pledge of good faith to the outer states."

自博望侯騫死後，匈奴聞漢通烏孫，怒，欲擊之。及漢使烏孫，若[154]出其南，抵大宛、大月氏相屬，烏孫乃恐，使使獻馬，願得尚漢女翁主爲昆弟。天子

問羣臣議計，皆曰：“必先納聘，然後乃遣女。”

Hearing that Wusun was in contact with Han, the Xiongnu grew angry and wished to attack after the death of [Zhang] Qian. Moreover, when the Han envoys to Wusun came to[154] leave thence by the south, they made their way to Dayuan and the Yuezhi one after another. Wusun now grew apprehensive, and sent envoys with presents of horses [to the emperor], in the hope of obtaining a princess in marriage and of forming a fraternal alliance. The Son of Heaven asked his attendant officials for their views. They advised that "the stipulation is that only when the marriage gifts had been delivered to the court should a girl be sent".

[154] *Shiji jijie* quotes Xu Guang 徐廣: "*Hanshu* reads *ji* 及; *ruo* 若 means the same as *ji*."

初，天子發書《易》[155]，云“神馬當從西北來”。得烏孫馬好，名曰“天馬”。及得大宛汗血馬，益壯，更名烏孫馬曰“西極”，名大宛馬曰“天馬”云。

Now when, on a previous occasion, the Son of Heaven had opened the *Book of Changes*,[155] the text had read: "The supernatural horses are due to come from the northwest". When he obtained horses from Wusun, he liked them and named them "the horses of Heaven"; but when he came to acquire the horses from Dayuan who sweated blood, they were even finer. So he changed the name of the horses of Wusun, calling them "the horses of the extreme west", and he called the horses of Dayuan "the horses of Heaven".

[155] "The Son of Heaven had opened the *Book of Changes*": *Shiji jijie* quotes *Hanshu yinyi* 漢書音義: "[The Son of Heaven] had opened the *Book of Changes* to make a divination."

而漢始築令居[156]以西，初置酒泉郡[157]以通西北國。因益發使抵安息、奄蔡、黎軒、條枝、身毒國。而天子好宛馬，使者相望於道。諸使外國一輩大者數百，少者百餘人，人所齎操[158]大放博望侯時。其後益習而衰少焉。漢率一歲中使多者十餘，少者五六輩，遠者八九歲，近者數歲而反。

And Han for the first time built [fortifications] at Lingju 令居[156] and farther west. At first the prefecture of Jiuquan 酒泉[157] was founded in order to communicate with the states of the northwest. Thereafter [more] envoys were sent out, and reached Anxi 安息, Yancai 奄蔡, Lixuan 黎軒, Tiaozhi 條枝, and Shendu 身毒. As the Son of Heaven had a fondness for the horses of [Da]yuan, these envoys were in sight of each other on the roads. A single mission comprised several hundred members, if large, and a hundred or so if small; and the gifts they carried[158] were generally [chosen to] resemble those sent in the time of the Marquis of Bowang. Later [the dispatch of missions] became more a matter of routine, and they were reduced to smaller numbers. Each year the number of Han missions amounted to over ten, if many, and five or six, if few; those that went on long distances returned after eight or nine years, those on shorter distances after several years.

[156] Lingju 令居 is the name of a county; its seat of government is located northwest of present-day Yongdeng 永登, Gansu Province. In the "Pingzhun shu 平準書" (Treatise on the balanced standard) of *Shiji* (ch. 30), the following is recorded: "In the next year [112 BCE] the kingdom of Southern Yue rebelled and the Qiang barbarians of the west invaded the border, pillaging and murdering. Because the region east of the mountains was still suffering from a lack of food, the emperor declared a general amnesty throughout the empire. With the prisoners thereby released, and the men trained in the south for service on the towered ships—a force of over 200,000 in all—an attack was launched on Southern Yue. At the same time cavalry men, numbering several tens of thousands, from the prefectures of Henei, Hedong, and Henan were sent west to attack the Qiang barbarians. Another contingent, again numbering several tens of thousands, was sent across the Yellow River to fortify the western border at Lingju. The prefectures of Zhangye 張掖 and Jiuquan 酒泉 were set up…." (Burton Watson, trans., *Records of the Grand Historian of China*, 2:100; with modifications.)

[157] The prefecture of Jiuquan 酒泉 was founded in the second year of the Yuanshou reign-period (121 BCE); its seat of government was located in what is present-day Jiuquan, Gansu Province. It was one of the four prefectures of the Hexi 河西 region.[61]

[158] According to the Yan Commentary on the "Zhang Qian, Li Guangli zhuan" in *Hanshu*, "*Cao* 操 means the same as *chi* 持 (to carry). What were carried were the emblems of authority and valuables".

是時漢既滅越，而蜀、西南夷皆震，[159]請吏入朝。於是置益州[160]、越嶲[161]、牂柯[162]、沈黎[163]、汶山郡[164]，欲地接以前通大夏[165]。乃遣使柏始昌、吕越人等歲十餘輩，出此初郡[166]抵大夏，皆復閉昆明，爲所殺，奪幣財，終莫能通至大夏焉。[167]於是漢發三輔罪人，因巴[168]蜀士數萬人，遣兩將軍郭昌、衛廣等往擊昆明之遮漢使者，斬首虜數萬人而去。[169]其後遣使，昆明復爲寇，竟莫能得通。[170]而北道酒泉抵大夏，使者既多，而外國益厭漢幣，不貴其物。[171]

At this time Han had destroyed Yue, and the southwestern barbarians and Shu were all alarmed.[159] They requested the establishment of officials, and their attendance at court. The prefectures of Yizhou[160], Yuexi[161], Zangke[162], Shenli[163], and Wenshan[164] were founded, with the intention that, as these lands adjoined each other, it would be possible to advance thereby and make communication with Daxia[165]. Over ten envoys, including Bai Shichang, Lü Yueren, and others, were dispatched annually to leave by way of these new prefectures[166] for Daxia. They were blocked by Kunming, the members being killed and robbed of their valuables and goods. Envoys were ultimately unable to get through and to make communication with Daxia.[167] Han thereupon sent out troops from the convicts of the metropolitan district; and sent the two generals Guo Chang and Wei Guang in command of soldiers by the ten thousand from Ba[168] and Shu, to attack the Kunming who had intercepted the Han envoys; several tens of thousands of the tribesmen were beheaded or made prisoners by the Han army before it withdrew.[169] Subsequently envoys were again sent out, but the Kunming again robbed them and they were ultimately unable to get through.[170] On the other hand, missions to Daxia by the Northern Route, via Jiuquan, had by their frequency caused the foreign states to be less and less interested in Han's valuables, which they no longer appreciated.[171]

[159] "At this time Han had destroyed Yue, and the southwestern barbarians and Shu were all alarmed": This occurred in the sixth year of the Yuanding reign-period (111 BCE). In place of "the southwestern barbarians and Shu" 蜀、西南夷, the "Zhang Qian, Li Guangli zhuan" in *Hanshu* reads, "the southwestern barbarians whose residence adjoins Shu" 蜀所通西南夷.

[160] The prefecture of Yizhou 益州 was founded in the territories of the Southwestern Yi. Its seat of government was located east of present-day Jinning 晉寧, Yunnan Province.

[161] The prefecture of Yuexi 越嶲 was founded in the territories of the Southwestern Yi. Its seat

of government was located southeast of present-day Xichang, Sichuan Province.

[162] The prefecture of Zangke 牂柯 was founded in the territories of the Southwestern Yi. Its seat of government was located between present-day Huangping 黄平 and Guiding 貴定, Guizhou 貴州 Province.

[163] The prefecture of Shenli 沈黎 was founded in the territories of the Southwestern Yi. Its seat of government was located northeast of present-day Hanyuan, Sichuan Province.

[164] The prefecture of Wenshan 汶山 was founded in the territories of the Southwestern Yi. Its seat of government was located north of Maoxian 茂縣, Sichuan Province.

[165] *Shiji jijie* 史記集解 quotes Li Qi 李奇: "In order to reach Daxia via these ajoining lands…."

[166] "*Chu jun* " 初郡 : New prefectures.

[167] Among these new prefectures, Yizhou was at the southwestern extreme. Cf. the "Xinan Yi liezhuan" 西南夷列傳 in *Shiji*: "The king of Dian 滇 was presented with the seal of the king and restored to the position to lead the people". This occured after the state of Dian and its neighbors, Laojin 勞浸, Mimo 靡莫, etc., were made into Yizhou 益州 Prefecture in the second year of the Yuanfeng 元封 reign-period (109 BCE). Thus, "of the hundreds of native rulers among the southwestern barbarians, only those of Yelang 夜郎 and Dian were granted the seals of kings. Dian, although a relatively small fief, still enjoys the highest favor with the emperor" (Burton Watson, trans., *Records of the Grand Historian of China,* 2:296). We can infer from this that the Han envoys who wanted "to leave by way of these new prefectures for Daxia" had to go through Yizhou Prefecture and rely on the help of the king of Dian. It is possible that the king of Dian, overtly agreeing but covertly opposing, did not do his best "to find out the way" for the Han envoys before the prefecture was founded, but this possibility was practically nonexistent after the prefecture had been founded, because the king of Dian was presented with the seal and enjoyed "the highest favor with the emperor". The reason that "envoys were ultimately unable to get through and make communication with Daxia" might be that no possible routes existed.

[168] The prefecture of Ba 巴 was located north of present-day Chongqing 重慶.

[169] The event occurred in the second year of the Yuanfeng reign-period (109 BCE). [62]

[170] Up to this point, Emperor Wu's management of the Southwestern Yi for the purpose of making communication with Daxia ended in failure.

[171] Since it was impossible to go through the lands of the Southwestern Yi, Han had to go by way of Jiuquan, not only to Daxia, but also to Shendu. Zhang Qian sent his deputy envoy to Shendu when he was sent to Wusun as an envoy at the beginning of the Yuanding reign-period. The deputy

envoy certainly went by the Northern and Southern Routes in the Western Regions from Jiuquan Prefecture. According to the edict of Emperor Wu recorded in the "Zhang Qian, Li Guangli zhuan" of *Hanshu*, the various states to the west of Weixu 危須 had plotted among themselves and killed the envoys from the state of Shendu. Since the state of Shendu sent its envoys to Han by the Northern Route, this is further evidence to prove that there was no "direct route" during the reign of Emperor Wu, contrary to Zhang Qian's assumption. Weixu was an oasis state on the Northern Route of the Western Regions. For more details on this state, see my annotations and comments on the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu*.

自博望侯開外國道以尊貴，其後從吏卒皆爭上書言外國奇怪利害，求使。天子爲其絕遠，非人所樂往，聽其言，予節，募吏民毋問所從來，爲具備人衆遣之，以廣其道。來還不能毋侵盜幣物，及使失指，天子爲其習之，輒覆案致重罪，以激怒令贖，復求使。使端無窮，而輕犯法。其吏卒亦輒復盛推外國所有，言大者予節，言小者爲副，故妄言無行之徒皆爭效之。其使皆貧人子，私縣官齎物[172]，欲賤市以私其利外國。外國亦厭漢使人人有言輕重[173]，度漢兵遠不能至，而禁其食物以苦漢使。漢使乏絕積怨，至相攻擊。而樓蘭、姑師小國耳，當空道[174]，攻劫漢使王恢等尤甚。而匈奴奇兵時時遮擊使西國者。使者爭徧言外國災害，皆有城邑，兵弱易擊。

Since the time when [Zhang] Qian had opened up the routes to the outer states and thereby gained honor and a high position, his officers and the attendants who had accompanied him vied with each other in submitting written reports describing the strange wonders, the advantages and dangers of the outer states, and in seeking to be sent there on missions. The Son of Heaven thought that because they were cut off by great distances, these were not places where people would go for pleasure; he believed what they said and gave them emblems of authority. Calling for officials and men to volunteer, and quite regardless of their origins, he provided [envoys] with large retinues, and sent them out in order to extend [the use of] the roads. On the outward and return journeys there could not fail to be cases where valuable goods were stolen or where the envoys ignored [imperial] instructions. As [the members of the missions] were well versed [in dealing with foreign states], the Son of Heaven always had the cases investigated and construed as being worthy of capital punishment, in this way goading

the men to seek remission from punishment by offering to go out on further journeys. The means of serving as an envoy were thus unrestricted, and infringement of the laws was regarded as a light matter. Officials and conscripts in their turn always praised the possessions of the outer states fulsomely; those who described these in extravagant terms were given emblems of authority, and those who described them in lesser terms were made deputy envoys. As a result, those who spoke with abandon, or who lacked scruples all tried to outdo one another. The envoys, being mostly sons of poor families, all appropriated those officially owned goods that they carried,[172] wishing to sell them at a cheap price for their own private profit. The outer states in their turn detested the way in which the Han envoys each told a different tale[173]. Reckoning that Han troops were a long way off and would be unable to reach them, they banned the provision of supplies, so as to embarrass the Han envoys; and, short of supplies, the Han envoys grew querulous and angry, even to the point of coming to blows with each other. Loulan and Gushi, being small states and situated on the route,[174] showed particular violence in attacking and robbing Wang Hui and other Han envoys; and the cavalry of the Xiongnu blocked their path or attacked westbound envoys repeatedly. The envoys tried to outdo each other in describing the dangers of the outer states, which they said all possessed walled towns, and since their own forces were weak they were vulnerable to attack.

[172] "All appropriated those officially owned goods that they carried" 私縣官齎物: According to the Yan Commentary on the "Zhang Qian, Li Guangli zhuan" of *Hanshu*, this statement meant that "they appropriated officially owned goods that they carried and used them themselves, treating them as their own possessions".

[173] "The Han envoys each told a different tale": The Yan Commentary on the "Zhang Qian, Li Guangli zhuan" of *Hanshu* quotes Fu Qian 服虔: "The Han envoys, when they spoke in the outer states, each told a different story."

[174] *Kong dao* 空道 is the same as *kong dao* 孔道, i.e., a way, or strategically important passageway.

於是天子以故遣從驃侯破奴將屬國[175]騎及郡兵數萬，至匈河水[176]，欲以擊胡，胡皆去。其明年[177]，擊姑師，破奴與輕騎七百餘先至，虜樓蘭王，遂破姑

師。因舉兵威以困烏孫、大宛之屬[178]。還，封破奴爲浞野侯。[179]王恢數使，爲樓蘭所苦，言天子，天子發兵令恢佐破奴擊破之，封恢爲浩侯[180]。於是酒泉列亭鄣至玉門[181]矣。

Thereupon the Son of Heaven sent [Zhao] Ponu, Marquis of Congpiao 從驃 [Follower of General Piaoji, or General of Cavalry on the Alert], to take command of cavalry from the dependent states[175], and men numbered by the tens of thousands from the prefectures toward the Xiong River[176], wishing to attack the Hu, who all made off. In the next year[177] [Han] attacked Gushi; [Zhao] Ponu reached the destination first, with 700 light cavalry. Having captured the king of Loulan, he then defeated Gushi. He took the opportunity to stage a display of his military power so as to shock (states) like Wusun and Dayuan[178]. On his return, [Zhao] Ponu was invested with the title of Marquis of Zhuoye.[179] Wang Hui, who had on several occasions been harassed as an envoy by Loulan, had reported this to the Son of Heaven, who raised an army and ordered him to assist [Zhao] Ponu in attacking and defeating Loulan. For this, Wang Hui was invested with the title of Marquis of Hao[180], and the line of posts and defences of Jiuquan reached as far as Yumen[181].

[175] Dependent states 屬國: According to *Shiji zhengyi* (ch. 111), "[Han] relocated the people who had surrendered and settled them in five prefectures. While belonging to Han, they practice their own indigenous customs". Hence the term "dependent states".

[176] The Xiong River: The present-day Baidaraq River in Mongolia.

[177] "In the next year": The third year in the Yuanfeng 元封 reign-period of Emperor Wu (108 BCE). However, it seems that Zhao Ponu, Marquis of Congpiao [Follower of General Piaoqi; i.e., Huo Qubing], reached the Xiong River and attacked the Hu in the sixth year of the Yuanding reign-period (111 BCE). If so, the record in this text should not be accurate.

[178] Instead of "to stage a display of his military power so as to shock (states) like Wusun and Dayuan" 因舉兵威以困烏孫、大宛之屬, the "Xiyu zhuan" in *Hanshu* reads, "因暴兵威以動烏孫、大宛之屬". [63]

[179] According to "Jianyuan yilai houzhe nianbiao" in *Shiji*, Zhao Ponu, "as a captain, again accompanied the Piaoqi General in repeatedly penetrating Xiongnu territories, and captured two princes and generals of the cavalry, for which he was enfeoffed. He was enfeoffed again for

his service when he led the expedition against Loulan in the third year of the Yuanfeng reign-period (108 BCE)".

[180] According to the "Jianyuan yilai houzhe nianbiao" in *Shiji*, "[Wang Hui] formerly led the forces in the capacity of Zhonglangjiang 中郎將 [Leader of the Gentlemen of the Palace] and captured the King of Jushi 車師. For this he was enfeoffed. The day *jiashen* 甲申 in the first month of the fourth year (107 BCE) denoted the beginning of the first year of Marquis Wang Hui".

[181] Yumen here refers to the Yumen Barrier, northwest of present-day Dunhuang, Gansu Province.

烏孫以千馬匹聘漢女，漢遣宗室女江都翁主[182]往妻烏孫[183]，烏孫王昆莫以爲右夫人。匈奴亦遣女妻昆莫，昆莫以爲左夫人。[184]昆莫曰"我老"，乃令其孫岑陬妻翁主。烏孫多馬，其富人至有四五千匹馬。

The Wusun provided a marriage gift of 1,000 horses; upon which Han sent a daughter of royal clan, the princess of Jiangdu 江都,[182] to wed [the *Kunmo* of] the Wusun.[183] The king of the Wusun, the *Kunmo*, appointed her to be a Lady of the Right. The Xiongnu similarly sent a girl to be a wife for the *Kunmo*, who appointed her to be a Lady of the Left.[184] The *Kunmo* said "I am old", and he induced his grandson the *Cenzou* to marry the princess. The Wusun have numerous horses, and rich persons may own as many as four or five thousand animals.

[182] According to the "Xiyu zhuan" in *Hanshu,* the name of the princess, daughter of [Liu] Jian 建, King of Jiangdu 江都, was Xijun 細君.

[183] The date when the Princess of Jiangdu wedded the *Kunmo* of Wusun is unknown, but the event should have occurred no later than the fourth year of the Yuanfeng reign-period (107 BCE).

[184] The fact that the *Kunmo* of Wusun married the Han princess shows that the Wusun no longer leaned towards the Xiongnu. The *Kunmo* made the Xiongnu princess Lady of the Left, for the Xiongnu favored the left, revealing that the accumulated prestige of the Xiongnu still existed. When the Xiongnu heard that Wusun was in contact with Han, they grew angry and wished to attack. Yet after the king of Wusun had married the Han princess, the Xiongnu married their princess to the *Kunmo*. It is clear that the Xiongnu lacked the strength to attack Wusun, and that Wusun raised its own standing in the eyes of the Xiongnu by marrying the Han princess. According to the "Xiongnu

liezhuan" in *Shiji*, Han "had also established relations with the Yuezhi and Daxia further west and had sent a princess to marry the king of the Wusun, all in an effort to create a split between the Xiongnu and the states to the west which had up to this time aided and supported them" (Burton Watson, trans., *Records of the Grand Historian of China*, 2:185).

初，漢使至安息，安息王令將二萬騎迎於東界[185]。東界去王都數千里。行比至，過數十城，人民相屬甚多。[186]漢使還，而後發使隨漢使來觀漢廣大，以大鳥卵及黎軒善眩人獻于漢。[187]及宛西小國驩潛[188]、大益[189]，宛東姑師、扜罙、蘇薤[190]之屬，皆隨漢使獻見天子，天子大悅。

Previously, when the Han envoys had come to Anxi, the king of Anxi ordered a general to take a force of 20,000 cavalry to greet them at the eastern border[185]. The eastern border is several thousand *li* from the king's capital. When in the course of a journey one is about to approach [the capital] one passes through towns which can be numbered in the tens in an area where densely populated settlements are uninterrupted.[186] When the Han envoys returned, [the king] took the occasion to send out [his own] envoys to come to Han in the company of the Han envoys so as to observe Han territory. They took large birds' eggs and conjurors from Lixuan as a present for the Han [emperor].[187] And the small states to the west of [Da]yuan, namely Huanqian [188] and Dayi[189], and those to the east of [Da]yuan, namely, Gushi, Wumi, Suxie[190], and others, followed the Han envoys with tribute and had audience with the Son of Heaven, who was highly pleased.

[185] The eastern border of Anxi was located east of present-day Merv.

[186] The mission of Zhang Qian's deputy envoy must have been the first one to Anxi from the Western Han. The text records the situation when the Han envoy first arrived at Anxi. Zhang Qian's mission to Wusun occurred early in the Yuanding reign period (116 BCE), and this deputy envoy must have reached Anxi in the first or second year of the Yuandiang reign period (116 or 115 BCE). At the time, Mithridates II's (r. 124/123 - 87 BCE) fight against the Sakās was close to victory and his army was gathered on the eastern border, a convenient occasion to greet the Han envoy with a force of 20,000 cavalry.

[187] "When the Han envoys returned, [the king] took the occasion to send out [his own] envoys

to come to Han in company with the Han envoys so as to observe Han territory. They took large birds' eggs and conjurors from Lixuan as a present for the Han [emperor]" (漢使還, 而後發使隨漢使來觀漢廣大, 以大鳥卵及黎軒善眩人獻于漢): This text was altered inappropriately in the "Zhang Qian, Li Guangli zhuan" of *Hanshu* (ch. 61), and changed as follows: "In these circumstances Dayuan and other states sent envoys to follow after the Han envoys. They came to court and observed the extent of Han, and submitted a present of large birds' eggs and conjurors from Likan. The Son of Heaven was highly pleased." 大宛諸國發使隨漢使來, 觀漢廣大, 以大鳥卵及犛軒眩人獻於漢, 天子大說. (Hulsewé and Loewe, *China in Central Asia*, p. 224.) If we did not know that the large birds' eggs and conjurors were the presents offered by the Anxi envoy, we would not be in a position to know that Anxi was included among "Dayuan and other states". The large birds' eggs were originally products of Tiaozhi 條枝.

[188] Huanqian 驩潛 was an oasis state located in the lower valley of the Amu Darya. Huanqian [xuan-dziəm] should be the transcription of "Uvarāzmi" in the Behistun inscription of Darius I (521-486 BCE) of Achaemenian Persia.[64]

[189] Dayi 大益 was a state located probably on the southeastern shore of the Caspian Sea. Dayi [dat-jiek] is generally regarded as the transcription of Dahā in the Behistun inscription of Darius I of Achaemenian Persia.

[190] Suxie 蘇薤 here refers to Kesh, the hub of activities in Sogdiana. Suxie [sa-xat] could be a transcription of Soghd. If so, then "to the east of [Da]yuan" in the text might be wrong, for it should be to the west of Dayuan.[65]

而漢使窮河源，河源出于闐，其山多玉石[191]，采來，天子案古圖書，名河所出山曰崑崙云。[192]

Moreover, a Han envoy penetrated to the source of the [Yellow] River; which arose in Yutian. There is considerable jade stone[191] in the mountains there, and they collected it and came [back to Han]. The Son of Heaven consulted ancient maps and books and named the hills where the [Yellow] River originates the "Kunlun".[192]

[191] This is the earliest text mentioning the jade of Yutian.[66]

[192] The present-day Mount Kunlun. It is at this time that the Southern Mountain of Yutian was first called Mount Kunlun. According to the "Shidi" 釋地 chapter in *Erya* 爾雅, "Among the best

things in the northwest are the *qiulin* 璆琳 [a kind of beautiful jade] or *langgan* 琅玕 [a kind of white carnelian] in the Kunlun Hills 崐崘虚".

是時，上方數巡狩海上，乃悉從外國客，大都多人則過之，散財帛以賞賜，厚具以饒給之，以覽示漢富厚焉。於是大觳抵[193]，出奇戲諸怪物，多聚觀者，行賞賜，酒池肉林，令外國客徧觀各倉庫府藏之積，見漢之廣大，傾駭之。及加其眩者之工，而觳抵奇戲歲增變，甚盛益興，自此始。[194]

At this time the emperor was frequently progressing on tours of inspection or visiting the coast, and from now on he was always accompanied by visitors from the outer states. If there were great towns with a large number of inhabitants, he distributed wealth and silks when he passed through, granting generous bounties and providing ample supplies, so as to show off the wealth and plenty of Han. Wrestling matches[193] [were held], strange performers and many types of wonderful goods were brought out, and many persons assembled to watch. There were bestowals of gifts with wine set out [sufficient to fill a] lake and meats [in plenty like] a forest; and the visitors from the outer states were taken on visits to see the stocks accumulated in the famous granaries and stores, so as to demonstrate the great extent of Han and to overawe them. The acts of the conjurors were put on and each year additions and changes were made in the wrestling matches and the strange performances; their heightened magnificence dates from these times.[194]

[193] "Wrestling matches": The characters are 大觳抵, matches of strength and skill in fighting.

[194] Here Emperor Wu fulfilled two purposes at once: not only showing off to "the visitors from the outer states" the wealth and plenitude of Han, but also letting the "many persons [who] assembled to watch" know that the power and prestige of the Son of Heaven could reach all the area within the Four Seas.

西北外國使，更來更去。宛以西，皆自以遠，尚驕恣晏然，未可詘以禮羈縻[195]而使也。

Envoys from the outer states of the northwest were coming and going one after

the other. [Da]yuan and the states to the west all relied on their remote situation and retained an air of arrogance and calm; they could not be won over by a sense of suitable conduct nor managed by the establishment of ties. [195]

[195] *Shiji suoyin* (ch. 117): "*Ji* 羈, bridle for horses; *mi* 縻, reins for oxen. According to *Han guan yi* 漢官儀, "Horses are bridled (*ji* 羈); oxen are reined (*mi* 縻). Barbarians in the four directions are controlled in the same way that horses and oxen are haltered and reined".

自烏孫以西至安息，以近匈奴，匈奴困月氏也，匈奴使持單于一信[196]，則國國傳送食，不敢留苦；及至漢使，非出幣帛不得食，不市畜不得騎用。所以然者，遠漢，而漢多財物，故必市乃得所欲，然以畏匈奴於漢使焉。[197]

[The area] to the west of Wusun and as far as Anxi is close to the Xiongnu. The Xiongnu earlier had harassed the Yuezhi; consequently when a Xiongnu envoy, carrying a token of credence [196] from the *Chanyu*, was sent abroad, all the states en route would provide a relay service of escorts and food, and would not dare to detain or harm the envoy. But in the case of the Han envoys, if they do not bring out valuables and silk, they do not get any food, and if they do not buy horses, they have no means of traveling on horseback. The reason for this state of affairs is that Han has been regarded as distant. However, Han possesses many valuable goods, and purchasing has consequently been necessary to acquire what is needed; indeed [the other states] were more afraid of the Xiongnu than of the Han envoys.[197]

[196] *Xin* 信: Token of trust or credence, credentials.

[197] Because the states west of Wusun were distant from Han and were controlled by the Xiongnu, the Han envoys naturally were not accorded a courteous reception. For the Han envoys, "purchasing has consequently been necessary to acquire what is needed": this highlights the commercial traditions of these states, which include Wusun, a nomadic state.

宛左右以蒲陶爲酒，富人藏酒至萬餘石，久者數十歲不敗。俗嗜酒，馬嗜苜蓿[198]。漢使取其實來，於是天子始種苜蓿、蒲陶肥饒地。及天馬多，外國使來衆，則離宮別觀旁盡種蒲萄、苜蓿極望。

In [Da]yuan and to its left and right [i.e., east and west] grapes are used to make wine. Rich people store up to 10,000 *shi* 石 or more, and in case when it is kept for a long period it may last for several decades without being spoilt. The general custom is to enjoy wine; and the horses enjoy lucerne.[198] The Han envoys collected their seeds and came back. The Son of Heaven thereupon first planted lucerne and grapes on rich tracts of ground. [The Son of Heaven,] considering that the Heavenly Horses were many and that the envoys who came from the outer states were also numerous, had extensive tracts of grapes and lucerne planted near all the detached palaces and the temporary lodges, as far as the eye could see.

[198] *Muxu* 苜蓿 (lucerne), originally *buksuk, buxsux,* or *buxsuk* in Iranian.[67]

自大宛以西至安息[199]，國雖頗異言，然大同俗，相知言。其人皆深眼，多鬚，善市賈，爭分銖。[200]俗貴女子，女子所言而丈夫乃決正。其地皆無絲漆，不知鑄錢器。[201]及漢使亡卒降，教鑄作他兵器。得漢黃白金，輒以爲器，不用爲幣。

To the west of the state of the Dayuan and as far as the state of Anxi[199] there are many different languages spoken, but they are in general the same and people understand each other clearly. The inhabitants of the area all have deep-set eyes, and many wear moustaches and beards. They are expert traders, haggling over fractions of a *zhu* [a unit of weight].[200] They hold the women in honor, and what the women say the men act upon. Their land has [no] silk or lac trees, and [the people] do not know how to cast coins and utensils.[201] When conscripts who had deserted from the Han missions surrendered, they taught [the inhabitants] how to cast and manufacture weapons and utensils other than [those which they had]. Whenever they acquire Han gold or silver they make utensils with [the metal] and do not use it as currency.

[199] This is what Zhang Qian reported to Emperor Wu after his first mission to the west, with an emphasis on the area west of Congling (the Pamirs), specifically west of Dayuan. This is why he used Dayuan as a standard when discussing the languages and peoples of this area. In his first mission, the states which he had reached personally or heard tell of were ten in number: Dayuan,

Da Yuezhi, Daxia, Kangju, Wusun, Yancai, Anxi, Tiaozhi, Lixuan, and Shendu. Of them, with the exception of Wusun which lay "northeast of Dayuan", all were west of Dayuan: "The Da Yuezhi are … west of Dayuan"; "Daxia is … southwest of Dayuan"; "Kangju is … northwest of Dayuan"; "Yancai is … northwest of Kangju"; "Anxi is … west of the Da Yuezhi"; "Tiaozhi is … west of Anxi"; "Shendu lies … to the southeast of Daxia"; and, Lixuan is "north of Anxi". Lixuan can, in fact, also be described as being west of Anxi. The text above specifies the ethnicity and languages of eight states: Da Yuezhi, Daxia, Kangju, Yancai, Anxi, Tiaozhi, Lixuan, and Shendu. Of them, Zhang Qian had personally reached three states: Da Yuezhi, Daxia, and Kangju; Zhang Qian's report about them should be particularly reliable. Among the states that Zhang Qian had heard tell of, the ethnic identity and languages of Anxi, Tiaozhi, Lixuan, and Shendu are clear. From this, we can at least infer that the people of Da Yuezhi, Daxia, Kangju, and Yancai were Europoid, and their languages were Indo-European, although they may not necessarily belong to the same branch. The text states, "The Yuezhi had dwelt between Dunhuang and the Qilian, but when they were beaten by the Xiongnu, the Yuezhi thereupon went far away, passing Dayuan and proceeding west to attack and subjugate Daxia. The capital was established north of the Gui River to house the king's court". As demonstrated above, Dunhuang and Qilian refer to the present-day Tianshan and Qilian Mountains. That is to say, should our inference concerning the ethnic and linguistic identity of the Da Yuezhi be correct, the area between the Hexi region and Dzungharia was under the direct control of mainly Indo-European nomadic tribes in 177/176 BCE.

[200] This indicates that the states west of Congling stressed commerce as early as Zhang Qian's first mission to the west.

[201] "*Zhu qianqi*" 鑄錢器 should be emended to "*zhu tieqi*" 鑄鐵器 after the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu*. Other scholars believe that the text here should be followed; *qian qi* 錢器 here means both coins and utensils, which can be corroborated by the statement about Jibin 罽賓 in the "Xiyu zhuan" in *Hanshu*: "There is gold, silver, copper, and tin with which they make utensils, and they have markets with stalls. They use gold and silver to make coins." 有金銀銅錫, 以爲器, 市列 . 以金銀爲錢.[68] If this were true, it would contradict the following text: "When they obtained gold and silver from Han, they made them into utensils and vessels rather than money and coins". Thus, *qian qi* 錢器 is most likely an error for *tie qi* 鐵器. Since metallurgy was invented by the Chinese and gradually spread westward, it is likely that the states west of Congling did not know how to cast iron at this time.[69]

而漢使者往既多，其少從[202]率多進熟[203]於天子，言曰：“宛有善馬在貳師城[204]，匿不肯與漢使。”天子既好宛馬，聞之甘心，使壯士車令等持千金及金馬以請宛王貳師城善馬。宛國饒漢物，相與謀曰：“漢去我遠，而鹽水[205]中數敗，出其北有胡寇，出其南乏水草。又且往往而絕邑[206]，乏食者多。漢使數百人爲輩來，而常乏食，死者過半，是安能致大軍乎？無柰我何。且貳師馬[207]，宛寶馬也。”遂不肯予漢使。漢使怒，妄言，椎金馬而去。宛貴人怒曰：“漢使至輕我！”遣漢使去，令其東邊郁成[208]遮攻殺漢使，取其財物。[209]

Once a large number of Han envoys had made the journey, junior members[202] of the missions were generally introduced to the Son of Heaven and became familiar with him.[203] They said: “[Da]yuan has fine horses which are kept in the town of Ershi[204] and the inhabitants are unwilling to give them to Han envoys.” As the Son of Heaven already had a fondness for the horses of [Da]yuan, he heard this news with pleasure, and he sent a party of men of valor, including Che Ling, to take a thousand pieces of gold and a golden horse with which to request [in exchange] the fine horses of Ershi from the king of [Da]yuan. The state of [Da]yuan had a rich supply of Han goods, and [the leaders] took counsel together as follows: “Han is a long distance away from us, and fatal accidents have occurred frequently in the Salt Water[205]. If travellers evade it to the north, they will be subject to raids by the Hu brigands; if they do so to the south, they will be short of water and pastures; in addition they will everywhere be cut off from human settlement[206], and those who lack food will be many. Han sends out several hundred men to form an embassy to come here; they are always short of food, and deaths account for over half of them. In these circumstances, how can Han send a large army here? What harm can they do to us? Moreover, the horses of Ershi[207] are [Da]yuan’s treasured horses.” So they refused to give [the horses] to the Han envoys who spoke in anger and without restraint, and went away after smashing the golden horse. The noblemen of [Da]yuan were furious and said: “The Han envoys have belittled us extremely.” They sent the Han envoys off and ordered [the king of] Yucheng[208], on their eastern side, to block the way, to attack and kill the Han envoys, and to seize their wealth and goods.[209]

[202] “Junior members” 少從: According to the Yan Commentary on the “Zhang Qian, Li

Guangli zhuan" of *Hanshu*, "In Han times the assistants to the envoys to the outer states were called *shao cong* 少從, meaning generally that they were young and assisted the envoys".

[203] *Jinshu* 進熟: Another interpretation is "to be presented [to the emperor] and to become familiar with [him]" 言進見孰習也.[70]

[204] The town of Ershi 貳師: One of the towns in Dayuan, located in present-day Ura-tübe, famous for its horses—the Nesaean horses.

[205] The Salt Water 鹽水: *Shiji zhengyi* quotes Kong Wenxiang 孔文祥: "It is the Salt Marsh 鹽澤 (Lop Nor)". In the parallel passage in *Hanshu*, "westward … to the Salt Water" 西至鹽水 was changed to "westward … to the Salt Marsh" 西至鹽澤. Some scholars believe that the Salt Water corresponds approximately to the present-day Kuruk River west of Yingpan 營盤 and the Konche Darya east of Yingpan.[71] In my opinion, " 鹽水中數敗 " could not mean, it seems, that Han was defeated in the Salt Marsh, but rather that the attempts of Han's envoys to reach the west via the Salt Water (the valleys of the Kuruk River and the Konche Darya) had failed repeatedly, if we consider the statement in conjunction with the previous sentence, viz., "Han is a long distance away from us". To sum up, it is contextually more appropriate to understand the "Salt Water" to be the Kuruk River and the Konche Darya.

[206] "Cut off from human settlement" 絕邑: According to the Yan Commentary on the "Zhang Qian, Li Guangli zhuan" in *Hanshu,* "It means that in the vicinity of the roads there are no human settlements".

[207] Horses of Ershi 貳師馬 (Nesaean horses): A breed of fine horses in ancient times. They are first mentioned in the *History* of Herodotus: "Now these horses are called Nisaean, because they come from the Nisaean plain, a vast flat in Media, producing horses of unusual size" (VII, 40).[72] Based on Western historical records, there were a number of places called Nisa or Nisaya, which produced fine horses, mostly on both banks of the Amu Darya, from southwest of Media through Khorasan to Ferghāna. Thus it can be seen that the town of Ershi was also one place which produced the Nesean horses.[73]

[208] Yucheng 郁成 was one of the vassal towns of Dayuan, located in present-day Ush (although it could also be Uzgent). Yucheng 郁成 [iuək-zjieng] is possibly a transcription of Gasiani.

[209] It does not seem that Dayuan killed Che Ling 車令 simply to rob him of his belongings. According to Emperor Wu's edict recorded in the "Zhang Qian, Li Guangli zhuan" in *Hanshu*, "Weixu 危須 and [the states to the] west as far as Dayuan made a compact, killing Che Ling, Guard of the Gate, Chao 朝, Leader of the Gentlemen of the Palace, as well as the envoys of the state of Shendu, and severing the route that leads from east to west" (Hulsewé and Loewe, *China in Central Asia*, p.

235). From this, it can be seen that the aim of Dayuan was to block the route from the Western Han to the west, very possibly under the instigation of the Xiongnu. Since Emperor Wu was determined to deal with the Western Regions, he had allied with the state of Wusun through marriage after the battles of Loulan and Gushi; thus Dayuan was naturally next in turn.

於是天子大怒。[210] 諸嘗使宛姚定漢等言“宛兵弱，誠以漢兵不過三千人，彊弩射之，卽盡虜破宛矣”。天子已嘗使浞野侯攻樓蘭，以七百騎先至，虜其王，以定漢等言爲然，而欲侯寵姬李氏，拜李廣利爲貳師將軍，發屬國六千騎，及郡國惡少年 [211] 數萬人，以往伐宛。期至貳師城取善馬，故號“貳師將軍”。趙始成爲軍正，故浩侯王恢[212]使導軍，而李哆爲校尉，制軍事。[213]是歲太初元年也。[214]而關東蝗大起，蜚西至敦煌。[215]

Upon hearing this the Son of Heaven was furious.[210] Of those who had previously been sent on missions to [Da]yuan, Yao Dinghan 姚定漢 and others said: “The troops of [Da]yuan are weak. If they were to be exposed to the shooting of no more than 3,000 [Han] heavy bowmen, [Da]yuan would be defeated completely.” The Son of Heaven had previously sent the Marquis of Zhuoye 浞野 to attack Loulan; he had reached the town first with 700 cavalry and captured its king. For this reason [the Son of Heaven] believed [Yao] Dinghan and his colleagues and, wishing to bestow noble rank on the family of his favourite concubine Li 李, he appointed Li Guangli 李廣利 to be a general [with orders] to call out a force of 6,000 cavalry from the dependent states and some tens of thousands of ill-disciplined young men[211] from the prefectures and kingdoms, and to set out on his way to attack [Da]yuan. As it was intended that he should reach the town of Ershi 貳師 and take possession of its fine horses, he was given the title of “the Ershi General”. Zhao Shicheng 趙始成 was appointed the Army Controller. Wang Hui 王恢, who had previously been Marquis of Hao 皓, [212] was sent to guide the army. Li Chi 李哆 was appointed the Colonel to control military affairs. [213] This happened in the first year of the Taichu 太初 reign-period. [214] Then great swarms of locusts arose to the east of the [Tong 潼] Barrier and traveled west as far as Dunhuang 敦煌. [215]

[210] Han’s attack on Dayuan came about because Emperor Wu “had a fondness for the horses

of [Da]yuan". The Han envoys requested the horses, but failed to obtain them, and were killed; this was the incident that led to the war. As is recorded in the "Su Wu zhuan" 蘇武傳 of *Hanshu*, "The Southern Yue 越 had killed Han envoys, so it was conquered and returned into the nine prefectures. The king of [Da]yuan had killed Han envoys, so his head was hung on the Northern Palace Gate. Chaoxian 朝鮮 had killed Han envoys, so soon met with destruction". Obviously, Emperor Wu took it to be a most blatant insult; he was unable to tolerate it even for one moment.

[211] "Ill-disciplined young men" 惡少年: According to the Yan Commentary on the "Zhang Qian, Li Guangli zhuan" in *Hanshu*, they "lack moral interity and a sense of righteousness".

[212] "Wang Hui, who had previously been Marquis of Hao": According to the "Jianyuan yilai houzhe nianbiao" in *Shiji*, "In the fourth month of the fourth year [of the Yuanfeng reign-period] (107 BCE), Marquis Wang Hui, acting as the commissioner to Jiuquan, committed the offense of forging the emperor's edict, which caused harm. He was deemed worthy of death by beheading, but he redeemed himself from punishment by degradation to commoner's status, with his title stripped. His marquisate lasted for [only] three months".

[213] For "Zhao Shicheng 趙始成 was appointed the Army Controller. Wang Hui, who had previously been Marquis of Hao 皓, was sent to guide the army. Li Chi 李哆 was appointed the Colonel to control military affairs", the "Zhang Qian, Li Guangli zhuan" of *Hanshu* reads, "Wang Hui, who had previously been Marquis of Hao, was sent to guide the army" (Hulsewé and Loewe, *China in Central Asia*, p. 228).

[214] General Ershi 貳師將軍 set out in the autumn of the first year of Taichu reign-period (104 BCE).[74]

[215] The "Feng shan shu" 封禪書 of *Shiji* states: "This year the armies marched west to attack Dayuan. Swarms of locusts appeared. Ding Furen 丁夫人, Yu Chu 虞初 of Luoyang, and others used their magical arts and sacrifices to put a curse on the leaders of the Xiongnu and Dayuan". (Watson, trans., *Records of the Grand Historian of China*, 2: 67.) Dunhuang here refers to Dunhuang Prefecture, established in the sixth year of the Yuanding reign-period (111 BCE), one of the four prefectures in the Hexi 河西 region (Gansu Corridor).

貳師將軍既西過鹽水，[216]當道小國恐，各堅城守，不肯給食。攻之不能下。下者得食，不下者數日則去。[217]比至郁成，士至者不過數千，皆飢罷。攻郁成，郁成大破之，所殺傷甚衆。貳師將軍與哆、始成等計："至郁成尚不能舉，況至其王都乎？"引兵而還。往來二歲。還至敦煌，士不過什一二。[218]使使上書言：

“道遠多乏食，且士卒不患戰，患飢。人少，不足以拔宛。願且罷兵，益發而復往。”天子聞之，大怒，而使使遮玉門[219]，曰“軍有敢入者輒斬之！”貳師恐，因留敦煌。[220]

When the Ershi General had marched west and passed the Salt Water,[216] the small states that were situated on the route were all alarmed; they strengthened their walls in self-defense, and were not willing to provide supplies. When he attacked he was unable to reduce them; from those that he did reduce he obtained food, and from those that he did not reduce he withdrew after several days.[217] By the time that he drew near to Yucheng, his force amounted to several thousand troops, all starving and worn out. He attacked [the town of] Yucheng, but Yucheng utterly routed them, and a large number of them were killed or wounded. The Ershi General consulted with [Li] Chi and [Zhao] Shicheng: “Since we could not take the place when we reached Yucheng, our failure would be even more certain were we to reach the royal capital.” He thereupon withdrew with his forces. The journey to Dayuan and back took two years. When the army reached Dunhuang, only one to two tenths of his troops remained.[218] He sent a messenger [to the Emperor] with a written report, saying: “The road is long and there have been many shortages of food; and, while not being afraid of battle, the men are afraid of hunger. As the men are few in number and are insufficient to take [Da]yuan, I would suggest that the force should be temporarily disbanded, and that when reinforcements are called out I should set out again.” The Son of Heaven was furious when he was informed of this. He sent commissioners to have the Yumen 玉門 Barrier[219] closed and to proclaim that any soldier who dared to make his way in would be beheaded. The Ershi General was afraid, and consequently lay encamped at Dunhuang.[220]

[216] “The Ershi General had marched west and passed the Salt Water”: The army commanded by Li Guangli marched westward across the Kuruk River or the Konche Darya.

[217] This shows that the towns of the oasis states were not so vulnerable as to be unable to withstand one assault. The text records the reports of Han envoys: they “tried to outdo each other in describing the dangers of the outer states, saying that they all possessed walled towns, and that as their own forces were weak they were vulnerable to attack”. Their predictions were not completely accurate.

[218] This occurred in the transition from autumn to winter in the second year of the Taichu reign-period (103 BCE).

[219] The "Yumen" 玉門 here refers to the Yumen Barrier 玉門關. The "Zhang Qian, Li Guangli zhuan" of *Hanshu* reads "Yumen Barrier".[75]

[220] One reason why the Ershi General was defeated in his first attack on Dayuan was his underestimation of the enemy. Another reason was the difficulty in obtaining supplies on the way.

其夏，漢亡浞野之兵二萬餘於匈奴。[221]公卿及議者皆願罷擊宛軍，專力攻胡。天子已業誅宛，宛小國而不能下，則大夏之屬輕漢，而宛善馬絕不來，烏孫、侖頭[222]易苦漢使矣，爲外國笑。乃案言伐宛尤不便者鄧光等，赦囚徒材官[223]，益發惡少年及邊騎[224]，歲餘而出敦煌者六萬人，負私從者不與[225]。牛十萬，馬三萬餘匹，驢騾橐它以萬數。多齎糧，兵弩甚設，天下騷動，傳相奉伐宛，凡五十餘校尉。[226]宛王城中無井，皆汲城外流水，於是乃遣水工徙其城下水空以空其城[227]。益發戍甲卒[228]十八萬，酒泉、張掖[229]北置居延、休屠以衛酒泉[230]，而發天下七科適[231]，及載糒給貳師。轉車人徒相連屬至敦煌。而拜習馬者二人爲執驅校尉[232]，備破宛擇取其善馬云。

That summer Han lost over 20,000 men under the command of [the Marquis of] Zhuoye 浞野 to the Xiongnu,[221] and those senior ministers who were consulted all wished to disband the army [that had been sent against] [Da]yuan and to concentrate efforts in an attack on the Hu. The Son of Heaven had already sent out forces to punish [Da]yuan; [he reckoned that] this was a small state, and that if Han were unable to reduce it, places such as Daxia would gradually come to despise Han; the [supply of] fine horses of [Da]yuan would be cut off and would not reach Han; Wusun and Luntou 侖頭[222] would easily harass Han envoys; and he would become a laughing stock among the outer states. He then brought up a case against Deng Guang 鄧光 and those others who had declared that an expedition against [Da]yuan would be most impractical. Granting an amnesty to incarcerated convicts and [levying] skilled soldiers,[223] he called out a further force of ill-disciplined young men and cavalry from the border[224]. After about a year, 60,000 men set out from Dunhuang 敦煌, exclusive of followers carrying personal [goods][225]. There were 100,000 head of cattle, more than 30,000 horses and asses, and camels by the tens of thousands. Food was sent out in even larger quantities,

and weapons and cross-bows were in full supply. The whole world was in turmoil; all-in-all there were over fifty colonels serving in the army in succession in the campaign against [Da]yuan.[226] Inside the town of the king of [Da]yuan there were no wells, and [the inhabitants] drew [what they needed] from water that flowed outside the walls. So he dispatched water workers to divert the course of the river that lay at the foot of the walls, in order to deprive the town of water.[227] In addition he called out a force of 180,000 conscripts engaged on garrison [and agricultural] duties, [228] and Juyan 居延 and Xiutu 休屠 were founded to the north of Jiuquan 酒泉 and Zhangye 張掖 [229] [Prefectures] in order to protect Jiuquan[230]. The seven classes of reprobated persons[231] were called out to load stores to supply transport for the Ershi [General], and there was a continuous stream of [free] men and convicts as far as Dunhuang. And two persons who were horse trainers were appointed colonels for the management and training [of horses] [232] to prepare for the selection of fine horses when [Da]yuan would be conquered.

[221] This event occurred in the summer of the second year of the Taichu 太初 reign-period (103 BCE); see the "Xiongnu liezhuan" 匈奴列傳 in *Shiji*.

[222] Luntou 侖頭 : Its site is probably located near present-day Köyükĉin.[76] It may also be in the vicinity of Bhghr (Bügür).[77] For "Luntou" 侖頭 [liuən-do], the "Zhang Qian, Li Guangli zhuan" of *Hanshu* reads "Luntai" 輪臺 [liuən-də]. Luntou, Luntai, as well as Loulan, should be variations in the transcription of the same name.

[223] " 赦囚徒材官 " ("Granting an amnesty to incarcerated convicts and [levying] skilled soldiers"): "Caiguan" 材官, foot soldiers. The "Zhang Qian, Li Guangli zhuan" in *Hanshu* reads, "granting an amnesty to incarcerated convicts [so that they could be used to] ward off the raiders 赦囚徒扞寇盜".[78]

[224] "*Bianji*" 邊騎: Cavalry from the border.

[225] "Exclusive of followers carrying personal [goods]": They are not counted as among the 60,000 men who set out from Dunhuang.[79]

[226] The event occurred in the autumn of the third year of the Taichu reign-period (102 BCE).

[227] "So he dispatched water workers to divert the course of the river that lay at the foot of the walls, in order to deprive the town of water": The " 水空 " here refers to the course of the river. The text reading " 徙其城下水空以空其城 " occurs as " 徙其城下水空以穴其城 " in the "Zhang Qian, Li Guangli zhuan" in *Hanshu* (ch. 61). The " 穴 " here is a corruption of " 空 ". "To divert the course of

the river that lay at the foot of the walls" has the same meaning as "cut off and diverted the source of its water" 決其水源, 移之 in the text below.[80]

[228] " 戍甲 ": Some scholars think that " 甲 " is a corruption of " 田 ". The term *shutian zu* " 戍田卒 " appears frequently on the inscribed wooden slips of Han.[81]

[229] The prefecture of Zhangye 張掖 was established in the sixth year of the Yuanding reign-period (111 BCE), and it was one of the four prefectures of the Hexi region.

[230] "Juyan and Xiutu were founded to the north of Jiuquan and Zhangye [Prefectures] in order to protect Jiuquan": The Yan Commentary on the "Zhang Qian, Li Guangli zhuan" in *Hanshu* quotes Ru Chun 如淳 , "Two counties were established to provide protection for the border. Others think that it refers to the establishment of two commandants".[82]

[231] "The seven classes of reprobated persons": *Shiji zhengyi* 史記正義 quotes Zhang Yan 張晏: the term refers to "petty officials who had committed crimes, fugitives, adopted sons-in-law, resident merchants, those formerly registered as merchants, those whose fathers or mothers had been registered as merchants, and those whose grandfathers or grandmothers had been registered as merchants" 吏有罪一，亡命二，贅壻三，賈人四，故有市籍五，父母有市籍六，大父母有籍七 (Watson, trans., *Records of the Grand Historian of China*, 2:284).

[232] "And two persons who were horse trainers were appointed colonels for the management and training [of horses]" 拜習馬者二人爲執驅校尉: According to the Yan ommentary on the "Zhang Qian, Li Guangli zhuan" in *Hanshu*, "'*Xi* 習 ' is the same as '*bian* 便 ' (meaning "familiar with"). One was *Zhima xiaowei* 執馬校尉 ; the other, *Quma xiaowei* 驅馬校尉 ".

於是貳師後復行，兵多，而所至小國莫不迎，出食給軍。至侖頭，侖頭不下，攻數日，屠之。自此而西，平行至宛城[233]，漢兵到者三萬人。宛兵迎擊漢兵，漢兵射敗之，宛走入葆乘其城。貳師兵欲行攻郁成，恐留行而令宛益生詐，乃先至宛，決其水源，移之，則宛固已憂困。圍其城，攻之四十餘日，其外城壞，虜宛貴人勇將煎靡。

So, when the Ershi [General] subsequently again set out on the march, his forces were numerous, and none of the small states which he reached failed to meet him and bring out supplies for the army. When he reached Luntou, it did not surrender and after several days' attack he butchered [its inhabitants]. The area from here westward was now pacified, and when the expedition reached the town of [Da]yuan[233], the force that

arrived there was 30,000 strong. The troops of [Da]yuan met and attacked the Han forces, who defeated them thanks to their archery, and the forces of [Da]yuan fled to seek protection and mounted the city walls. The Ershi [General] wished to attack the town of Yucheng, but he was afraid that if he delayed his advance he would allow [Da]yuan to resort to more deception. He then marched first to [Da]yuan, and cut off and diverted the source of its water. As a result [Da]yuan was in serious difficulties. Besieging the town, he attacked it for over forty days. The outer fortifications had been destroyed and Jianmi 煎靡, a general of valor who was a nobleman of [Da]yuan, was taken prisoner.

[233] "The town of Dayuan": Here it refers to the capital of Dayuan, not the town of Ershi. The latter was west of the former.

宛大恐，走入中城。宛貴人相與謀曰："漢所爲攻宛，以王毋寡匿善馬而殺漢使。今殺王毋寡而出善馬，漢兵宜解；即不解，乃力戰而死，未晚也。"宛貴人皆以爲然，共殺其王毋寡，持其頭遣貴人使貳師，約曰："漢毋攻我。我盡出善馬，恣所取，而給漢軍食。即不聽，我盡殺善馬，而康居之救且至。至，我居內，康居居外，與漢軍戰。漢軍熟計之，何從？"是時康居候視漢兵，漢兵尚盛，不敢進。貳師與趙始成、李哆等計："聞宛城中新得秦人[234]，知穿井，而其內食尚多。所爲來，誅首惡者毋寡。毋寡頭已至，如此而不許解兵，則堅守，而康居候漢罷而來救宛，破漢軍必矣。"軍吏皆以爲然，許宛之約。宛乃出其善馬，令漢自擇之，而多出食食給漢軍。漢軍取其善馬數十匹，中馬以下牡牝三千餘匹，而立宛貴人之故待遇漢使善者名昧蔡以爲宛王，與盟而罷兵。[235]終不得入中城。乃罷而引歸。

In [Da]yuan men panicked and fled into the inner fortifications; and taking counsel with each other the noblemen of [Da]yuan said: "The reason why Han has attacked [Da]yuan is because King Wugua 毋寡 concealed the fine horses and killed Han envoys. If we now kill King Wugua and bring out the fine horses, the Han troops will lift the siege; and if they do not, it will not be too late to fight out the issue in a battle to the death." The noblemen of [Da]yuan all agreed to this, and together killed King Wugua. They then took his head, and sent a nobleman to offer an agreement to the Ershi [General]

in the following terms: "If Han will not attack us, we will bring out all the fine horses; Han may choose what it likes, and we will supply the Han army with provisions. If Han does not listen to us, we will kill all the fine horses. Moreover, relief from Kangju 康居 is about to arrive; and when it does reach us, we will engage the Han army, ourselves from inside and Kangju from outside [the town]. Let the Han army think this over carefully. What course of action will you follow?" At this time Kangju kept watch over the Han troops, and, the latter being in high fettle, did not dare to advance. The Ershi General consulted with Zhao Shicheng and Li Chi. They heard that inside the town the population had recently acquired men of Qin 秦 [234] who knew how to dig wells, and that there was still plenty of food in the town. He reckoned that the principal malefactor whom he had come to punish was Wugua, whose head had already reached him. If in these circumstances he did not agree to raise the siege, the town would defend itself obstinately; Kangju would wait for the Han troops to weaken and would then come to the relief [of the town], and the defeat of the Han army would be certain. The officers of the army all concurred with this view and gave their consent to the agreement with [Da]yuan. [Da]yuan thereupon brought out its fine horses, letting the Han [officers] take their pick, and providing an ample supply of food to feed the Han army. The Han army selected some of the best horses, numbered by the tens, and over 3,000 stallions and mares of the medium grades and below; and they established as king of [Da]yuan one of the [Da]yuan noblemen who had treated the Han [envoys] excellently in the past, by the name of Meicai 眛蔡. They made a solemn treaty with him and disbanded their troops.[235] In the end they were unable to make their way inside the inner fortifications; so, disbanding their forces, they returned.

[234] "Men of Qin" 秦人: The "Zhang Qian, Li Guangli zhuan" of *Hanshu* reads "men of Han" 漢人 . It is generally believed to be the term which the people in the Western Regions used to refer to the men of the Central Plains, taking the name from the Qin dynasty that preceded the Han.

[235] The event occurred in the third year of the Taichu reign-period. Prior to this, Li Guangli had sent a general to breach Yucheng and pursue and kill its king.

初，貳師起敦煌西，以爲人多，道上國不能食，乃分爲數軍，從南北道 [236] 。校尉王申生、故鴻臚壺充國等千餘人，别到郁成。郁成城守，不肯給食其軍。王

申生去大軍二百里，偵而輕之，責郁成。郁成食不肯出，窺知申生軍日少，晨用三千人攻，戮殺申生等，軍破，數人脫亡，走貳師。貳師令搜粟都尉上官桀往攻破郁成。郁成王亡走康居，桀追至康居。康居聞漢已破宛，乃出郁成王予桀，桀令四騎士縛守詣大將軍[237]。四人相謂曰："郁成王漢國所毒，今生將去，卒失大事。"欲殺，莫敢先擊。上邽[238]騎士趙弟最少，拔劍擊之，斬郁成王，齎頭。弟、桀等逐及大將軍。

When the Ershi [General] had initially set out from west of Dunhuang, owing to the large number of his men, the states along the route were unable to supply food; he had divided his forces into several units, who were to make their way by the Southern and Northern Routes[236]. Colonel Wang Shensheng 王申生 and Hu Chongguo 壺充國, former Superintendent of State Visits, reached the town of Yucheng 郁成 separately with over 1,000 men. The town of Yucheng defended itself and was unwilling to provide food to their army. Wang Shensheng lay a distance of 200 *li* from the main army. He relied [on this] and, underestimating [the enemy], had upbraided the people of Yucheng. Yucheng persisted in refusing the issue of provisions and, observing that [Wang] Shensheng's army was becoming reduced in numbers day by day, attacked it at dawn with 3,000 men, killing [Wang] Shensheng and others. Some of the men escaped and fled to the Ershi [General], who ordered Shangguan Jie 上官桀, Commandant for the Collection of Grain, to set out on the offensive and defeat Yucheng. At the surrender of the town, the king of Yucheng fled to Kangju, and [Shangguan] Jie pursued him there. When Kangju heard that Han had defeated [Da]yuan, they brought out the king of Yucheng and made him over to [Shangguan] Jie, who ordered four cavalrymen to put him in bonds and take him under guard to the supreme general[237]. The four men said to one another: "The king of Yucheng has been an object of Han's hatred, and the king is now being taken there alive; if he makes a get-away it will be a serious matter." They wished to kill him, but none of them dared to strike the first blow. [Then] a cavalryman of Shanggui 上邽 [Prefecture] [238] Zhao Di 趙弟, the youngest among them, drew his sword and beheaded the king of Yucheng. With the king's head, [Zhao] Di, [Shangguan] Jie and his colleagues then caught up with the Supreme General.

[236] "The Southern and Northern Routes" 南北道: The Northern Route taken by Li Guangli in

his expedition against Dayuan wound its way to the west from the Yumen or the Yang Barrier, passing, via the White Dragon Mounds 白龍堆, the area of what is now the ruined site of Loulan northwest of the Lop Nor, and stretching further west along the Konche Darya. The Northern Route had existed during the reign of Emperor Wu and was Han's main route to the Western Regions, especially to the various states on the route. It does not refer only to the route taken by Li Guangli in his expedition against Dayuan. The Western Han had established an officer to set up agricultural colonies in order to keep this route free from obstruction.

[237] "The supreme general" 大將軍 refers to Li Guangli. *Shiji jijie* quotes Ru Chun 如淳: "There were many generals then; so Ershi was called the supreme general."

[238] Shanggui 上邽 was a county in Longxi 隴西 Prefecture; its seat of government was in present-day Tianshui 天水, Gansu Province.

初，貳師後行，天子使使告烏孫，大發兵幷力擊宛。烏孫發二千騎往，持兩端[239]，不肯前。貳師將軍之東，諸所過小國聞宛破，皆使其子弟從軍入獻，見天子，因以爲質焉。[240]貳師之伐宛也，而軍正趙始成力戰，功最多；及上官桀敢深入，李哆爲謀計，軍入玉門者萬餘人，軍馬千餘匹。貳師後行，軍非乏食，戰死不能多，而將吏貪，多不愛士卒，侵牟之，以此物故衆。天子爲萬里而伐宛，不錄過。[241]封廣利爲海西[242]侯。又封身斬郁成王者騎士趙弟爲新畤[243]侯。軍正趙始成爲光祿大夫，上官桀爲少府，李哆爲上黨太守。[244]軍官吏爲九卿者三人，諸侯相、郡守、二千石者百餘人，千石以下千餘人。奮行者官過其望，以適過行者皆絀其勞。[245]士卒賜直四萬金。伐宛再反，凡四歲而得罷焉。[246]

When the Ershi [General] had set out on his later journey, the Son of Heaven sent messengers to notify Wusun that it should call out large forces for a joint attack on [Da]yuan. Wusun dispatched 2,000 cavalry to go there, but refused to commit itself,[239] and would not advance. When the Ershi General marched east, all the small states which he traversed had heard of the defeat of [Da]yuan. They sent their [king's] sons or younger brothers to follow the army in order to present tribute, and they were to be received by the Son of Heaven and become hostages.[240] In the campaign under the Ershi General against [Da]yuan, Zhao Shicheng, the Army Controller, fought hard; his achievements were the most numerous, while Shangguan Jie dared to penetrate deeply [into the enemy], and Li Chi made plans and stratagems. When the army returned, those who

entered Yumen Barrier numbered over ten thousand men, with more than 1,000 army horses. On the later expedition of the Ershi General there was no shortage of supplies, and those who fell in battle were not very many. But the generals and officers were avaricious; they gave no thought for the conscripts, and oppressed or robbed them, and for this reason deaths were numerous. In view of the long distance over which the campaign had been fought, the Son of Heaven took no notice of their faults[241] and created Li Guangli Marquis of Haixi 海西[242]. Further, he gave the title of Marquis of Xinshi 新時 to Zhao Di[243], the horseman who had beheaded the king of Yucheng; the Army Controller Zhao Shicheng was honored by being created a Counsellor of the Palace; Shangguan Jie was made a Superintendent of the Lesser Treasury; and, Li Chi was appointed Administrator of Shangdang 上黨 [Prefecture].[244] Of the officials of the army, three men obtained positions among the nine ministers of state; over a hundred became stewards of nobles, administrators or officials of prime rank; and over a thousand were appointed to be officials of the lower ranks. Those who went on the campaign [to satisfy their own] enthusiasm [were given] offices which exceeded their hopes; those who went as reprobates had their misdemeanours expunged in place of a hardship allowance.[245] Rewards to the value of 40,000 [units of gold] were bestowed on soldiers and conscripts. The two campaigns against [Da]yuan lasted altogether four years for the outward and return journeys before the forces could be disbanded.[246]

[239] "Refused to commit itself, and would not advance" 持兩端, 不肯前: The marriage between the Han princess and the *Kunmo* of Wusun does not mean that the alliance against the Xiongnu, desired by Emperor Wu, had actually been secured. The target of Han's campaign was only Dayuan, and the Wusun behaved in a way which indicated all the more clearly what their behavior would have been if Han had attacked the Xiongnu. It is probable that after the third or fourth year of the Yuanfeng reign-period (108 or 107 BCE), the Wusun were unwilling to alienate either party, Han or the Xiongnu, or, even, Han or the stronger states in the Western Regions. Li Guangli's first attack upon Dayuan failed, but Emperor Wu was unwilling to disband the army that had been sent against Dayuan. One of the reasons, as is spelled out in this memoir, is that Dayuan was a small state, and "if Han was unable to reduce it", "Wusun and Luntou would easily harass Han envoys".

[240] Li Guangli's victory over Dayuan led to the submission of all the outer states to Han.

[241] The "Zhang Qian, Li Guangli zhuan" in *Hanshu* records Emperor Wu's edict: "For a long

time the Xiongnu have constituted a danger [to us]; removed as they are north of the desert, they have entered into plots with their neighboring states, seeking together to intercept the missions from the Da Yuezhi.[83] They impeded and killed Jiang 江, the Leader of the Gentlemen of the Palace, and Rang 攘, formerly Administrator of Yanmen 雁門.[84] Weixu 危須 and [the states to the] west as far as Dayuan made a compact, killing Qimen 期門 (Guard of the Gate), Che Ling 車令, Zhonglangjiang 中郎將 (Leader of the Gentlemen of the Palace), Chao 朝, as well as our envoys to the state of Shendu, and severing the route that leads from east to west. [Li] Guangli, the Ershi General, leading the punitive expedition against the criminals, fought and conquered Dayuan. With the aid of Heaven's spiritual powers, he made his way through the Mountain which is the source of the [Yellow] River [河山], crossed the wastes of the Flowing Sands, and reached the Western Sea. The mountain snows were not piled high, and our officers and men made their way through directly. They took the heads of kings; the precious and strange objects are all arranged in the palace. Let [Li] Guangli be granted the title of the Marquis of Haixi, with a feoff of 8,000 households" (Hulsewé and Loewe, *China in Central Asia*, p. 235; with modifications). "Heshan" 河山 refers to the mountain which is the source of the Yellow River, i.e., Mount Kunlun. "He made his way through the Mountain which is the source of the [Yellow] River, and he crossed the wastes of the Flowing Sands": this statement may indicate the Southern and Northern Routes he had taken in his expedition against Dayuan.

[242] The "Zhang Qian, Li Guangli zhuan" in *Hanshu* states that Li Guangli was granted "a feoff of 8,000 households". According to *Shiji zhengyi* (ch. 49), "Emperor Wu of Han sent Li Guangli on an expedition against Dayuan and, since the state was close to the Western Sea (Xihai 西海), invested him with the title of the Marquis of Haixi 海西". Other scholars believe that Haixi was the name of a county, whose seat is located in what is present-day Yancheng 郯城, Shandong 山東 Province.

[243] Xinshi 新畤 was the name of a feoff in the area of Qi 齊.[85]

[244] "The Army Controller Zhao Shicheng was honored by being created a Counsellor of the Palace; Shangguan Jie was made a superintendent of the lesser treasury; Li Chi was appointed Administrator of Shangdang [Prefecture]": The "Zhang Qian, Li Guangli zhuan" in *Hanshu* reads, "The Army Controller Zhao Shicheng has accomplished the most, so he shall become a Counsellor of the Palace; Shangguan Jie has dared to penetrate the enemy's territory, so he shall become a Superintendent of the Lesser Treasury; Li Chi is good at stratagems, so he shall become the Administrator of Shangdang Prefecture". The seat of the Shangdang Prefecture's government was located southwest of present-day Changzi 長子, Shanxi Province.

[245] "Those who went on the campaign [to satisfy their own] enthusiasm...": *Shiji jijie* quotes

Hanshu yinyi 漢書音義, "*Fen* 奮 means *xun* 迅 (with high speed). It refers to those who volunteered to join the expedition with enthusiasm". It also quotes Xu Guang 徐廣: "Those who volunteered with enthusiasm and those who went as reprobates both rendered meritorious service, but when rewards are distributed, for the reprobates, their previous offenses are taken into consideration, and their rewards are decreased. That is why the degree of their service is lowered. *Chu* 絀 means to lower or to curb. This is because they went as reprobates. Their service is not evaluated as highly, and the degree of their merit lowered; they should not receive the same rewards as those who volunteered with enthusiasm".

[246] From the first year of the Taichu 太初 reign-period (104 BCE) to the fourth year.

漢已伐宛，立昧蔡爲宛王而去。歲餘，宛貴人以爲昧蔡善諛，使我國遇屠，乃相與殺昧蔡，立毋寡昆弟曰蟬封爲宛王，而遣其子入質於漢。漢因使使賂賜以鎮撫之。

After the conquest of [Da]yuan by Han, Meicai 昧蔡 was established as king of [Da]yuan. Over a year later the noblemen of [Da]yuan were taking the view that Meicai had brought about the destruction of their state by his ingratiating behavior; and together they killed Meicai and established Chanfeng 蟬封, younger brother of Wugua, as king. They sent a son to attend [at the Han court] as a hostage, and Han took the occasion to send out envoys with gifts so as to pacify [the area].

而漢發使十餘輩至宛西諸外國，求奇物[247]，因風覽以伐宛之威德。而敦煌置酒泉都尉[248]；西至鹽水，往往有亭。[249]而侖頭有田卒數百人[250]，因置使者[251]護田積粟，以給使外國者。[252]

In addition, Han sent out missions numbered in tens to proceed to the various outer states west of [Da]yuan to seek rare goods[247]; and they were also to take the opportunity to admonish [the states] and impress them with the prestige [shown by Han] in conquering [Da]yuan . A Commandant of Jiuquan[248] was established at Dunhuang 敦煌. Government posts were thereupon erected at frequent intervals in a series running westward from there to the Salt Water,[249] and a complement of several hundred agricultural conscripts was stationed at Luntou.[250] [A colonel for the assistance

of imperial] envoys[251] was established to guard the cultivated land and to store the crops of grain for the Han envoys who were proceeding to the outer states.[252]

[247] "To seek rare goods" 求奇物 was one of the important reasons for Han's management of the Western Regions, namely, "with [the help of] a series of interpreters, those whose customs were strange could be brought to court". "To seek rare goods" was in order to make an exhibition of peace and the visitors from outlandish places, and to have everyone know Han's abundance and power.

[248] "A Commandant of Jiuquan was established at Dunhuang": *Shiji jijie* quotes Xu Guang 徐廣, "Another version reads, 'A commandant was established' 置都尉. It is also pointed out that there is a county named Yuanquan 淵泉 in the Dunhuang [Prefecture], and that *jiu* 酒 should be read as *Yuan* 淵". This interpretation seems plausible.

[249] "Government posts were thereupon erected at frequent intervals in a series running westward from there to the Salt Water": One scholar has noted that "on an ancient road of more than one hundred miles, from northwest of Yingpan along the southern end of the Kuruktag Hill and the northern bank of the Konche Darya, and across the desert northwest of Korla (Kourla) till one reaches the northwest of Kucha, an unbroken series of beacon towers have been discovered".[86] In other words, if the Salt Water is understood as the Konche Darya and the Kuruk River, historical records and archaeological discoveries corroborate one another.

[250] "A complement of several hundred agricultural conscripts was stationed at Luntou": The "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu* reads, "A complement of several hundred agricultural conscripts was stationed at both Luntai 輪臺 and Quli 渠犁". "Luntou" was "Luntai", which was to the west of Quli. Butchered when Li Guangli attacked Dayuan, it was no longer a state henceforth. As a result, it possibly became the area where the Western Han first set up an agricultural colony. The setting up of an agricultural colony at Quli possibly took place after the state paid tribute in the second year of the Tianhan reign-period (99 BCE). This matter does not occur in *Shiji* because it was too late to be recorded by Sima Qian. This is probably the reason why there is a difference between *Hanshu* and *Shiji* regarding this matter. Since *Shiji* records that "over a year later", after Han's expedition against Dayuan, "[a colonel for the assistance of imperial] envoys was established to guard the cultivated land and store the grain crops", the agricultural colony at Luntou was probably set up in the fourth year of the Taichu reign-period (101 BCE) or the first year of the Tianhan reign-period (100 BCE). One of the reasons that Han attacked Dayuan was to preserve "the route that leads from east to west" from blockage. So, after the event, Han established the Colonel [for the assistance of imperial] Envoys and

set up an agricultural colony at Luntou to consolidate the victory. As a result, a line of government posts and defences stretched to Luntou. [87]

[251] For "*shizhe*" 使者 (envoy), the "Xiyu zhuan" in *Hanshu* reads "*Shizhe xiaowei*" 使者校尉 (colonel for the assistance of imperial envoys). Thus, the "*Shizhe*" could be understood as the abbreviated form of "*Shizhe xiaowei*", which is forerunner of the later Protector-General of the Western Regions.[88]

[252] This is the beginning of Han's setting up of agricultural colonies in the Western Regions.

太史公曰：《禹本紀》[253]言："河出崑崙，崑崙其高二千五百餘里，日月所相避隱爲光明也。其上有醴泉、瑶池。"今自張騫使大夏之後也，窮河源，惡睹《本紀》所謂崑崙者乎？[254]故言九州[255]山川，《尚書》[256]近之矣。至《禹本紀》、《山海經》[257]所有怪物，余不敢言之也。

The Grand Historian remarks: In the *Annals of Yu* 禹本紀[253] it is written: "The [Yellow] River rises in Kunlun 崑崙; Kunlun is over 2,500 *li* in height, and it is the place where the sun and the moon take turns to hide and to create the brilliant lights. Its summit contains the spring of sweet wine and the pool of jade." After Zhang Qian's mission to Daxia, men penetrated to the source of the [Yellow] River; can it be that they gazed upon that which is called Kunlun in the *Annals of Yu*?[254] Thus, in describing the rivers and hills of the nine divisions of the world[255], the *Book of Documents* approaches [reality][256]. Regarding the information provided in *Annals of Yu* and *Classic of the Mountains and Seas*[257], I do not dare comment".

[253] *Yu benji* 禹本紀 (*Annals of Yu*), like *Benji* 本紀 mentioned subsequently, has long been lost. The "Hainei xi jing" 海内西經 in *Shanhai jing* 山海經 (*Classic of the Mountains and Seas*) states, "Mount Kunlun within the seas is in the northwest and is the earthly capital of the Supreme God Di 帝. It is eight hundred *li* in circumference and ten thousand *ren* 仞 high". (Richard E. Strassberg, ed. and trans., *A Chinese Bestiary: Strange Creatures from the Guideways through Mountains and Seas* [Berkeley: Universtity of California Press, 2002], pp. 192-193.) Guo Pu's commentary: "[The figures] refer to the circumsference and height of the mountain's foothill. Over 2,500 *li* above are the Spring of Sweet Wine and the Pool of Jade. Mount Kunlun is located more than 2,500 *li* from Mount Songgao 嵩高 [i.e., Mount Songshan 嵩山]. It is the center of the world [i.e., *axis mundi*]. This is

seen in *Annals of Yu* (*Yu benji*)". It seems that Guo Pu was fortunate enough to have read this book.

[254] *Shiji jijie* quotes Deng Zhan 鄧展: "[People of] Han penetrated to the source of the [Yellow] River, but from what can it be concluded that the source is Mount Kunlun? *Shangshu* (*Book of Documents*) states, '[Yu 禹] surveyed the Yellow River from [Mount] Jishi 積石', which is in Heguan 河關 County of Jincheng 金城 Prefecture; it does not say that the source is Mount Kunlun. " *Shiji suoyin* states: "[Sima Qian] records that Zhang Qian penetrated to the source of the Yellow River, reaching Daxia and Yutian. From what did Sima Qian conclude that Mount Kunlun is the source of the Yellow River? He already thought that *Yu benji* and *Shanhai jing* (*Classic of the Mountains and Seas*) are groundless." In my opinion, Sima Qian did not doubt that Mount Kunlun is the source of the Yellow River; he only thought that the descriptions of Mount Kunlun in *Yu benji* do not conform to reality.

[255] "The nine divisions of the world": They are Ji 冀, Yan 兗, Qing 青, Xu 徐, Yang 揚, Jing 荊, Yu 豫, Liang 梁, Yong 雍; for details, see the "Yu gong" 禹貢 section in *Shangshu*.

[256] *Shangshu* 尚書 (*Book of Documents*) here refers to the "Yu gong" 禹貢 section of *Shangshu*.

[257] *Shanhai jing* 山海經 (*Classic of the Mountains and Seas*): A book of ancient geography characterized by imaginative accounts and descriptions of fantastic creatures.

NOTES

1 Yu Taishan, *Liang Han Wei Jin Nanbeichao zhengshi Xiyu zhuan yanjiu* 兩漢魏晉南北朝正史西域傳研究 (Beijing: Zhonghua, 2003), pp. 1-16.

2 For detailed studies on the various issues on Dayuan, see Yu Taishan, *Saizhong shi yanjiu* 塞種史研究 (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 1992), pp. 70-95.

3 Loufan was the name of a nomadic tribe, active around present-day Ningwu 寧武, Shanxi Province.

4 Baiyang was the name of a tribe. The part that was active in the area south of the present-day Hetao 河套 (Henan 河南, south of the [Yellow] River) was referred to as the "king of Baiyang 白羊 to the south of the [Yellow] River".

5 Shang 上 was the name of a prefecture; its seat of government was located southeast of present-day Yulin 榆林, Shanxi 陝西 Province.

6 Dai 代 was the name of a prefecture; its seat of government was located northeast of present-day Weixian 蔚縣, Hebei 河北 Province.

7 Yunzhong 雲中 was the name of a prefecture, its seat of government located northeast of present-

day Togtoh, Inner Mongolia.

8 On the relations between the Xiongnu and the Western Regions, see Yu Taishan, *Sai zhong shi yanjiu,* pp. 272-305.

9 For detailed studies on the Da Yuezhi, see Yu Taishan, *Saizhong shi yanjiu,* pp. 52-69.

10 *The History of Herodotus,* trans. George Rawlinson, ed. Manuel Komroff (New York: Tudor Publishing Company, 1947), p. 223.

11 Cf. Shigematsu Shunsho 重松俊章, "Dokuro inki kō" 髑髏飲器考 (On the drinking cup made of skull), *Kuwabara Hakase kanreki kinen Toyoshi ronsō* 桑原博士還曆記念東洋史論叢 (Kyoto: Kobundo, 1934), pp. 173-189; Shiratori Kiyoshi 白鳥清, "Dokuro no mei ni tsuite" 髑髏の盟に就て (On blood oath sworn by the drinking cup made of skull), *Shigaku zasshi* 史學雜誌 39.7 (1928): 734-735; "Dokuro inki shiyō no fūshū to sono denpa" (zyō, ge) 髑髏飲器使用の風習と其の傳播 (上, 下) (The custom of using skull as drinking cup and its prevalence), *Tōyō gakuhō* 東洋學報 20.3 (1933): 121-145; 20.4 (1933): 139-155; Ma Yong, "A Study on 'Skull-Made Drinking Vessel", *Religious and Lay Symbolism in the Altaic World and Other Papers* (Wiesbaden: 1989), pp. 184-190.

12 Chen Yinque 陳寅恪, "Wu Hu wenti ji qita" 五胡問題及其他, in Jiang Tianshu 蔣天樞, *Chen Yinque xiansheng biannian shiji, Fulu* 陳寅恪先生編年事輯·附錄 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1981), pp. 194-195.

13 For the dates of Zhang Qian's mission to the west and other related issues, see Yu Taishan, "Zhang Qian xishi xinkao" 張騫西使新考 (New studies on Zhang Qian's mission to the west), in *Liang Han Wei Jin Nanbeichao yu Xiyu guanxi shi yanjiu*, pp. 203-213.

14 See Takigawa Shigen (kōshō) 瀧川資言 (考證) and Mizusawa Toshitadakō (kōho) 水澤利忠 (校補), *Shiki kaichū kōshō* (Fu kōho) 史記會注考證 (附校補) [A collection of commentaries and annotations on *Shiji*, with collation notes and addenda] (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1986), p. 1975.

15 For detailed discussions on issues concerning Kangju, see Yu Taishan, *Saizhong shi yanjiu* 塞種史研究, pp. 96-117. 16 For various issues on Daxia, see Yu Taishan, *Sai zhong shiyanjiu*, pp. 24-51.

17 For the Behistun inscription, see R. G. Kent, *Old Persian: Grammar, Text, Lexicon* (New Haven, Conn.: 1982).

18 H. L. Jones, trans., *The Geography of Strabo* (London: 1916).

19 This is a hypothesis put forward by Yu Taishan in *Saizhong shi yanjiu.*

20 For detailed studies of the various distances, see Yu Taishan, *Liang Han Wei Jin Nanbeichao*

zhengshi Xiyu zhuan yanjiu, pp. 135-180.

21 See B. Laufer, *Sino-Iranica, Chinese Contributions to the History of Civilization in Ancient Iran*, Field Museum of Natural History, Publication 201, Anthropological Series 15.3 (Chicago: 1919); Lin Yunyin 林筠因, trans., *Zhongguo Yilang bian* 中國伊朗編 (Beijing: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1964), pp. 43-70.

22 For various issues on Wusun, see Yu Taishan, *Saizhong shi yanjiu,* pp. 131-143.

23 Fujita Toyohachi 藤田豐八, "Saiiki kenkyu: Wumi Dandān-Uiliq" 西域研究—扜彌 Dandān-Uiliq (Studies on the Western Regions: On Wumi [Dandān-Uiliq]), *Tōzai kosyōshi no kenkyu*: *Saiikihen* 東西交涉史の研究: 西域篇 (Historical Studies on East-West Contacts: The Western Regions) (Tokyo: Seibunkan, 1943), pp. 263-273; Nagasawa Kazutoshi 長澤和俊, Kōmikoku kō 拘彌國考 (On the State of Jumi), *Shikan* 史觀 100 (1979): 51-67; Cen Zhongmian 岑仲勉 , *Hanshu Xiyu zhuan dili jiaoshi* 漢書西域傳地里校釋 (Beijing: Zhonghua, 1981), pp. 55-63.

24 E. L. Stevensen, trans. and ed., *Geography of Claudius Ptolemy* (New York: 1932).

25 Yu Taishan, *Saizhong shi yanjiu,* pp. 210-215.

26 E. G. Pulleyblank, "The Consonantal System of Old Chinese", *Asia Major* n.s. 9 (1962): 58-144, esp. 88.

27 A. Stein, *Ancient Khotan, Detailed Report of Archaeological Explorations in Chinese Turkestan* (Oxford: 1907), 1:185-235; Meng Fanren 孟凡人, "Yutian guo ducheng fangwei kao" 于闐國都城方位考, in *Xiyu kaocha yu yanjiu* 西域考察與研究 (Urumqi: Xinjiang renmin chubanshe, 1994), pp. 449-476.

28 Yu Taishan, *Saizhong shi yanjiu,* pp. 210-215.

29 For the location of Loulan, cf. Yu Taishan, *Saizhong shi yanjiu,* pp. 228-241.

30 Cf. Yu Taishan, *Liang Han Wei Jin Nanbeichao zhengshi Xiyu zhuan yanjiu*, pp. 477-485.

31 Yu Taishan, *Saizhong shi yanjiu*, pp. 210-215.

32 Cf. Yu Taishan, *Saizhong shi yanjiu,* pp. 215-217.

33 For issues concerning Yancai, cf. Yu Taishan, *Saizhong shi yanjiu,* pp. 118-130.

34 W. Barthold, *Turkestan, Down to the Mongol Invasion*, ed. C. E. Bosworth, 4th ed. (London: 1977), p. 65.

35 For detailed studies on the various issues concerning Anxi, see Yu Taishan, *Saizhong shi yanjiu,* pp. 174-178.

36 Hujie 呼揭 is located at the southern foot of the Altai Mountain. The theory is put forward by Mori Masao 護雅夫 in "Iwayuru Hoku-Teirei Sei-Teirei ni tsuite" いわゆる北丁零西丁零について

(On the so-called "Northern Dingling" and "Western Dingling"), in *Takigawa Hakase kanreki kinen ronbunshū, Toyoshi hen* 瀧川博士還曆記念論文集, 東洋史篇 (Tokyo: Nagano, 1957), pp. 57-71.

37 For discussions on the date when the Dunhuang Prefecture was established, see Zhou Zhenhe 周振鶴, *Xi Han zhengqu dili* 西漢政區地理 (Geography of administrative divisions in the Western Han) (Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 1987), pp. 157-171.

38 Cf. Yu Taishan, *Saizhong shi yanjiu,* pp. 53-56.

39 Yu Taishan, *Saizhong shi yanjiu,* pp. 53-56.

40 Juyan 居延 was the name of a marsh located in the north of present-day Ejina Banner, Inner Mongolia.

41 For "guo Xiao Yuezhi 過小月氏", the "Huo Qubing zhuan" 霍去病傳 in *Hanshu* reads, "zhen Xiao Yuezhi" 臻小月氏.

42 B. Laufer, *Sino-Iranica/Zhongguo Yilang bian*, pp. 197-199.

43 Cf. Sun Yutang 孫毓棠, "Anxi yu Wuyishanli" 安息與烏弋山離, *Wenshi* 文史 5 (1978): 7-21.

44 For detailed studies on the various issues concerning Tiaozhi, see Yu Taishan, *Saizhong shi yanjiu,* pp. 182-209.

45 For detailed studies on the various issues concerning Lixuan 黎軒, see Yu Taishan, *Saizhong shi yanjiu,* pp. 182-209.

46 B. Laufer, *Sino-Iranica/Zhongguo Yilang bian*, pp. 197-199.

47 N. C. Debevoise, *A Political History of Parthia* (Chicago: 1937), pp. 22-25, 33-35.

48 Cf. Yu Taishan, *Guzu xinkao* 古族新考 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2000), pp. 29-52.

49 Mori Masako 森雅子, "Seiōbo no genzō – Chūguku kodai shinwa ni Okeru Chiboshin no kenkyū" 西王母の原像——中國古代神話における地母神の研究 (The prototype of the Queen Mother of the West – A study on Cybele, the Great Goddess as seen in the ancient Chinese mythology), *Shigaku* 史學 56.3 (1986): 61-93.

50 Here I follow M. É. Specht, "Les Indo-Scythes et l'Époque du Régne de Kanischka", *Journal Asiatique*, Series 9, 10 (1897): 152-193.

51 Wu Qichang 吳其昌, "Yindu shiming" 印度釋名, *Yanjing xuebao* 燕京學報 4 (1928): 716-743; Xu Shiyi 徐時儀, "Yindu de yiming guankui" 印度的譯名管窺, *Hualin* 華林 3 (2004): 61-69.

52 Danava is an alternative name of Jiamoloubo 迦摩縷波 (Kāmarūpa), as recorded in *Da Tang Xiyu ji* 大唐西域記, ch. 10. Cf. Wen Jiang 汶江, "Dianyue kao: Zaoqi Zhong-Yin guanxi de tansuo" 滇越考: 早期中印關係的探索, in Wu Jiachuang 伍加倉, Jiang Yuxiang 江玉祥, eds., *Gudai xinan Sichou zhi lu yanjiu* 古代西南絲綢之路研究 (Chengdu: Sichuan daxue chubanshe, 1990), pp.

61-66.

53 For the passage, " 爲求道西十餘輩。歲餘, 皆閉昆明 ", the "Xinan Yi zhuan" 西南夷傳 in *Hanshu* reads, " 爲求道, 四歲餘, 皆閉昆明 ". In my opinion, " 四 " should be a corruption of " 西 ", and three characters, " 十餘輩 ", are erroneously deleted.

54 Cf. Yu Taishan, "Zhang Qian xishi xinkao" 張騫西使新考, in *Liang Han Wei Jin Nanbeichao yu Xiyu guanxi shi yanjiu*, pp. 14-16.

55 "The *Xihou* 翎侯 Bujiu 布就, who was his guardian [father] …" 傅父布就翎侯: The Yan Commentary on the "Zhang Qian, Li Guangli zhuan" in *Hanshu* quotes Fu Qian 服虔, "Guardian father is the same as guardian mother". It also quotes Li Qi 李奇: "Bujiu is a courtesy name. *Xihou* is an official title in Wusun. He is *Kunmo*'s guardian father". The Yan Commentary reads, "*Xihou* is the title of Wusun's high-ranking officials, and there are a number of them, like Han generals. Bujiu is an alternative name among the *Xihou*, like the general of the left or the general of the right. It is not the courtesy name of the person. 'Xi' 翎 is the same as 'xi' 翕.

56 Fujita Toyohachi, "Getsushi seii no nendai" 月氏西移の年代 (The Date of the western migration of the Yuezhi), *Tōzai kosyōshi no kenkyu*: *Saiikihen*, pp. 344-358.

57 E. G. Pulleyblank, "The Wu-sun and Sakas and the Yüeh-chih Migration", *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies* 33 (1970): 154-160.

58 Cf. Huang Wenbi 黃文弼, "Zhang Qian shi Xiyu luxian kao" 張騫使西域路線考, *Huang Wenbi lishi kaogu lunji* 黃文弼歷史考古論集 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1989), pp. 37-38.

59 According to the "Baiguan gongqing biao" 百官公卿表 in *Hanshu*, "In the second year of the Yuanding reign-period, Zhang Qian, the Zhonglangjiang 中郎將 [Leader of the Gentlemen of the Palace] became Daxingling 大行令 [Superintendent of State Visits]. He died in the third year".

60 Cf. Ma Yong 馬雍 and Wang Binghua 王炳華, "Xiyuan qian qi zhi er shiji de Zhongguo Xinjiang diqu" 西元前七至二世紀的中國新疆地區, *Zhongya xuekan* 中亞學刊 3 (1990): 1-16.

61 I follow Zhou Zhenhe concerning the date when the four prefectures of the Hexi region were set up. See Zhou Zhenhe, *Xi Han zhengqu dili,* pp. 157-170.

62 According to the "Wudi ji" 武帝紀 in *Hanshu*, in the second year of the Yuanfeng reign-period (109 BCE), the emperor "sent General Guo Chang 郭昌 and the Zhonglangjiang [Leader of the Gentlemen of the Palace] Wei Guang to command the troops of Ba and Shu to subdue the Yi in the southwest who had not yet submitted, and established Yizhou Prefecture 益州 in the area".

63 Xu Song 徐松, *Hanshü "Xiyu zhuan" buzhu* 漢書西域傳補注 (A): "At that time, only Dayuan did not have any contacts with Han, whereas Wusun had established peaceful and friendly relationship

with Han through a matrimonial alliance. It is, therefore, not proper to say that he 'stage[d] a display of his military power so as to shock' it. *Hanshu* is more accurate than *Shiji*". In my opinion, Xu's theory is inadequate. Wusun had not yet established peaceful and friendly relationship with Han at that time, and the statement that "he took the opportunity to stage a display of military power so as to shock it" is also acceptable.

64 Yu Taishan, "Zhongguo shiji guanyu Xiwa he Buhala de zaoqi jizai" 中國史籍關於希瓦和布哈拉的早期記載 (Early records on Khiva and Bukhārā in Chinese historiography), *Jiuzhou* 九州 2 (1999): 157-160.

65 See Yu Taishan, *Saizhong shi yanjiu,* pp. 101-104.

66 For the jade of Yutian, see Zhang Hongjian 章鴻釗, *Shi ya, Baoshi shuo* 石雅・寶石說 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1993), pp. 120-125.

67 See B. Laufer, *Sino-Iranica / Zhongguo Yinlang bian*, pp. 31-43.

68 Wang Xianqian 王先謙, *Hanshu buzhu* 漢書補注, quoting Wu Renjie 吳仁傑.

69 A. F. P. Hulsewé and M. A. N. Loewe, *China in Central Asia, the Early Stage: 125 B.C.-A. D. 23* (Leiden: 1979), p.137, n. 348. Wang Ningsheng 汪寧生, "Han Jin Xiyu yu zuguo wenming" 漢晉西域與祖國文明 (The Western Regions in the Han, Jin times and Chinese civilization), in Xinjiang shehui kexueyuan Kaogu yanjiusuo 新疆社會科學院考古研究所, ed., *Xinjiang kaogu sanshi nian* 新疆考古三十年 (Urumqi: Xinjiang renmin chubanshe, 1983), pp. 194-208.

70 Wang Xianqian, *Hanshu buzhu* (ch. 61), quoting Wang Kaiyun 王闓運.

71 See Chen Mengjia 陳夢家, *Hanjian zhuishu* 漢簡綴述 (Beijing: Zhonghua, 1980), pp. 212-215.

72 *The History of Herodotus,* trans. George Rawlinson, ed. Manuel Komroff, p. 223.

73 Shiratori Kurakichi 白鳥庫吉, "Daienkoku kō" 大宛國考 (A study on the state of Dayuan), in *Saiikishi kenkyu (Zyō)* 西域史研究（上）(Tokyo: Iwanami, 1970), pp. 229-294.

74 For the date of Li Guangli's expedition against Dayuan, see Yu Taishan, *Saizhong shi yanjiu,* p. 79.

75 Cf. Ma Yong 馬雍, "Xi Han shiqi de Yumen guan he Dunhuang jun de xijing" 西漢時期的玉門關和敦煌郡的西境, in *Xiyu shidi wenwu congkao* 西域史地文物叢考 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1990), pp. 11-15.

76 Huang Wenbi 黃文弼, *Talimu pendi kaogu ji* 塔里木盆地考古記 (Beijing: Kexue chubanshe, 1958), pp. 10-11.

77 Shimazaki Akira 嶋崎昌, "Koshi to Syashi zen-go okoku" 姑師と車師前後王國 (Gushi and the Kingdoms of Nearer and Further Jushi), in *Zhui Tō zhidai no To-Torukisutan kenkyu* 隋唐時代の東トゥルキスタン研究 (A study of the history of Eastern Turkestan in the Sui and Tang times)

(Tokyo: Tōkyō daigaku shuppankai, 1977), pp. 3-58.

78 For "granting an amnesty to incarcerated convicts [so that they could be used to] ward off the raiders" 赦囚徒扞寇盜, the Yan Commentary quotes Ru Chun 如淳, "freed the incarcerated convicts and made them ward off the raiders" 放囚徒使其扞御寇盜.

79 See Wang Niansun 王念孫, *Dushu zazhi* 讀書雜志 (4.11) (Beijing: Zhonghua, 1991), p. 327.

80 See Takigawa Shigen (kōshō) and Mizusawa Toshitadakō (kōho), *Shiki kaichū kōshō* (Fu kōho), pp. 1983-1984.

81 See A. F. P. Hulsewé and M. A. N. Loewe, *China in Central Asia, the Early Stage,* p. 230, n. 883.

82 According to the "Dili zhi" 地理志 in *Hanshu*, Juyan 居延 and Xitu 休屠 belonged to Zhangye 張掖 and Wuwei 武威, respectively; both were administered by the commandants. "To protect Jiuquan" 衛酒泉 means to protect against the Xiongnu. Wuwei was one of the four prefectures of the Hexi region, founded in the third year of the Dijie 地節 reign-period (67 BCE); its seat of government was located in what is today Wuwei.

83 The text quoted here in the edict of Emperor Wu summarizes the situation before the expedition against Dayuan. If Jiang 江, the Leader of the Gentlemen of the Palace (Zhonglangjiang), was not Zhang Qian's deputy envoy, then the Da Yuezhi sent a mission to Han again during the Yuanfeng reign-period.

84 Yanmen 雁門 was the name of a prefecture. Its seat of government lay south of present-day Youyu 右玉, Shanxi 山西 Province.

85 See the "Hanji 漢紀 " in *Zizhi tongjian* 資治通鑒 (ch. 21), the Hu 胡 Commentary on "the first month of the fourth year of the Taichu reign-period".

86 Chen Mengjia, *Hanjian zhuishu*, pp. 212-215.

87 Chen Mengjia, *Hanjian zhuishu*, pp. 212-215.

88 Zhang Weihua 張維華, "Xi Han Duhu tongkao" 西漢都護通考 (A general study of the Protector-Generals of the Western Regions), in *Hanshi lunji* 漢史論集 (Ji, nan: Qi Lu shushe, 1980), pp. 245-308, and Yu Taishan, "Zhang Qian xishi xinkao" in *Liang Han Wei Jin Nanbeichao yu Xiyu guanxi shi yanjiu*, pp. 233-257.

二 《漢書·西域傳上》要注
A CONCISE COMMENTARY ON CHAPTER 96A OF *HANSHU*, "THE MEMOIR ON THE WESTERN REGIONS"*

西域[1]以孝武時始通[2]，本三十六國，其後稍分至五十餘，[3]皆在匈奴[4]之西，烏孫[5]之南。南北有大山[6]，中央有河[7]，東西六千餘里[8]，南北千餘里[9]。東則接漢，阸以玉門[10]、陽關[11]，西則限以葱嶺[12]。其南山，東出金城[13]，與漢南山[14]屬焉。其河有兩原[15]：一出葱嶺山，一出于闐[16]。于闐在南山下，其河北流，與葱嶺河合，東注蒲昌海[17]。蒲昌海，一名鹽澤[18]者也，去玉門、陽關三百餘里[19]，廣袤三百里。其水亭居，冬夏不增減，皆以爲潛行地下，南出於積石，爲中國河云。[20]

Communications with the Western Regions[1] commenced only in the time of Emperor Xiaowu 孝武[2]. Originally there had been thirty-six states, but afterwards these were gradually divided into more than fifty. [3] These all lie to the west of the Xiongnu 匈奴 [4] and south of Wusun 烏孫[5]. To the north and south there are great mountains [6], and through the center a river flows[7]. The distance from east to west extends beyond 6,000 *li* 里[8] and from north to south beyond 1,000 *li* [9]. On the east the area adjoins Han 漢 [territory], from which it is blocked by the Yumen 玉門 [10] and Yang 陽 Barriers[11]. On the west it is confined by the Cong 葱 Mountains[12]. Its Southern Mountains emerge in the east in Jincheng 金城 [Prefecture][13] and are linked with the Southern Mountains of Han[14]. Its river has two sources,[15] of which one is in the Cong Mountains [i.e., the Pamirs] and the other in Yutian 于闐[16]. Yutian lies at the foot of the Southern Mountains, and its river runs northward to join the river that emerges from the Cong Mountains. Eastward it flows into the Puchang 蒲昌 Sea[17]. Another name of

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* The English version of this memoir (*Hanshu* 96A-B) is from *China in Central Asia: The Early Stage: 125 B.C.-A.D. 23* by A. F. P. Hulsewé and M. A. N. Loewe, with alterations by Yu Taishan. The English version here is edited by Victor H. Mair.

the Puchang Sea is the Salt Marsh [18]; it is more than 300 *li* [19] from the Yumen and Yang Barriers and measures 300 *li* in width and length. Its waters remain stagnant, and are not increased or reduced in winter or summer. It is generally believed that the water flows concealed beneath the surface of the ground, and that it emerges to the south at Jishi 積石 to form the [Yellow] River of the Middle Kingdom. [20]

[1] The scope of the "Western Regions", as actually discussed in this text, refers to a vast region to the west of the Yumen 玉門 and Yang 陽 Barriers. But the area is defined in this chapter in this way: It is "to the west of the Xiongnu 匈奴 and south of Wusun 烏孫. To the north and south there are great mountains, and through the center a river flows. The distance from east to west extends beyond 6,000 *li* and from north to south beyond 1,000 *li*. On the east the area adjoins Han [territory], from which it is blocked by the Yumen and Yang Barriers. On the west it is confined by the Cong Mountains". That is, it refers to an area to the west of Yumen and Yang Barriers, east of the Pamirs, south of the Tianshan Mountains, and north of Mount Kunlun. There is a great disparity between this definition and the scope of presentation in this chapter. In other words, this definition does not reflect the reality of the age, indicating that it was not formulated in this period. This definition took shape probably before the Western Han had begun its administration in the area, i.e., when the area was under the control of the Xiongnu. As is recorded in the "Xiongnu zhuan (shang)" of *Hanshu* (ch. 94A), the *Chanyu* Modu sent a letter to Han in the fourth year of the first period of Emperor Wen's 文 reign (176 BCE), saying that the Xiongnu had conquered "Loulan, Wusun, Hujie 呼揭, and the nearby twenty-six states". The "twenty-six states" here is obviously an error for "thirty-six states". As a result of the wars started by Modu, the thirty-six states became the Xiongnu's sphere of influence, an area they referred to as the "Western Regions". For example, as is recorded in the "Dayuan liezhuan" 大宛列傳 of *Shiji* (ch. 123), after the Xiongnu had conquered Wusun, they adopted an orphan, who was later to become Wusun's *Kunmo* 昆莫. When he grew up, the *Chanyu* of the Xiongnu "delivered to the *Kunmo* his father's people, and made him governor of the Western Regions". Of course, Wusun, guarded by the *Kunmo*, comprised only a small part of the Xiongnu's "Western Regions". For another example, according to the same memoir, when the *Kunmo*, after attacking the Yuezhi in the west, led his people far away, the *Chanyu* of the Xiongnu ordered the Hunxie 渾邪 King to guard the "Western Regions"; this is why the Huanxie King was directly referred to as the "King of the Western Regions of the Xiongnu" in the "Wei jiangjun, Piaoqi liezhuan" 衛將軍驃騎列傳 of *Shiji*. Thus, the passage beginning with "to the west of the Xiongnu" which is quoted above is not so much a definition of the

Western Regions offered by the editors of this memoir as an explanation of the origin of the term. The statement that "originally there had been thirty-six states" means that initially the term "Western Regions" referred to the "thirty-six states", namely, the area to the west of the Yumen and Yang Barriers, east of the Pamirs, south of the Tianshan Mountains, and north of Mount Kunlun, but this does not mean that there are only "thirty-six states" in the Western Regions, or that the entire area of these "thirty-six states" constitutes the "Western Regions". Later, when the Western Han commenced its administration in this area, knowledge increased, and the concept of the "Western Regions" gathered more significance. But the core area under the administration or control of the dynasty in the Central Plains did not exceed the scope of the area discussed above. Objectively, the passage at the beginning of this memoir which is quoted above nevertheless constitutes one of the definitions of the "Western Regions". In other words, the term has both a broad sense and a narrow sense. In this book, the "Western Regions" is used in the broad sense. The broad sense refers to the vast region to the west of the Yumen and Yang Barriers, whereas the narrow sense refers only to the Tarim Basin and the surrounding area.

[2] "Communications with the Western Regions commenced only in the time of Emperor Xiaowu": Emperor Wu, in the second year of the Jianyuan 建元 reign-period (139 BCE), sent Zhang Qian on a mission to the Western Regions. This marked the beginning of communications with the Western Regions according to the editors. For Zhang Qian's life and works, see the "Dayuan liezhuan" 大宛列傳 of *Shiji* and the "Zhang Qian, Li Guangli zhuan" 張騫李廣利傳 of *Hanshu*.

[3] "Thirty-six states" generally refers to the states on the oases in the Western Regions.[1] "These were gradually divided into more than fifty": The editors of this text, while mistakenly believing that there were actually thirty-six states to the east of the Cong Mountains and to the south of the Tianshan Mountains—no more, no less, also believed that the fifty or so states they came to know at that time had separated off from these thirty-six states, neglecting the fact that the extent of these fifty states extended far beyond the designated area—east of the Cong Mountains and south of the Tianshan Mountains. Even the focus of Emperor Wu's administration in the Western Regions was to the west of the Cong Mountains and to the south of the Tianshan Mountains. It is impossible to regard only the Tarim Basin and the surrounding areas as the "Western Regions".

[4] The Xiongnu were nomadic tribes in North Asia. They defeated the Yuezhi 月氏 in 177/176 BCE and began their hegemony over the Western Regions.[2]

[5] The Wusun were a nomadic tribe, first seen in the "Dayuan liezhuan" of *Shiji*, who coexisted with the Yuezhi between Dunhuang 敦煌 and Qilian 祁連, specifically near present-day Hami 哈密,

and later migrated to the valleys of the Ili and Chu Rivers in *c*. 130 BCE.[3]

[6] “To the north and south there are great mountains”: The great mountains to the north are the Tianshan Mountains, and the great mountains to the south are the present-day Kara Koran Mountains, Kunlun Mountains, and Altyn Tagh.

[7] “A river flows through the center”: The “river” referred to here is the Tarim River.

[8] “More than 6,000 *li*” (Distance 1.1): The approximate distance between the Yumen and Yang Barriers and the Cong Mountains.[4]

[9] “More than 1,000 *li*” (Distance 1.2): The approximate distance between the mountains to the north and those to the south.

[10] Yumen refers to the Yumen Barrier; its site lies north-east of Dunhuang, Gansu Province.

[11] The Yang Barrier 陽關: Its site lies south-west of present-day Dunhuang, Gansu Province.

[12] The Congling 葱嶺, also written as 葱領, is the present-day Pamirs. The commentary by Yan Shigu 顏師古 (hereafter the Yan Commentary) cites *Xihe jiushi* 西河舊事, “The mountains of the Congling are huge and of immense height; green onions (*cong*) grow on them; hence the name, Congling”.

[13] Jincheng 金城 refers to the prefecture of Jincheng; its seat of government is north of Yongjing 永靖, Gansu Province.

[14] The Southern Mountains of Han 漢南山: The present-day Qilian 祁連 Mountains.

[15] “Its river has two sources” 河有兩原: One rises in the Cong Mountains to become the Congling River, i.e., the present-day Yarkand River. The other rises in Yutian 于闐 to become the Yutian River, i.e., the present-day Hetian 和闐 River. The two rivers converge to pour into the Lop Nōr. They are the “eastern rivers” in Yutian in the subsequent text: “Its eastern rivers flow east…”

[16] Yutian 于闐 was a state on an oasis located on the Southern Route; it is also the Yutian 于窴 seen in the “Dayuan liezhuan” in *Shiji*. “Yutian” might well have the same root as the Sai tribe, the Gasiani. See note 237.[5]

[17] Puchang 蒲昌 Sea: It is the Salt Marsh in the subsequent text, i.e., present-day Lop Nōr. According to this chapter, by the sea is the State of Shan 山國. The “Heshui (er)” 河水二 in *Shuijing zhu* 水經注, when citing this text, reads, the “State of Moshan” 墨山國. Puchang [bua-thjiang] and Moshan [mət-shean] are likely to be variant transcriptions of the same name.

[18] The Salt Marsh 鹽澤 is Lop Nōr. It is called the Salt Marsh because of its high salt content.

[19] “More than 300 *li*” (Distance 2): The approximate distance between the Yumen and Yang Barriers. It is generally believed that the 300 *li* should read 1,300 *li*, with the character *qian* 千

(thousand) mistakenly omitted, in light of the text in "Heshui (er)" of *Shuijing zhu*: The Salt Marsh is "1,300 *li* to the Yumen and Yang Barriers to the east". But according to the distance between the seat of the king's government of the state of Shanshan 鄯善 and the Yumen and Yang Barriers recorded in this chapter, we can deduce the distance between the Yang Barrier to Chang'an, that is, 4,500 *li*. The "Dayuan liezhuan" in *Shiji* also states, "The Salt Marsh is some 5,000 *li* from Chang'an". Thus, the Salt Marsh is only 500 *li* from the Yang Barrier. In other words, the 300 *li* should be a corruption of 500 *li* (*san* 三 being a corruption of *wu* 五).

[20] "It is generally believed that the water flows concealed beneath the surface of the ground, and that it emerges to the south at Jishi to form the [Yellow] River of the Middle Kingdom": In the context of the river having "two sources" in the previous text, this constitutes the theory of the "underground double source" of the Yellow River.[6] Jishi 積石 is the name of a mountain. According to the "Yugong" 禹貢 in *Shangshu* 尚書, "[Yu 禹] surveyed the Yellow River from [Mount] Jishi as far as Longmen 導河積石，至于龍門" (James Legge, trans., *The Chinese Classics: The Shoo King*, III, 133-134). In the "Dili zhi (xia)" 地理志下 in *Hanshu*, the entry on Jincheng Prefecture 金城郡 reads: "Heguan 河關 [south-west of present-day Xining 西寧, Qinghai 青海 Province]: Mount Jishi is in the Qiang 羌 area in the south-west. North of the Great Wall, the Yellow River runs towards the north-east to reach the south of the Great Wall".

自玉門、陽關出西域有兩道。[21] 從鄯善 [22] 傍南山北，波河 [23] 西行至莎車 [24]，爲南道；南道西踰葱嶺則出大月氏 [25]、安息 [26]。自車師前王廷 [27] 隨北山 [28]，波河西行至疏勒 [29]，爲北道；北道西踰葱嶺則出大宛 [30]、康居 [31]、奄蔡 [32] 焉。[33]

Starting from the Yumen and Yang Barriers there are two routes which lead into the Western Regions.[21] The one which goes by way of Shanshan 鄯善[22], skirting the northern edge of the Southern Mountains and proceeding west along the course of the river[23] of Suoju 莎車 [24] is the Southern Route. To the west, the Southern Route crosses the Cong Mountains and then leads to Da Yuezhi 大月氏 [25] and Anxi 安息[26]. The one which starts from the royal court of Nearer Jushi 車師[27], running alongside the Northern Mountains[28] and following the course of the river west to Shule 疏勒[29], is the Northern Route. To the west, the Northern Route crosses the Cong Mountains and leads to Dayuan[30], Kangju 康居 [31] and Yancai 奄蔡[32].[33]

[21] "Starting from the Yumen and Yang Barriers there are two routes which lead into the Western Regions": To travel to the various states on the Northern Route, one could set out not only from the Yumen Barrier, but also from the Yang Barrier. Going to the various states on the Southern Route, not only could one proceed southwards via the ruins of the former town of Loulan 樓蘭 after setting out west from the Yumen or Yang Barrier; one could also travel by "skirting the northern edge of the Southern Mountains and proceeding west along the course of the river".

[22] Shanshan 鄯善 is an oasis state on the Southern Route, formerly Loulan. It is first mentioned in the "Dayuan liezhuan" of *Shiji*.

[23] "*Bo he*" 波河, according to the Yan Commentary, means "*xun he*" 循河 (along the river). The descriptions of the Southern and Northern Routes seem to indicate that along every route there is a river. Roughly parallel to the Northern Route is undoubtedly the Tarim River. Parallel to the Southern Route should be the "Southern River" (Nanhe 南河) mentioned in the "Heshui (er)" 河水二 section of *Shuijing zhu* 水經注. There is not as yet any generally accepted conclusion regarding the identity of the Southern River.[7]

[24] Suoju 莎車 was an oasis state on the Southern Route. Suoju 莎車 [sai-kia] shares the same origin as the name of the Sai tribe, the Sacarauli.

[25] The Da Yuezhi 大月氏 were nomadic tribes, first seen in the "Dayuan liezhuan" of *Shiji*. Their precursors, the Yuezhi, were strong. The center of the area under their control extended from north of the present-day Qilian Mountains in the east to the eastern end of the present-day Tianshan Mountains and the Altai Mountains in the west. Their power once extended to the Hetao 河套 area. Around 177/176 BCE, the Yuezhi were defeated by *Chanyu* Modu of the Xiongnu and gave up their former land. The majority of them migrated west to the valleys of the Ili and Chu Rivers; they are referred to as the Da Yuezhi historically. Yuezhi [njiuk-zjie] shares the same origin as the name of the Sai tribe, the Gasiani.[8]

[26] Anxi 安息 refers to the Parthian Empire of Persia, first seen in the "Dayuan liezhuan" of *Shiji*. Anxi 安息 [an-siək] is generally regarded as the transliteration of Arshak, the name of the Persian royal family.[9]

[27] Jushi 車師 is an oasis state on the Northern Route, formerly Gushi 姑師, first seen in the "Dayuan liezhuan" of *Shiji*. As late as Zhang Qian's first mission to the west, the state of Jushi was still located north-west of the Lop Nor. Most likely its people migrated to the south and north of Bogdo Ola during the Yuanfeng 元封 reign-period of Emperor Wu (110-105 BCE). Jushi [kia-shiei] and Gushi [ka(kia)-shiei] are the transliterations of the same name; they share the same origin as the

name of the Sai tribe, the Gasiani.

[28] The Northern Mountains refers to the present-day Tianshan Mountains.

[29] Shule 疏勒 is an oasis state on the Northern Route. The name of Shule [shia-lək] may derive from Sugda (Suγlaq or Suγdaq),[10] i.e., Sogdiana. The Sogdians travelled for commerce early in history, and it is very likely that one group settled in the Tarim Basin.

[30] Dayuan 大宛 is a state in the Western Regions, first seen in the "Dayuan liezhuan" in *Shiji*. It was located in the present-day Ferghāna Basin. The name of Dayuan [dat-iuan] probably shares the same origin as that of the Sai tribe, the Tochari.[11]

[31] Kangju 康居 was a nomadic tribe, first seen in the "Dayuan liezhuan" of *Shiji*, at that time moving around in the area to the north of the Syr Darya. In the "Dong Zhongshu zhuan" 董仲舒傳 in *Hanshu*, a memorial by Dong Zhongshu is recorded, which reads: "Yelang 夜郎 and Kangju, places as far away from each other as 10,000 *li*, are attracted by virtue and submit to justice: a result of the great peace". Dong's memorial was presented in the first year of the Yuanguang reign-period (134 BCE), indicating that Kangju had sent an envoy to the Han Court before Zhang Qian escaped from Xiongnu captivity during his first mission to the west and reached this state; hence it was the first state that came into contact with Han in the Western Regions. Kangju [khang-kia] probably shares the same origin as the name of the Sai tribe, the Sacarauli.[12]

[32] Yancai 奄蔡 was a nomadic tribe, first seen in the "Dayuan liezhuan" of *Shiji*, at that time moving around to the north of the the Aral Sea. Yancai [iam-tziat] probably shares the same origin as the name of the Sai tribe, the Asii.[13]

[33] The Southern and Northern Routes described in this section are the main routes to the Western Regions during the Western Han. It should be pointed out that the Northern Route taken by Li Guangli in his expedition against Dayuan started from the Yumen Barrier or the Yang Barrier and stretched westwards, via the White Dragon Mounds 白龍堆, along the Konche Darya after reaching the now ruined town of Loulan north-west of the Salt Marsh (the present-day Lop Nur). The above-mentioned route enjoyed prominence only in the reigns of Emperors Wu and Zhao 昭 and early in the reign of Emperor Xuan 宣. From the Shenjue 神爵 reign-period of Emperor Xuan onwards, Western Han travelers to the various states on the Northern Route and at the northern foot or eastern end of the Tianshan Mountains more frequently took the route to the town of Jiaohe 交河 via the state of Shan 山 after reaching the ruins of Loulan, even though the route west along the Konche Darya from the ruins of Loulan and the surrounding area was also maintained and used. The establishment of the Wuji 戊己 Colonel and the agricultural colonies at the town of Jiaohe lends evidence to this. Thus, the

hub of the Northern Route was no longer Quli 渠犂 or Luntai 輪臺, but Jiaohe, the royal court of the state of Nearer Jushi, and in the end the Northern Route which started "from the royal court of Nearer Jushi" was formed, as described in this chapter.

西域諸國大率土著[34]，有城郭田畜，與匈奴、烏孫異俗，故皆役屬匈奴[35]。匈奴西邊日逐王置僮僕都尉[36]，使領西域，常居焉耆[37]、危須[38]、尉黎[39]間，賦稅諸國，取富給焉。[40]

The states of the Western Regions for the most part [have inhabitants who are] settled on the land[34], with walled cities, cultivated fields, and domesticated animals. Their customs differ from those of the Xiongnu and Wusun. Formerly they were all subject to the Xiongnu[35]; at the western edge of the Xiongnu, the King of Rizhu 日逐 established the post of Commandant of Tongpu 僮僕 (Slaves)[36] with orders to administer the Western Regions. He was permanently situated in the area of Yanqi 焉耆[37], Weixu 危須[38], and Weili 尉黎[39], and acquired wealth and resources by levying taxes on the various states.[40]

[34] "[Inhabitants who are] settled on the land" (*tuzhu* 土著): According to the Yan Commentary, they refer to "those who are settled on the land and have a permanent habitat; they do not move around, following their herds of animals". "People who are settled on the land" is a concept in contrast to those who are nomads (*xingguo* 行國), first used by Zhang Qian. This concept appears only once in this memoir, indicating that, as the economy in the Western Regions underwent development and as Han's understanding of this area gradually deepened, the two concepts were no longer sufficient to characterize the socio-economic status of the various states in this region. The text classifies the Da Yuezhi as a nomadic state; needless to say it has followed the "Dayuan liezhuan" of *Shiji*. It characterizes Di 氐 and Qiang 羌, as well as Xiye 西夜, "of the same type as Di and Qiang", as "nomadic states" (*xingguo*), indicating that the connotation of the concept had undergone some kind of transformation. True, the people of Di, Qiang, and Xiye "follow their stock animals in their search for water and pasture", but they are different from the nomadic horse-riding tribes such as Wusun and Kangju. For the states mentioned above, they are referred to as "states of walled towns" (*chengguo zhuguo* 城郭諸國), a new concept created by the editors of this text. Such states are characterized by "walled towns, cultivated fields, and domesticated animals". They are the small states on the oases,

with walled towns as centers and engaging in agriculture and animal husbandry.

[35] "Subject to the Xiongnu": According to the Yan Commentary, they are "subject to the Xiongnu, for whom they labor in servitude".

[36] King of Rizhu: It is recorded in the "Xiongnu liezhuan" of *Hanshu*, "When the *Chanyu* Hulugu 狐鹿姑 (r. 96-85 BCE) was enthroned, he made the General of the Left 左大將 the Xian King of the Left 左賢王. When the Xian King of the Left died, his son, Xianxiandan 先賢撣, was not able to take his place, and was made the King of Rizhu. The King of Rizhu is inferior to the Xian King of the Left. The *Chanyu* made his own son Xian King of the Left". The post of Commandant of Tongpu 僮僕都尉 was established by the King of Rizhu. "*Tongpu*" 僮僕 means "slaves". Obviously, the commandant was in charge of the affairs of the various states in the Western Regions.

[37] Yanqi 焉耆, an oasis state on the Northern Route. Yanqi [ian-giei] probably shares the same etymological origin as the name of the Sai tribe, the Asii.

[38] Xuwei 危須, an oasis state on the Northern Route. Xuwei [kiua-sio] probably shares the same etymological origin as the name of the Sai tribe, the Gasiani.

[39] Weili 尉黎, an oasis state on the Northern Route. Weili [iuət-lyei] probably shares the same etymological origin as the name of the Sai tribe, the Gasiani.

[40] "Zhao Chongguo, Xin Qingji zhuan" 趙充國辛慶忌傳 of *Hanshu* has recorded the words of Zhao Chongguo in the third year of the Yuankang 元康 reign-period (63 BCE): "Recently, the Xiongnu were stranded in the west. When they heard that the Wuhuan 烏桓 had come to the border to strengthen its defence, they frequently sent their envoys to such states as Weili and Weixu, wishing to wreck [their alliance with Han] with promises of young women and marten coats, for fear that wars would break out on the eastern front. Their scheme failed to work". It can be taken as an example of the way the Commandant of Tongpu operated. It is generally understood that the post of the Commandant of Tongpu was established during the Taishi 太始 reign-period of Emperor Wu (96-93 BCE), that is, not long after Xianxiandan 先賢撣 had become the Rizhu King in the first year of the Taishi reign-period (96 BCE). Prior to this, it is possible that the Xiongnu had established a similar institution in the three states. This is taken as evidence that the three states of Weixu and others took part in "severing the route that leads from east to west" in Emperor Wu's edict quoted above. It should be pointed out that the three states of Weixu and others were not completely controlled by the Xiongnu before they surrendered to Han in the second year of the Shenjue 神爵 reign-period (60 BCE). For example, according to this memoir, in the fourth year of the Zhenghe 征和 reign-period (89 BCE), when the Marquis of Kailing 開陵 attacked Jushi, the forces of Weili and Weixu were

called out. According to the "Chang Hui zhuan" 常惠傳 in *Hanshu*, in the third year of the Benshi reign-period (73 BCE) when he attacked Qiuci 龜茲, Chang Hui mobilized "twenty thousand men from the states to the east of Qiuci". Among them should be men from the three states of Yanqi 焉耆 and others. Junsu 軍宿, the prince of the state of Jushi, who did not wish to be hostage to the Xiongnu, was bold enough to take refuge at Yanqi. It is possible that the practice of the three states, unwilling to alienate either party, Han or Xiongnu, started soon after the Taichu 太初 (104-101 BCE) or Tianhan 天漢 (100-97 BCE) reign-periods, and that this was not unusual even when Xianxiandan established the Commandant of Tongpu. In the second year of the Shenjue reign-period of Emperor Xuan (60 BCE), the King of Rizhu surrendered to Han, and the post of Commandant of Tongpu was abolished. Weixu, Yanqi and Weili were then subject to the Protector-General. After this, according to the "Xin Qingji zhuan" 辛慶忌傳 in *Hanshu* (ch. 69), Xin Qingji once "commanded the officers and soldiers stationed in the state of Yanqi" during the Ganlu 甘露 reign-period (53-50 BCE).

自周衰，戎狄錯居涇渭之北[41]。及秦始皇攘卻戎狄，築長城，界中國，然西不過臨洮[42]。

From the decline of the Zhou 周, the Rong 戎 and Di 氐 peoples lived as elements of a mixed population to the north of the Jing 涇 and Wei 渭 rivers[41]. By the time of the First Emperor of the Qin 秦 Dynasty, the Rong 戎 and Di 氐 were driven away and the long walls were built to form a boundary for the Middle Kingdom. However, in the west, these did not extend farther than Lintao 臨洮[42].

[41] "Jing Wei zhi bei" 涇渭之北: To the north of the Jing 涇 and Wei 渭 rivers, the center of present-day Shanxi 陝西 Province.

[42] Lintao 臨洮 is the name of a county in Longxi 隴西 Prefecture; its seat of government was located in present-day Minxian 岷縣, Gansu Province.

漢興至于孝武，事征四夷，廣威德，而張騫始開西域之迹。[43]其後驃騎將軍擊破匈奴右地，降渾邪、休屠王，遂空其地[44]，始築令居[45]以西，初置酒泉郡[46]，後稍發徙民充實之，分置武威[47]、張掖[48]、敦煌[49]，列四郡，據兩關[50]焉。

The Han Dynasty arose, and we come to the time of Emperor Xiaowu; he undertook the task of subduing the various barbarian peoples and of spreading [Han] prestige, whereas Zhang Qian for the first time opened up a way in the Western Regions.[43] Thereafter the General of Cavalry on the Alert (Piaoqi 驃騎) attacked and vanquished those lands of the Xiongnu that lay to the right [i.e., to the west]. He forced the Hunxie 渾邪 and Xiutu 休屠 kings to surrender and thereupon had those territories evacuated. [44] For the first time [fortifications] were built at Lingju 令居 [45] and farther west; and, once Jiuquan 酒泉 [46] had been founded, members of the [Han] population were gradually moved there to fill that area. This was then divided; Wuwei 武威[47], Zhangye 張掖[48], and Dunhuang 敦煌 [49] were founded to form a line of four prefectures based on the two barriers[50].

[43] "Open[ing] up a way in the Western Regions" 開西域 is an important component of "the task of subduing the various barbarian peoples" 事征四夷, whereas "spreading [Han] prestige" 廣威德 was the purpose behind "the task of subduing the various barbarian peoples".

[44] According to the "Wei Qing, Huo Qubing zhuan" 衛青霍去病傳 in *Hanshu*: "Later, the *Chanyu* was furious with the Hunxie 渾邪 King, who was defeated by Han repeatedly in the western regions, losing tens of thousands of troops to the Piaoqi General. He planned to summon him and have him killed. The Hunxie King, Xiutu 休屠 King, and others plotted to surrender to Han, and sent messengers first, asking for guides on the border. At this time Li Xi 李息, as the Director of the Messenger Office, was building fortifications on the Yellow River. When he received the messenger of the Hunxie King, he reported posthaste to the emperor, using the postal facilities. The emperor, afraid that they might feign surrender to attack the border, sent [Huo] Qubing to meet them with his forces. [Huo] Qubing crossed the Yellow River and faced the assembled crowd of the Hunxie King. A general of the Lesser King of the Hunxie went over to meet the Han troops. [However,] many were unwilling to surrender and walked away. [Huo] Qubing rode over and managed to meet the Hunxie King, and killed 8,000 persons who were about to run away. He sent the Hunxie King himself to the temporary palace of the emperor, using the postal relay service, and had the rest cross the River. Those who surrendered numbered tens of thousands, [and they] claimed to number 100,000. When [the Hunxie King] reached Chang'an, the Son of Heaven rewarded him with vast wealth. He conferred on him the title of the Marquis of Luoyin 漯陰,[14] with a fief of 10,000 households". The surrender of the Hunxie and Xiutu Kings occurred in the second year of the Yuanshou 元狩 reign-period (121 BCE). The "Dili

zhi (xia)" 地理志下 of *Hanshu* described Wuwei Prefecture as "formerly the land of Xiongnu's Xiutu King", and Zhangye, as "formerly the land of Xiongnu's Kunxie 昆邪 King", indicating that the two prefectures established later by the Western Han included the land of the two kings.

[45] Lingju 令居 is the name of a county. Its seat of government lay northwest of present-day Yongdeng 永登, Gansu Province.

[46] Jiuquan 酒泉, one of the four prefectures in the Hexi 河西 Region, was founded in the second year of the Yuanshou 元狩 reign-period (121 BCE). Its seat of government was present-day Jiuquan, Gansu Province.[15]

[47] Wuwei 武威 was one of the four prefectures in the Hexi region, founded in the third year of the Dijie 地節 reign-period (67 BCE). Its seat of government was Wuwei, Gansu Province.

[48] Zhangye 張掖 was one of the four prefectures in the Hexi region, founded in the sixth year (111 BCE) of the Yuanding reign-period. Its seat of government was north-west of present-day Zhangye, Gansu Province.

[49] Dunhuang 敦煌 was one of the four prefectures in the Hexi region, founded in the sixth year (111 BCE) of the Yuanding reign-period. Its seat of government was south-west of present-day Dunhuang.

[50] The two barriers 兩關: The Yumen and Yang Barriers.

自貳師將軍伐大宛之後，西域震懼，多遣使來貢獻[51]，漢使西域者益得職[52]。於是自敦煌西至鹽澤[53]，往往起亭，而輪臺[54]、渠犂[55]皆有田卒數百人，置使者校尉領護[56]，以給使外國者[57]。

After the Ershi 貳師 General's attack on Dayuan, the Western Regions were shocked and frightened. Most of the states sent envoys to [Han] to present tributary gifts,[51] and those persons who were sent by Han on missions to the Western Regions felt more satisfied [with the reception that they now received] [52]. Government posts were thereupon erected at frequent intervals in a series running westwards from Dunhuang to the Salt Marsh [53], and a complement of several hundred agricultural conscripts was stationed at both Luntai 輪臺 [54] and Quli 渠犂[55]. A Colonel [for the Assistance of Imperial] Envoys was established to protect them[56] and to provide supplies for the Han envoys who were proceeding to the outer states[57].

[51] According to the "Zhang Qian, Li Guangli zhuan" in *Hanshu*, "when the Ershi General marched east, all the small states which he passed on the way had heard of the defeat of [Da]yuan. They sent their [kings'] sons or younger brothers to accompany the army with tributary gifts, and they were to be received by the Son of Heaven and become hostages" (Hulsewé and Loewe, *China in Central Asia*, p. 234).

[52] "Those persons who were sent by Han on missions to the Western Regions felt more satisfied [with the reception that they now received]": With the killing of the King of Dayuan, the various states in the Western Regions did not dare to neglect the Han envoys; they were able to complete their missions with success and dignity.[16]

[53] For the "Salt Marsh" 鹽澤 , the parallel passage in the "Dayuan liezhuan" of *Shiji* reads "Salt Water" 鹽水. The latter may be correct, according to some scholars; it refers to the river that flows east and pours into the Salt Marsh to its west, corresponding approximately to the present-day Kuruk River west of Yingpan 營盤 and the Konche Darya east of Yingpan. Before Han attacked Dayuan, one first had to proceed west up the Salt Water to Quli 渠犂 by way of the present-day Loulan ruins north-west of the Salt Marsh, if one wanted to go to the various states on the Northern Route. It is very obvious that the location of Quli was important at that time. One of the reasons Han attacked Dayuan was to prevent "the route that leads from east to west" from being blocked. After the battle of Dayuan, Han established the Colonel [for the Assistance of Imperial] Envoys and set up an agricultural colony at Luntai 輪臺 and Quli to consolidate the victory. The statement that "government posts were thereupon erected at frequent intervals in a series running westwards from there [Dunhuang] to [the valley of] the Salt Water" possibly shows that the government posts had reached Quli. The "Wudi benji" in *Hanshu* (ch. 6) records that in the second year of the Tianhan 天漢 reign-period (99 BCE), Quli "sent envoys to pay tribute", which shows that an agricultural colony was actually established in Quli. In the text here, "Salt Water" was changed into "Salt Marsh", as if to imply that the government posts and defenses extended only to the east of Lop Nor, which contradicts Sima Qian, or is at least inaccurate.[17]

[54] Luntai 輪臺 is an oasis state on the Northern Route, i.e., Luntou 侖頭 in the "Dayuan liezhuan" of *Shiji*. Luntai 輪臺 [liuən-də], Luntou 侖頭 [liuən-do], and Loulan 樓蘭 in the subsequent text should be variant transliterations of the same name.

[55] Quli 渠犂 , an oasis state on the Northern Route. Quli 渠犂 [gia-lyei] probably shares the same etymological origin as the name of the Sai tribe, the Tochari.

[56] "Colonel for the Assistance of Imperial Envoys" 使者校尉: The "Dayuan liezhuan" of

Shiji simply reads "Envoys" 使者, an abbreviated form. In the section on Quli in this memoir, it is abbreviated into "Colonel" 校尉 (the same is true of the "Zheng Ji zhuan" 鄭吉傳 in *Hanshu*). "Colonel for the Assistance of Imperial Envoys" should be the predecessor of the Protector-General of the Western Regions 西域都護 mentioned in the subsequent text. In the text here it is recorded that the Colonel [for the Assistance of Imperial] Envoys was established at "both Luntai and Quli", which is different from the "Dayuan liezhuan" in *Shiji*, which merely states "at Luntou". The former sometimes refers only to Quli but not to Luntai. The "Zheng Ji zhuan" in *Hanshu* states explicitly, "A Colonel was first established to found military colonies at Quli". The basic reason for these differences is quite possibly that the Colonel [for the Assistance of Imperial] Envoys was first established at Luntou (i.e., Luntai), then was moved to Quli. The founding of the military colonies at Quli might have occurred after the second year of the Tianhan reign-period (99 BCE). In that year, the state of Quli "sent envoys to present tribute". It is possible that, with this event as the turning point, the Han court moved the Colonel [for the Assistance of Imperial] Envoys to Quli from Luntai. Sima Qian had no time to record this event because it occurred after the second year of the Tianhan reign-period. It should be noted that the military colonies at Luntai were not closed after the military colonies at Quli had been founded. In this text, it is recorded that "a complement of several hundred agricultural conscripts was stationed at both Luntai and Quli". The reason why only Quli is mentioned in the section on Quli in *Hanshu* (ch. 96B) and the "Zheng Ji zhuan" (ch. 70) is that the two sections are concerned only with the matters of Quli, and there is no need to refer to Luntai. "Ling hu" 領護, according to the Yan Commentary, means "managing the affairs concerning agricultural colonies and offering protection to them". There are scholars who believe that the above refers to events that occurred from the reign of Emperor Wu to that of Emperor Zhao 昭 ,[18] but this view does not seem to have a firm basis.

[57] "To provide supplies for the Han envoys who were proceeding to the outer states": According to the Yan Commentary, it means "to supply them with the grains they have grown and harvested".

至宣帝時，遣衛司馬使護鄯善以西數國。[58] 及破姑師，未盡殄，分以爲車師前後王及山北六國。[59] 時漢獨護南道，未能盡并北道也，然匈奴不自安矣。

In the time of Emperor Xuan 宣, a Guards' Major was sent with a commission to protect Shanshan and the several states to the west. [58] At the conquest of Gushi 姑師

[the state] was not completely destroyed but was split between the two kings of Nearer and Further Jushi and six other states north of the mountains. [59] At that time Han only protected the Southern Route, being unable to take over the Northern Route completely. However the Xiongnu no longer felt at ease.

[58] "A Guards' Major was sent…": According to the "Zheng Ji zhuan" in *Hanshu*, "In the reign of Emperor Xuan 宣, Zheng Ji, the Gentleman in Attendance, set up an agricultural colony at Quli and gathered the harvest. He defeated Jushi with the troops he called out from the various states. He was promoted to the position of the Guards' Major, to provide protection to the route south-west of Shanshan".

[59] "At the conquest of Gushi [the state] was not completely destroyed…": When the Gushi people who were "not completely destroyed" moved north in the third year of the Yuanfeng 元封 reign-period (108 BCE), they first divided into Jushi and six other states north of the mountains (Nearer and Further Pulei 前後蒲類, the states of Eastern and Western Qiemi 東西且彌, and the states of Nearer and Further Beilu 前後卑陸). Of them, Jushi was further divided into the Nearer and Further states of Jushi after the second year of the Shenjue 神爵 reign-period (60 BCE). Prior to this year, there had been no mention of the Nearer or Further kingdoms of Jushi in historical works. Jushi's further division into Nearer and Further states was of course a result of Han's intentional division of the original state to facilitate its rule, but it was foreshadowed by the separate establishment of Doumo 兜莫 and Junsu 軍宿 as kings by the Xiongnu and Western Han. In a sense, Han simply acknowledged the status quo.[19]

其後日逐王畔單于，將衆來降，護鄯善以西使者鄭吉迎之。[60] 既至漢，封日逐王爲歸德侯，吉爲安遠侯。[61] 是歲，神爵三年也。[62] 乃因使吉并護北道，故號曰都護 [63]。都護之起，自吉置矣。[64] 僮僕都尉由此罷，匈奴益弱，不得近西域。[65] 於是徙屯田 [66]，田於北胥鞬，披莎車之田 [67]，屯田校尉始屬都護。[68] 都護督察烏孫、康居諸外國動靜，有變以聞。可安輯，安輯之；可擊，擊之。[69]

After this the King of Rizhu 日逐 rebelled against the *Chanyu* and led his people to submit to [Han]. Zheng Ji 鄭吉, Envoy for the Protection of Shanshan 鄯善 and the West, received him,[60] and on his arrival the Han [government] invested the King of Rizhu with the title of Marquis of Guide 歸德 ("allegiance to imperial authority"), and

Zheng Ji with that of Marquis of Anyuan 安遠 ("pacification of distant areas"). [61] These events took place in the third year of the Shenjue 神爵 reign-period [59 BCE] [62], and [the government] took the occasion to commission Zheng Ji to act as protector of both the Northern Route [and the Southern Route]. He was therefore entitled Protector-General[63], [an office] which originated with this appointment.[64] From that time onwards the [post of] Commandant of Tongpu ("slaves") was abolished. The Xiongnu became increasingly weaker and were unable to approach the Western Regions.[65] Agricultural colonists were thereupon removed[66] to work the land in Northern Xujian 胥鞬, and the lands of Suoju 莎車 were allocated [for this purpose].[67] The colonel of the agricultural colonies was first subordinated to the Protector-General.[68] This officer kept under observation the activities of the various outer states such as Wusun and Kangju, and when an incident occurred he submitted a report to the throne. If the situation was suitable for peaceful settlement, he settled it peacefully; if it was suitable for launching an attack, he attacked.[69]

[60] According to the "Xuandi benji" 宣帝本紀 in *Hanshu*, "in the autumn" of the second year of the Shenjue reign-period (60 BCE), "the Rizhu King of the Xiongnu, Xianxiandan 先賢撣, came over to surrender with his community of over 10,000. Han sent Zheng Ji, the Protector-General and Commandant of Cavalry, to receive the Rizhu King. [Zheng Ji also] defeated Jushi. They were invested with the titles of marquis (*hou*)". According to the "Zheng Ji zhuan" in *Hanshu*, "in the Shenjue reign-period, chaos erupted among the Xiongnu. The Rizhu King, Xianxiandan, wanted to surrender to Han, and sent a messenger to inform [Zheng] Ji. [Zheng] Ji called up the troops from Quli, Qiuci, and other states, a total of 5,000 men, to meet the Rizhu King. [The Rizhu King] led 12,000 individuals and twelve lesser kings and generals, and, following [Zheng] Ji, reached the bend of the Yellow River. Zheng Ji pursued and killed a considerable number of people, who attempted to run away, and subsequently led the others to the capital. Han invested the Rizhu King with the title of the Marquis of Guide 歸德". The arrival of the Rizhu King at the capital should be no later than the tenth month in the second year. The Rizhu King of the Xiongnu had established the post of Commandant of Tongpu (Slaves) over Yanqi, Weixu, and Weili, strengthening control over various states in the Western Regions. Because the Rizhu King surrendered to Han, Jushi was weakened and subsequently destroyed. According to the "Zheng Ji zhuan" of *Hanshu*, Emperor Xuan 宣, commending Zheng's accomplishments, "thus issued an edict, saying, 'the Protector-

General of the Western Regions, the Commandant of Cavalry, Zheng Ji, pacified the alien barbarians, clearly proclaimed the national prestige and trustworthiness, received the men of the Rizhu King, a cousin of the *Chanyu* of the Xiongnu, and attacked and took the town of Douzi 兜訾 in Jushi.[20] His achievements are abundant and apparent. Let [Zheng] Ji be granted the title of Marquis of Anyuan 安遠 with a fief of 1,000 households'. [Zheng] Ji thus established his general headquarters at the center of the Western Regions, with his seat in the town of Wulei 烏壘. The Protector-General punished the various states or pacified them, attacked them or attracted and won them over. And then Han's orders were carried out throughout the Western Regions". Zheng Ji "attacked and took the town of Douzi in Jushi": this event could have occurred before Zheng Ji called up the troops from Quli, Qiuci, and other states, to meet the Rizhu King, reaching the bend of the Yellow River, or, probably, after Zheng Ji returned to the Western Regions from the capital. Anyway, Jushi lost support when the Rizhu King surrendered to Han, and it was inevitable for the state to surrender to Han. But the statement that Zheng Ji "attacked and took the town of Douzi in Jushi" indicates that Jushi did not surrender to Han without a fight. The relationship between the Western Han and Jushi, even the entire Western Regions, entered a new stage at the point when the Rizhu King surrendered to Han.

[61] According to the "Jing, Wu, Zhao, Xuan, Yuan, Cheng gongchen biao 景武昭宣元成功臣表" of *Hanshu*, "The Marquis of Anyuan, Zheng Ji, whose posthumous title was Miu 繆, oversaw, as a Colonel and a Counsellor of the Palace, the surrender of the Rizhu King and, in addition, defeated Jushi, for which he was invested with a title of nobility. His fief was deduced by three hundred households due to the violation of a law, then determined to be 790 households. He was granted the title on the day *renxu* 壬戌 in the fourth month of the third year of the Shenjue reign-period (59 BCE). He died eleven years later".

[62] "The third year" should be "the second year" according to "Xuandi benji".

[63] Protector-General 都護: According to the Yan Commentary, *du* 都 is the same as *zong* 總 (general), and the title means "to protect both the Southern and Northern Routes". According to the "Baiguan gongqing biao" 百官公卿表 in *Hanshu*, "The Protector-General of the Western Regions was an additional office. It was first established in the second year of the Dijie 地節 reign-period of Emperor Xuan (68 BCE), when [Zheng Ji], the Commandant of Cavalry and Grand Master of Remonstrance, was sent to act as the protector of the thirty-six states in the Western Regions". Zheng Ji's title was the "[Colonel for the Assistance of Imperial Envoys] Protecting the Western Regions" 都護［西域使者校尉］ in the second year of the Dijie reign-period, when he was the Gentleman in Attendance in charge of the agricultural colonies at Quli. However, he was also called the "[Colonel

for the Assistance of Imperial] Envoys Protecting [the Region] West of Shanshan" [都] 護鄯善以西使者校尉 because he did not have charge of the various states on the Northern Route until he defeated Jushi and was promoted to Guards' Major in the winter of that year. The Protector-General of the Western Regions had a rank equivalent to 2,000 piculs. He established his general headquarters in the town of Wulei 烏壘, the seat of the state of Wulei's royal government. According to the same chapter, subordinates of the Protector-General of the Western Regions included "one Assistant 丞 and two men each of the ranks of Major 司馬, Scout 候 and Head of a Thousand Men 千人".

[64] According to the "Zheng Ji zhuan" of *Hanshu*, "[Zheng] Ji destroyed Jushi, and oversaw the surrender of the Rizhu King, which sent shock waves throughout the entire Western Regions. He then added to his protection the Northern Route to the west of Jushi; hence he was called the Protector-General. The position of Protector-General commenced with Zheng Ji". In the autumn of the second year of the Shenjue reign-period, when his principal official position was Commandant of Cavalry and Counselor of the Palace, he oversaw the surrender of the Rizhu King in the capacity of the Colonel [for the Assistance of Imperial] Envoys. In the next year, he was invested with the title of the Marquis of Anyuan, then established his general headquarters, with his seat in the town of Wulei, and served as the protector of both the Northern and Southern Routes. Zheng Ji held this position for many years. It is not clear when his tenure ended; the earliest possible date is the first year of the Ganlu 甘露 reign-period (53 BCE), while the latest is the first year of the Chuyuan 初元 reign-period (48 BCE) of Emperor Yuan 元.[21]

[65] "The Xiongnu became increasingly weaker and were unable to approach the Western Regions": The Western Regions was controlled by the Western Han, and there was no longer any use for the post of the Commandant of Tongpu. Because the Xiongnu lost control of the Western Regions, their position was weakened.

[66] Setting up of agricultural colonies: The establishment by the Western Han of agricultural colonies in the Western Regions commenced at the end of the Taichu reign-period or the beginning of Tianhan reign-period of Emperor Wu. The areas chosen for the first agricultural colony were Luntai and Quli. During the Zhenghe 征和 reign-period, Sang Hongyang 桑弘羊 proposed to expand the agricultural colony at Luntai, so that it could merge with the land of Quli. Emperor Wu, however, did not accept this proposal. Emperor Zhao 昭 accepted Sang's idea and ordered Laidan 賴丹 to set up an agricultural colony to the east of Luntai. When Laidan was killed, the plan was aborted. During the reign of Emperor Xuan, Zheng Ji set up an agricultural colony at Quli and, based in Quli, he repeatedly contended for Jushi with the Xiongnu. After Jushi had been destroyed, Han also set up

an agricultural colony at Northern Xujian 胥鞬 in the state of Jushi. Before that, Zheng Ji had sent officers and soldiers to set up an agricultural colony at the town of Jiaohe 交河 in the state of Jushi but the attempt did not succeed because the cavalry force sent by the Xiongnu was too strong for them to resist. In the time of Emperor Yuan 元, the additional post of the Wuji 戊己 Colonel was established to reopen the agricultural colonies around the town of Jiaohe. During the reign of Emperor Zhao, Han set up an agricultural colony at Yixun 伊循 following the request of the king of Shanshan. One Major was first sent and, at a later date, the Office of Commandant was established to manage the project. During the Ganlu 甘露 reign-period of Emperor Xuan, Han also set up an agricultural colony at the town of Chigu 赤谷, the royal court of Wusun, so as to keep Wusun under control. There was a plan to move the Ji 己 Colonel to garrison Gumo 姑墨 in the first year of the Heping 河平 reign-period of Emperor Cheng 成 (28 BCE). To manage the Western Regions, the Western Han had to build garrisons and send envoys. It was absolutely necessary to set up agricultural colonies and store grain crops. In an edict of Emperor Wu recorded in the second part of this memoir (*Hanshu*, 96B), there is a section that states the logistic hurdles in the management of the Western Regions, which can be seen as the background to the setting up of agricultural colonies in the Western Regions. Most of the locations at which agricultural colonies were to be set up, such as Yixun 伊循, the states of Nearer and Further Jushi, Luntai, and Quli, were located at traffic hubs, which helps to explain the issue. After the office of the Protector-General had been established, a part of the food supplies to the officers and soldiers in the Western Regions could be provided by the colonies. Of course, agricultural colonies could not resolve all supply problems for the management of the Western Regions. During the reign of Emperor Xuan, Zheng Ji sent a memorial to the Emperor, proposing to increase the number of people working the land at Jushi. The senior ministers considered this proposal and concluded that the distance was too great and the expenditure too burdensome; they instead recommended the closure of the colony at Jushi. This shows that the colonies themselves entailed considerable costs, especially during their initial stage.[22]

[67] "Agricultural colonists were thereupon removed to work the land in Northern Xujian, and the lands of Suoju 莎車 were allocated [for this purpose]": Han moved the agricultural colonies at Quli to Northern Xujian in the third year of the Shenjue reign-period (61 BCE). The Xiongnu set up an agricultural colony at Jushi during the Benshi reign-period of Emperor Xuan (73-70 BCE), and it was probably located in this area. After the surrender of the Rizhu King to Han, the Xiongnu became increasingly weak and were unable to come close to the Western Regions. Han thereupon moved on to work the land northwards, in order to consolidate its control of the northern area of Jushi.

"Xujian" [sia-kian] and "Suoju" can also be seen as variant transcriptions of the same word. Jushi was originally a tribe of the Sai people, who did not consist of a single tribe. "Jushi" can be taken as a variant transcription of the "Gasiani", and the people of Jushi were mainly the Gasiani people, but there were also other Sai tribes within the state. Since "Xujian" and "Suoju" can be taken as variant transcriptions of "Sakā" or the "Sacarauli", it may be that there were also Sacarauli people in the state of Jushi. "Xujian" was named after the Suoju people (the Sacarauli) who had lived there. Han people worked the land in Northern Xujian; hence "the lands of Suoju were allocated". It is generally believed that "Suoju" is a textual error for "Jushi". This theory may be incorrect, because it would be meaningless to say "the lands of Jushi were allocated", and it was not absolutely impossible for "the land of Suoju" to be within Jushi.[23]

[68] "The colonel of the agricultural colonies was first subordinated to the Protector-General": This should have happened after Zheng Ji had established his office and begun governing in the third year of the Shenjue reign-period (61 BCE). However, during the Dijie reign-period, Han had already sent the Gentleman in Attendance, Zheng Ji, and the Colonel, Sima Xi 司馬熹, to set up agricultural colonies at Quli and Jushi. Three colonels had been sent to work in the colonies at that time. Zheng Ji had already been given the title of Protector-General in the second year of the Dijie reign-period, but the Colonel of the Agricultural Garrison was not subordinated to the Protector-General until the third year of the Shenjue reign-period. In that case, it is possible that the Colonel of the Agricultural Garrison had been commanded by Sima Xi before it was subordinated to the Protector-General. The position of the Colonel held by Sima Xi can be seen as the predecessor of the Wuji 戊己 Colonel. Whether the Wuji Colonel, established to set up an agricultural colony at Jushi, was subordinated to the Protector-General, there is no clear record in the histories, but the possibility cannot be ruled out.

[69] "This officer kept under observation the activities of the various outer states such as Wusun and Kangju, and when an incident occurred he submitted a report to the throne. If the situation was suitable for peaceful settlement, he settled it peacefully; if it was suitable for launching an attack, he attacked": This passage spells out the responsibilities of the Protector-General. "This officer kept under observation the activities of the various outer states such as Wusun and Kangju", etc.: This is obviously to emphasize that the states kept under the observation of the Protector-General were not only those in the Tarim Basin which were subject to Han, but also included those to the west of the Cong Mountains and to the north of the Tianshan Mountains. The fact that Kangju was given as an example of the states west of the Cong Mountians and Wusun, north of the Tianshan Mountains, suggests that the above-mentioned formulation of the duty of the Protector-General was originally

conceived when the Protector-General was established. We can conclude that the states of the Western Regions west of the Yumen and Yang Barriers were all kept under the observation of the Protector-General. The statement quoted earlier from "Zheng Ji zhuan", the Protector-General "punished the various states or pacified them, attacked them or attracted and won them over", should be understood similarly. Of course, those which could be "settled peacefully" or "attacked" by the Protector-General were mainly the various states east of the Cong Mountians. According to this chapter, there were forty-eight states which were subject to the Protector-General during the reign of Emperor Yuan. They were Shanshan 鄯善, Qiemo 且末, Jingjue 精絕, Wumi 扜彌, Yutian 于闐, Pishan 皮山, Suoju 莎車 (north of the Kunlun 昆侖 Mountains); Ruo Qiang 婼羌, Xiao Yuan 小宛, Ronglu 戎盧, Qule 渠勒, Xiye 西夜, Zihe 子合, Puli 蒲犂, Yinai 依耐, Wulei 無雷, Wucha 烏秅 (located in the valley of the Kunlun Mountains); Shule 疏勒, Wensu 温宿, Gumo 姑墨, Qiuci 龜兹, Wulei 烏壘, Quli 渠犂, Weixu 危須, Yanqi 焉耆 (south of the Tianshan Mountains); Pulei 蒲類, Further Pulei, Nearer Jushi 車師, Further Jushi, the state of the Commandant of Jushi 車師都尉國, the state of the Chief of the Further Town of Jushi 車師後城長國, Yulishi 郁立師, Huhu 狐胡, Shan 山, Beilu 卑陸, Further Beilu, Jie 劫, Danhuan 單桓, Eastern Qiemi 且彌, Western Qiemi, Wutanzili 烏貪訾離, Wusun 烏孫, Weitou 尉頭 (located in the valley of the Tianshan Mountains); Juandu 捐毒, Xiuxun 休循, Taohuai 桃槐 (located in the valley of the Cong Mountains); and Dayuan 大宛 (west of the Cong Mountains).[24]

都護治烏壘[70]城，去陽關二千七百三十八里[71]，與渠犂田官相近，土地肥饒，於西域爲中，故都護治焉。[72]

The Protector-General had his seat in the town of Wulei 烏壘[70], which was 2,738 *li*[71] from the Yang Barrier but close to the agricultural office of Quli. The land was fertile and the location was at the center of the Western Regions; for these reasons the Protector-General had his seat there.[72]

[70] Wulei 烏壘, an oasis state on the Northern Route. Wulei [a-liuəi] shares the same etymological origin as the name of a Sai tribe, the Asii.

[71] "2,738 *li*" (Distance 3): The distance from Wulei to the Yang Barrier via Quli. According to the second half of this memoir, "To the south one reaches Quli at a distance of 330 *li*".

[72] One of the reasons the seat of the government of Wulei was the same as that of the

Protector-General is that it was "close to the agricultural office of Quli". The agricultural colonies at Luntai and Quli, set up by Emperor Wu in the Taichu (104-101 BCE) and Tianhan (100-97 BCE) reign-periods, played an important role in the course of the Western Han's control of the Western Regions. Wulei was 330 *li* from Quli; hence they were "close". With the two former states of Wulei and Quli at the center, the largest agricultural area east of the Cong Mountains took shape. Although this was managed by the Han government, it also had an impact on economic development in the various states in the Western Regions. The assertion that "the location was at the center of the Western Regions" was a general statement.

至元帝時，復置戊己校尉[73]，屯田車師前王庭。是時匈奴東蒲類王茲力[74]將人衆千七百餘人降都護，都護分車師後王之西爲烏貪訾離[75]地以處之。

In the time of Emperor Yuan 元 the additional post of the Wuji 戊己 Colonel[73] was established to set up an agricultural colony at the royal court of Nearer Jushi. At this time Zilizhi 茲力支, the king of East Pulei 蒲類[74] of the Xiongnu, led more than 1,700 of his people to submit to the Protector-General. The Protector-General separated the western part of [the land of] the king of Further Jushi to become the territory of Wutanzili 烏貪訾離[75], in order to settle them there.

[73] The Wuji 戊己 Colonel: According to the "Baiguan gongqing biao" of *Hanshu*, "The Wuji Colonel was established in the first year of the Chuyuan 初元 reign-period (48 BCE). His subordinate officers included one Assistant, one Major, and five Captains, whose ranks were equivalent to 600 piculs". Since the Assistant had a rank equivalent to 600 piculs, the Colonel himself must have had a rank equivalent to 2,000 piculs. The establishment of the Colonel was for the agricultural colony in the "royal court of Nearer Jushi", i.e., the town of Jiaohe 交河. The agricultural colony at Jushi during the Western and Eastern Han Dynasties was inaugurated in the fourth year of the Dijie reign-period of Emperor Xuan (66 BCE), when Jushi was not yet divided into the states of Nearer Jushi and Further Jushi. However, if we examine the situation closely, we can conclude that the location of the agricultural colony must have been at the town of Jiaohe, where the royal court of the state of Nearer Jushi was to be established. In the second year of the Yuankang reign-period (64 BCE), Han abandoned the agricultural colony at Jushi and moved the people of Jushi to Quli, because the Xiongnu sent their cavalry to fight for Jushi, occupying the town of Jiaohe and the surrounding area.

In the second year of the Shenjue reign-period (60 BCE), the Rizhu King surrendered to Han, and the Protector-General of the Western Regions, Zheng Ji, attacked and conquered Jushi and moved a part of the agricultural colony at Quli to Northern Xujian, north of the Bogdo Ola range. However, we are not told that the agricultural colony was set up at the town of Jiaohe at the time, indicating that the agricultural colony at the town of Jiaohe was resumed when the Wuji 戊己 Colonel was established, i.e., in the first year in the Chuyuan reign-period of Emperor Yuan. In fact, the Wuji Colonel was established for the agricultural colonies, its precursor being the Colonel of the Agricultural Garrison, so the title Wuji must have had something to do with agricultural colonies. The reason why the "Colonel of the Agricultural Garrison" was renamed "Wuji Colonel" was obviously to signify the control of [the Xiongnu], referring to the idea of the cyclical nature of the five elements, in which one element generates and overcomes another. *Wuji* represents earth, and earth generates metal but subdues water. The Western Regions, located in the west, was seen as "metal", while the Xiongnu, living in the North, as "water". The Colonel resisted the Xiongnu and pacified the Western Regions by setting up agricultural colonies. For these reasons his office was called "*Wuji*".[25] The "Wang Mang zhuan (zhong)" 王莽傳中 of *Hanshu* records: In the fifth month of the third year of the Tianfeng 天鳳 reign-period, "on the day *wuchen* 戊辰, the western bank, where the Changping Lodge 長平館 was located, collapsed. The flow of the Jing 涇 River was obstructed, causing the breach of levees and the flooding toward the north. [The Court] dispatched the Grand Minister of Works 大司空, Wang Yi 王邑, to inspect the area. When he submitted his report upon his return, the ministers offered their congratulations [to Wang Mang], thinking that this is what is meant by the statement in the *Hetu* 河圖, i.e., to 'overcome water with earth' 以土填水, which was an auspicious sign, signifying the destruction of the Xiongnu. Thus, the Court sent the Administrator of Bing Province 并州, Song Hong 宋弘, and the Commandant of the Roving Taskforce, Ren Meng 任萌, among others, to lead the troops to attack the Xiongnu. When they reached the border they stopped to garrison the area". This shows that *Wuji* means to "overcome water with earth".

[74] "Zilizhi 兹力支, the king of East Pulei": This sentence indicates that the area of East Pulei was under the control of the Xiongnu until the reign of Emperor Yuan; Zilizhi himself was the Xiongnu commander to the east of the Pulei Marsh.

[75] Wutanzili 烏貪訾離, originally an area in Further Jushi. It became the state of Wutanzili when the people following Zilizhi settled there. Wutanzili [a-thəm-tzie-liai] probably shares the same etymological origin as Ottorocarae. The latter is mentioned in the *Geography* of Ptolemy (VI, 16),[26] where it refers to one of the tribes in Serica.

自宣、元後，單于稱藩臣，西域服從，其土地山川王侯戶數[76]道里[77]遠近翔實矣。

Since the time of Emperors Xuan 宣 and Yuan 元, the *Chanyu* styled himself vassal and the Western Regions have been submissive. [So] the extent of the lands of the Western Regions, their mountains and rivers, their kings and nobles, the numbers of their households[76] and the distances by road[77] have become clearly known.

[76] "The numbers of their households": This memoir does not record the size of the territories or arable lands of various states; rather, it records, in great detail, the numbers of households, indicating that population is emphasized far more than territories and lands. This is in conformity with the practice whereby the establishment of *xian* 縣 (county) and *xiang* 鄉 was not determined by land but, rather, by the population.[27] The states that were subject to the Protector-General were not only obliged to contribute local products, but also to provide corvée labor and military service. When the Han court was engaged in military actions in the Western Regions, the responsibilities of these states were determined by the number of households, population, and the number of individuals able to bear arms.

[77] "Distances by roads": In this memoir, four types of distances are given: 1) The distance to Chang'an, i.e., the distance from the seat of the king's government of a particular state to Chang'an; 2) the distance to Wulei 烏壘, i.e., the distance from the seat of the king's government of a particular state to Wulei; 3) the distance to the Yang Barrier, i.e., the distance to the Yang Barrier from the seat of the government of a particular dependency of the Da Yuezhi or Kangju or an important locality, e.g., the Suspended Crossing or Wulei 烏壘; and 4) the length of certain section of the route, i.e., the distance between the seat of the king's government of a state and a certain important location. The four types of distances are aggregates of the relevant sections on the route. It should be pointed out that the distances of the same section may vary if based on different references. Specifically, some differences arise from the different routes taken, or from the different methods of surveying; some figures are based on actual surveys, while some are conversions into numbers of *li* in the ratio of 100 *li* a day on horseback, or vice versa. In order to reflect the reality of the contacts among the states in the Western Regions, the editors of this memoir managed to take advantage of the data collected in various channels and, as a result, they preserved, intentionally or unintentionally, many data that are objectively irreconcilable. This is why these figures, seen today, are contradictory, confusing, and complicated. Needless to say, the errors in surveys, as a result of the limited resources available at that

time, add to the difficulties in the interpretation of these figures. The records of relevant distances are very detailed, obviously revealing the close contact between Han and the various states in the Western Regions, and this was a condition for effective control of these states. The emphasis on the distances between the seats of the king's governments of these states and Chang'an only serves to demonstrate the admiration for the Han court on the part of these states.

出陽關，自近者始，曰婼羌[78]。婼羌國王號去胡來王[79]。去陽關千八百里[80]，去長安六千三百里[81]，辟在西南，不當孔道[82]。戶四百五十。口千七百五十，勝兵者五百人。西與且末[83]接。隨畜逐水草，不田作，仰鄯善、且末穀。[84]山有鐵，自作兵，兵有弓、矛、服刀[85]、劍、甲。西北至鄯善，乃當道云。[86]

Setting out from the Yang Barrier, the state nearest to Han is that one of the Qiang 羌 [tribes that is termed] Ruo 婼[78]. Its king is titled Quhulai 去胡來[79] ("abandoner of the Hu 胡 who came over to the King"). Distant by 1,800 *li*[80] from the Yang Barrier and 6,300 *li*[81] from Chang'an 長安, [the state] lies secluded in the south-west and is not situated on the main route[82]. There are 450 households, 1,750 individuals including 500 persons able to bear arms. To the west it adjoins Qiemo 且末[83]. In company with their stock animals [the inhabitants] go in search of water and pasture and do not apply themselves to agricultural work. For field-crops they rely on Shanshan and Qiemo.[84] The mountains produce iron and they make military weapons themselves. For military weapons they have bows, lances, short knives[85], swords, and armor. It is said: advancing to the north-west, one reaches Shanshan and then meets the Route.[86]

[78] Ruo Qiang 婼羌 is a Qiang tribe. That "Qiang" is preceded by "Ruo" is related to "the Rong 戎 of Yunxing 允姓", the precursors of the Asii. They are surnamed Ruo 鄀. "Ruo" 婼 [njiak] is identical to "Ruo" 鄀. Ruo Qiang may be regarded an ethnic group emerging from the intermingling of the Qiang and the Rong of Yunxing.[28] The seat of the royal government of Ruo Qiang was probably located in the valley of the present-day Chulakkan River.[29]

[79] "Quhulai" 去胡來 [khia-ha-lə] could be regarded as a transcription of Tochari, the name of a Sai tribe. In the state of Ruo Qiang, the subjects would probably be Ruo Qiang, while the king or the royal family would probably be Tochari. The Ruo Qiang was probably an ethnic group resulting

from the intermarriage between the Asii and the Qiang. The group living close to the Yang Barrier was under the control of the Tochari; hence the name of their king, Quhulai. According to the Yan Commentary, the king's name means "abandoning the Hu and Rong and coming over to submit to Han". This is only the literal meaning of the characters used in transcribing his name. According to this memoir, the state of Little Yuan 小宛 "adjoins the [land of the] the Ruo Qiang on the east", the state of Ronglu 戎盧 adjoins "the [land of the] Ruo Qiang on the south", the state of Qule 渠勒 adjoins "the [land of the] Ruo Qiang in the west", the state of Yutian 于闐 "adjoins [the land of the] Ruo Qiang in the south", and the state of Nandou 難兜 adjoins "Ruo Qiang to the south". Since the state of Ruo Qiang was very small, with "450 households", it could have adjoined Qiemo 且末 and Xiao Yuan to the west, but it could not have adjoined Ronglu, Qule, Yutian, and Nandou simultaneously. Therefore, we have to consider the possibility that the people of Ruo Qiang were distributed over a vast area, and that the state of Ruo Qiang, described in the section devoted to "Ruo Qiang", was simply a branch whose "king is titled Quhulai". The "Zhao Chongguo zhuan" 趙充國傳 in *Hanshu* states: "We hereby order the General of the Conquest of the Qiang, Xin Wuxian 辛武賢, to command 6,100 troops; the Administrator of Dunhuang, Kuai 快, to command 2,000 troops; and the Colonel of the Chang 長 River, Fu Chang 富昌, and the Captain of Jiuquan 酒泉候, Fengshi 奉世, to lead the forces of 4,000 men from the Ruo 婼 and Yuezhi, a total of about 12,000 troops". If the "Ruo" 婼 refers to 婼羌, then the troops under the command of the Captain of Jiuquan should not have been from the branch of Quhulai only.

[80] "1,800 *li*" (Distance 4.1): The distance between the royal court of Quhulai of the state of Ruo Qiang and the Yang Barrier via the royal court of the state of Shanshan, i.e., the aggregate of the distance between the royal court of Quhulai and the royal court of Shanshan, that is, the distance covered in two days (2 x 100 *li*), and the distance between the royal court of Shanshan and the Yang Barrier, 1,600 *li*.

[81] "6,300 *li*" (Distance 4.2): The distance between the royal court of Quhulai of the state of Ruo Qiang and Chang'an via the royal court of the state of Shanshan; i.e., the aggregate of the distance between the royal court of Quhulai and that of the state of Shanshan, 200 *li*, and the distance between the royal court of the state of Shanshan and Chang'an, 6,100 *li*.

[82] "The main route": *Kong dao* 孔道 is the same as *da dao* 大道, meaning a "vital traffic route".[30] The "Xiyu zhuan" in *Hanshu* states, "Setting out from the Yang Barrier the state nearest to Han is that of the Ruo Qiang". This is why Ruo Qiang is mentioned first, then Shanshan. However, Ruo Qiang is 200 *li* further on from both the Yang Barrier and Chang'an than Shanshan, since one had

to travel by way of the seat of the king's government of Shanshan in order to reach the Yang Barrier or Chang'an. This is probably because this state was "not situated on the main route".

[83] Qiemo 且末, an oasis state on the Southern Route. The name "Qiemo" [tzia(gia)-muat] can be regarded as coming from the Comari or Comedie who had entered the Tarim Basin. About 177/176 BCE, the Da Yuezhi migrated westwards, driving the Sakās from the valleys of the Ili and Chu rivers. A group of the Sakās migrated southward to the Cong Mountains. The *Geography* of Ptolemy (VI, 13) calls the region located to the east of Sogdiana, to the west of the Pamirs, to the south of the Syr Darya, and to north of the Hindukush, "Sacara". According to Ptolemy, some small tribes that moved within this region were the Caratae, the Comari, the Comediae, the Massagetae, and the Grynaci, among others. It seems that the Sakās can be divided into the four tribes (the Asii and the others), and the latter can further be divided into a number of smaller tribes, who all possessed their own names. It is likely that, after arriving in the Cong Mountains, these tribes gradually infiltrated the Tarim Basin, establishing a number of small states there.

[84] "For field-crops they rely on Shanshan and Qiemo": The economy of the state of Ruo Qiang was mainly animal husbandry. For their reliance on others for field-crops, see note 97.

[85] *Fu dao* 服刀 is the same as *pei dao* 佩刀 (knife worn at the waist). The Yan Commentary quotes Liu De 刘德: "The *fu dao* 服刀 signifies a kind of dagger (*pai bi* 拍髀)."

[86] The "Wei Xuancheng zhuan" 韋玄成傳 in *Hanshu* (ch. 73) records the advice of Wang Shun 王舜 and Liu Xin 劉歆: "[Emperor Wu] launched an attack on Dayuan, controlled the thirty-six states, made an alliance with Wusun, and established the prefectures of Dunhuang, Jiuquan and Zhangye, in order to separate them from the Ruo Qiang and to sever the right arm of the Xiongnu in the west". Ruo Qiang was closest to the Yang Barrier. "To separate them from the Ruo Qiang" means to sever the connections between the Xiongnu and the Western Regions.

鄯善國，本名樓蘭[87]，王治扜泥城[88]，去陽關千六百里[89]，去長安六千一百里[90]。戶千五百七十，口萬四千一百，勝兵二千九百十二人。輔國侯、卻胡侯、鄯善都尉、擊車師都尉[91]、左右且渠[92]、擊車師君各一人，譯長二人。西北去都護治所千七百八十五里[93]，至山國[94]千三百六十五里[95]，西北至車師千八百九十里[96]。

The original name of the state of Shanshan 鄯善 was Loulan 樓蘭[87]. The seat of the king's government is the town of Wuni 扜泥[88], and it is 1,600 *li*[89] from the Yang

Barrierand 6,100 *li* [90] from Chang'an. There are 1,570 households, 14,100 individuals including 2,912 persons able to bear arms. [There are the following officials]: the Noble of Support of the State, the Noble of Resistance to the Hu, the Commandant of Shanshan, the Commandant of Assault on Jushi[91], the Qiequ 且渠 of the Left and the Right[92], the Master of Assault on Jushi, and two Interpreters-in-Chief. To the north-west it is a distance of 1,785 *li* [93] to the seat of the Protector-General. To the state of [Mo] shan [墨] 山[94], it is 1,365 *li* [95], and to the north-west it is 1,890 *li* [96] to Jushi.

[87] Loulan 樓蘭 was an oasis state to the north-east of the Lop Nur, first seen in the "Dayuan liezhuan" in *Shiji*. "Loulan" [lo-lan] can be taken as a transliteration of Sacarauli (i.e., Sakā [K]rauli or Sakā Krorai[mna]). It was probably founded by the Sacarauli who entered the eastern part of the Tarim Basin.[31]

[88] "The town of Wuni" 扜泥城 was most likely the ancient town of Quarklik, i.e., the present-day seat of Ruoqiang County to the south-west of Lop Nur.[32] There are some scholars who believe that Wuni [a-nyei] is a transliteration of "Khuhani" in Kharoṣṭhī, meaning "capital".[33]

[89] "1,600 *li*" (Distance 5.1): The distance from Wuni along the northern foot of the Altyn Tagh to the Yang Barrier.

[90] "6,100 *li*" (Distance 5.2): The distance from Wuni to Chang'an via the Yang Barrier.

[91] The nature of Commandant of Assault on Jushi 擊車師都尉 and the Master of Assault on Jushi 擊車師君 in the state of Shanshan is similar to that of the Commandant of Assault on Jushi of the state Qiuci, the Master of Assault on Jushi in the state of Yanqi, and the Master of Defence against Xiye 備西夜君 in the state of Suoju. Normally these states were Han dependencies, and they should not have been engaged in internecine fighting. Even if there was friction, they should not have established offices and positions for such matters. Therefore, the positions are most likely to have been established before their submission to Han. When they submitted to Han, Han did not pursue such matters any further and the positions were preserved.

[92] "Qiequ" 且渠: An official title, also used by the Xiongnu (see the "Xiongnu liezhuan (shang)" of *Hanshu*).

[93] "1,785 *li*" (Distance 5.3): The distance from Wuni northwards to Wulei via the seat of the king's government of Weili 尉犂. According to the description of the state of Weili in this memoir, "To the west it is a distance of 300 *li* to the seat of the Protector-General. To the south it adjoins Shanshan and Qiemo".

[94] The state of Shan 山國 was an oasis state on the Northern Route. Some scholars suggest that it should be the state of Moshan 墨山 according to "Heshui (er)" 河水二 of *Shuijing zhu* 水經注.[34] Moshan [mət-shean] can be understood as the abbreviated transcription of the Massagetae, first seen in the *History* of Herodotus (I, 153, 201).[35]

[95] "1,365 *li*" (Distance 5.4): The distance from Wuni northward to the king's court of the state of Shan. According to the account of the state of Shan in this memoir, "it adjoins Shanshan and Qiemo in the south-east".

[96] 1,890 *li* (Distance 5.5): The distance from Wuni to the royal court of Nearer Jushi via the royal court of the state of Shan.

地沙鹵，少田，寄田仰穀旁國。[97]國出玉，多葭葦[98]、檉柳[99]、胡桐[100]、白草[101]。民隨畜牧逐水草，有驢馬、多橐它。[102]能作兵，與婼羌同。

The land is sandy and salty, and there are few cultivated fields. The state hopes to obtain [the produce of] cultivated fields and looks to neighboring states for field-crops.[97] It produces jade and there is an abundance of rushes[98], tamarisk[99], the balsam poplar[100], and white grass[101]. In company with their flocks and herds, the inhabitants go in search of water and pasture, and there are asses, horses, and a large number of camels.[102] [The inhabitants] are capable of making military weapons in the same way as the Ruo Qiang tribes.

[97] "The state hopes to obtain [the produce of] cultivated fields and looks to neighboring states for field-crops": According to the Yan Commentary, the state "has its populace work the fields of other states, and buys grains from other states". If the people of Shanshan actually depended on other states for agricultural products, it is not true, seemingly, that they knew nothing about agriculture. The previous text, which states that Ruo Qiang depended on Shanshan for grains, also indicates this. While the state of Shanshan depended on others for grains, Ruo Qiang in turn depended on Shanshan for grains.

[98] "Rushes" 葭葦, a kind of reed.

[99] "Tamarisk" 檉柳 is generally regarded as *Tamarix ramosissima*, a desert shrub which is no taller than 1.7 meters, and has red stems, green leaves, and thick foliage.

[100] "The balsam poplar" 胡桐 is generally regarded as *hu yang* 胡楊 (*Populus diversifolia*).

[101] "White grass" 白草 is generally regarded as *bai ying* 白英 (*Solanium dulcamara*), interpreted to be the common bittersweet, woody nightshade, or the creeper *Ampelopsis serianaefolia*. Some also regard it as the gramineous *Pennisetum flaccidum Griseb.*[36]

[102] The economy of Shanshan, like that of Ruo Qiang, was mainly animal husbandry.

初，武帝感張騫之言，甘心欲通大宛諸國，使者相望於道，一歲中多至十餘輩。[103] 樓蘭、姑師當道，苦之，攻劫漢使王恢等，又數爲匈奴耳目，令其兵遮漢使。[104] 漢使多言其國有城邑，兵弱易擊。

Originally Emperor Wu 武 had been won over by Zhang Qian's 張騫 reports and whole-heartedly wished to open communications with Dayuan and various states. [Han] envoys were in sight of each other [as they made their way] along the routes, and as many as ten missions were sent during a single year.[103] Loulan and Gushi, being situated on the route, harassed these missions, attacking and robbing envoys such as Wang Hui 王恢. In addition they frequently acted as ears and eyes for the Xiongnu, enabling their troops to intercept the Han envoys.[104] The Han envoys frequently said that those states possessed towns, and that their troops were weak and easy to attack.

[103] "Emperor Wu had been won over by Zhang Qian's reports…": The "Zhang Qian, Li Guangli zhuan" in *Hanshu* states: "As the Son of Heaven had a fondness for the horses of [Da]yuan, these envoys were in sight of each other on the roads. A single mission comprised several hundred members, if large, and a hundred or so if small; and the gifts they carried were generally [chosen to] resemble those sent in the time of the Marquis of Bowang 博望." (Hulsewé and Loewe, *China in Central Asia*, p. 218; with modifications.)

[104] "Loulan and Gushi, being situated on the route, harrassed these missions": The text refers to the situation after the third year of the Yuanshuo reign-period (126 BCE), especially after the second year of the Yuanding reign-period (115 BCE), indicating that Western Han's earliest contacts with the Western Regions were mostly made via Loulan. Specifically, one could set out from the Yang Barrier and go west along the northern foot of the Āltyn Tagh to the seat of government of Loulan, which was situated to the south-west of the Lop Nur, and then go further west along the northern foot of the Kunlun Mountains to the various states on the Southern Route; or proceed north from the seat of government of Loulan to Gushi, which was situated to the north-west of the Lop Nur at that time,

and then go to the various states on the Northern Route along the Konche Darya from Gushi. These routes were used mainly because the envoys could not pass through the eastern end of the Tianshan Mountains, an area under the control of the Xiongnu.

於是武帝遣從票侯趙破奴將屬國 [105] 騎及郡兵數萬擊姑師。王恢數爲樓蘭所苦，上令恢佐破奴將兵。破奴與輕騎七百人先至，虜樓蘭王，遂破姑師，因暴兵威以動烏孫、大宛之屬。[106] 還，封破奴爲浞野侯 [107]，恢爲浩侯 [108]。於是漢列亭鄣 [109] 至玉門矣。[110]

Whereupon Emperor Wu sent Zhao Ponu 趙破奴, Marquis of Congpiao 從票, to take command of a force, composed of cavalry from the dependent states[105] and troops from the prefectures, and numbering several tens of thousands, to attack Gushi. Wang Hui had on several occasions been harrassed by Loulan, and the emperor ordered him to assist [Zhao] Ponu in leading the troops. [Zhao] Ponu reached the destination first, with seven hundred light cavalry; and, having captured the king of Loulan, he then defeated Gushi. He took the opportunity to stage a display of his military power so as to shock (states) like Wusun and Dayuan.[106] On his return, [Zhao] Ponu was invested with the title of Marquis of Zhuoye 浞野 [107] and [Wang] Hui with that of Hao 浩[108]. Han now [built] a line of government posts and defences[109] stretching as far as the Yumen Barrier. [110]

[105] "The dependent states" 屬國: According to the "Wudi benji" 武帝本紀 in *Hanshu*, in the second year of the Yuanshou reign-period (121 BCE), "In the autumn, Xiongnu's Kunxie 昆邪 King killed the Xiutu 休屠 King, and surrendered with his community of more than 40,000. [The Emperor] established five dependent states to settle them, and set up Wuwei and Jiuquan prefectures on their former territories".

[106] Han defeated Loulan and Gushi in the third year of the Yuanfeng reign-period (108 BCE) of Emperor Wu. The target of Zhao Ponu's assault was Gushi, but he first sent Wang Hui to Loulan. This shows that Han forces advanced north and attacked Gushi after they reached the town of Wuni along the northern foot of the Āltyn Tagh, because one could reach the various states on the Northern Route going west along the Konche Darya. Only after Gushi was defeated could Han take "the opportunity to stage a display of [its] military power so as to shock states like Wusun and Dayuan".

[107] According to the "Jing, Wu, Zhao, Xuan, Yuan, Cheng gongchen biao" 景武昭宣元成功臣表 in *Hanshu*, "Zhao Ponu, the Marquis of Congpiao, again accompanied the Piaoqi General to attack the Xiongnu as a captain, and captured two princes, for which he was invested with the title of Marquis, with a fief of 2,000 households. He was granted the title on the day *bingxu* 丙戌 in the fifth month of the second year [of the Yuanshou reign-period] (121 BCE). The marquisate lasted for nine years when, in the fifth year of the Yuanding reign-period (112 BCE), his title was stripped because of the poor quality of the gold he had presented to the emperor on the occasion of a state sacrifice. In the third year of the Yuanfeng reign-period (108 BCE), he was ennobled again when he, as the General of the Xiongnu River[37] 匈奴河將軍, attacked Loulan, and was invested with the title of the Marquis of Zuoye 浞野. Five years later, in the second year of the Taichu reign-period (103 BCE), he, as the General of Junji 浚稽, attacked the Xiongnu. He was captured by the Xiongnu, and his troops were wiped out". According to the "Wei Qing, Huo Qubing zhuan" 衛青霍去病傳 of *Hanshu*, "Zhao Ponu was a native of Taiyuan 太原. He once lived among the Xiongnu, and later returned to Han, becoming a captain in the army of the Piaoqi General. He set out from Beidi 北地 [prefecture]. He was invested with the title of the Marquis of Congpiao. Later his title was stripped for the poor quality of the gold he had presented to the emperor on the occasion of a state sacrifice. A year later, as the General of the Xiongnu River, he attacked the Hu, reaching the Xiongnu River,[38] but did not accomplish anything. After another year, he attacked the king of Loulan, and was invested with the title of the Marquis of Zuoye. Six years later, he, as the Junji General,[39] commanded 20,000 cavalrymen to attack the King of the Left of the Xiongnu. The King of the Left engaged him in battle, leading 80,000 cavalrymen to surround him. [Zhao] Ponu was taken prisoner by the enemy, with his troops all wiped out".

[108] According to the "Jing, Wu, Zhao, Xuan, Yuan, Cheng gongchen biao" 景武昭宣元成功臣表 in *Hanshu*, "Wang Hui, the Marquis of Hao, formerly led the forces in the capacity of Zhonglangjiang 中郎將 [Leader of the Gentlemen of the Palace] and captured the King of Jushi, for which he was granted the title of marquis. He was invested with the title on the day *jiashen* 甲申 in the first month of the fourth year (107 BCE) of the Yuanfeng reign-period. His marquisate lasted for one month until, acting as the commissioner to Jiuquan, he committed the offense of forging the emperor's edict, which had harmful consequences. He was deemed worthy of death by beheading, but he avoided this punishment by being demoted to the status of commoner and stripped of his title".

[109] *Ting* 亭 refers to posts, while *zhang* 鄣 refers to defence constructions or projects.

[110] "Han now [built] a line of government posts and defences stretching as far as the Yumen Barrier" 列亭鄣至玉門: The "Dayuan liezhuan" of *Shiji* reads, "the line of posts and defences of

Jiuquan reached as far as the Yumen Barrier" 酒泉列亭鄣至玉門.

樓蘭既降服貢獻，匈奴聞，發兵擊之。於是樓蘭遣一子質匈奴，一子質漢。[111]

Once Loulan had surrendered and presented tributary gifts [to the Han emperor], the Xiongnu heard of those events and sent out troops to attack [Loulan]. Whereupon [the king of] Loulan sent one son as a hostage to the Xiongnu and one as a hostage to Han.[111]

[111] Starting from the third year of the Yuanfeng 元封 reign-period (108 BCE), Loulan had become a subject of both Han and the Xiongnu after having been completely subject to the Xiongnu. Gushi is not mentioned here, probably because the remaining population of Gushi crossed the Kuruk-tagh and went north to the Xiongnu for shelter after its king had been arrested. The Gushi after this event was known in history as "Jushi".[40]

後貳師軍擊大宛。匈奴欲遮之，貳師兵盛不敢當，卽遣騎因樓蘭候漢使後過者，欲絕勿通。時漢軍正任文將兵屯玉門關，爲貳師後距，捕得生口，知狀以聞。上詔文便道引兵捕樓蘭王。將詣闕，簿責王，[112]對曰："小國在大國間，不兩屬無以自安。願徙國入居漢地。"上直其言，遣歸國，亦因使候司匈奴。匈奴自是不甚親信樓蘭。[113]

Later, the army of the Ershi 貳師 [General] attacked Dayuan. Although the Xiongnu wished to intercept him, the Ershi [General's] forces were strong and [the Xiongnu] did not dare to confront them. So they sent cavalry to Loulan in order to await those of the Han envoys who were the last to pass by, with the intention of cutting them off and denying them passage. At this time Ren Wen 任文, an Army Controller, was in command of a force; he was garrisoning the Yumen Barrier and acting as a rear-guard for the Ershi [General]. From live captives whom he had taken he ascertained the facts of the situation and reported accordingly. The emperor commanded [Ren] Wen to lead the troops by a suitable route, to arrest the king of Loulan, and to bring him to the palace in the capital city. [Ren Wen] interrogated the king by presenting him with a bill of indictment,[112] which he answered by claiming that [Loulan] was a small state lying

among large states, and that unless it subjected itself to both parties, there would be no means of keeping itself in safety; he therefore wished to remove his kingdom and take up residence within the Han territory. The emperor accepted this statement as true and sent him back to his state; in addition he employed [the king's] services to keep a watch on the Xiongnu, who from then on showed no great friendliness or trust in Loulan.[113]

[112] "So they sent cavalry to Loulan to await those of the Han envoys who were the last to pass by…": The events narrated here occurred in the winter of the third year of the Taichu reign-period (102 BCE), when Li Guangli himself led the army on its return along the Southern Route. According to the "Xiongnu zhuan" in *Hanshu*, in the autumn of the third year of the Taichu reign-period, the Xiongnu "sent the Xian King of the Right to attack Jiuquan and Zhangye, capturing several thousand men. Ren Wen 任文, coming to provide relief, fought back. The Xiongnu retreated, losing everything they had gained. When he heard that the Ershi General Li Guangli defeated Dayuan, cut off the head of its king, and returned home, the *Chanyu* wanted to block the way but dared not do so". It might have been the fourth year of the Taichu reign-period (101 BCE) that Ren Wen arrested the king of Loulan and brought "him to the palace in the capital city".

[113] What the king of Loulan briefly stated to Emperor Wu regarding the plight of the small states in the Western Regions under the hostile powers of both Han and the Xiongnu was true. It was both ineluctable and precarious "to subject oneself to both parties".

征和元年，樓蘭王死，國人來請質子[114]在漢者，欲立之。質子常坐漢法，下蠶室宮刑，故不遣。報曰："侍子[115]，天子愛之，不能遣。其更立其次當立者。"樓蘭更立王，漢復責其質子，亦遣一子質匈奴。

In the first year of the Zhenghe 征和 reign-period [92 BCE] the king of Loulan died. His countrymen came to [Chang'an] to request the person of the king's son who was serving as a hostage in Han,[114] as they wished to set him up as king. But the king's son who was held as a hostage had been indicted according to the terms of the Han laws and sent down to the silk-worm house to undergo castration. For this reason Han did not send him to Loulan, but affirmed in reply that "the Son of Heaven has become greatly attached to his attendant[115] and is unable to send him away; in his place you should enthrone the next son who is suitable to succeed to the throne." Loulan established a

king in his place and Han once more claimed a hostage. Another son was likewise sent as hostage to the Xiongnu.

[114] *Zhizi* 質子: The states of Loulan, Dayuan, Kangju, Suoju, Wusun, and others sent their princes to be hostages or to attend at the Han court. The hostages or the princes who had served as attendants at the court served three purposes. First, they played the role of pawns. For example, when the Lesser *Kunmi*, Mozhenjiang 末振將, killed the Greater *Kunmi*, Han took into custody the son of the Lesser *Kunmi*, who was in attendance in the capital. Second, the practice reinforced Han's influence. When the king of Loulan died, the Xiongnu sent Loulan's hostage back first so that he could be established as the king, and the king therefore was close to the Xiongnu. This also clearly shows the effect of Han's ordering the kings of various states to send their sons as hostages. Third, sons of the kings of the various states in the Western Regions taken as hostages or attendants were a symbol that "those whose customs were strange could be brought to court" ("Dayuan liezhuan", *Shiji*).

[115] *Shizi* 侍子: Various states in the Western Regions sent their princes to Han as hostages who would attend the Han court; hence the term *shizi* (princes who attend the Han court).

後王又死，匈奴先聞之，遣質子歸，得立爲王。漢遣使詔新王，令入朝，天子將加厚賞。樓蘭王後妻，故繼母也，謂王曰："先王遣兩子質漢皆不還，奈何欲往朝乎？"王用其計，謝使曰："新立，國未定，願待後年入見天子。"[116]

Later the king died, in his turn. The Xiongnu heard the news first and sent their hostage back to [Loulan] so that he could be established as king. Han sent an envoy bearing a command for the new king, ordering him to come to court, and [promising that] the Son of Heaven would reward him richly. Now the later wife of the king of Loulan was his step-mother, and she spoke to the king in the following terms: "Neither of the sons sent by the previous king as hostages to Han has come back; what purpose is there in proceeding to court?" The king accepted her advice and made his apologies to the envoy; he said that "he had but recently acceded to the throne and that his land was not yet stable; he would prefer to wait until a later year before making his way to court for an audience with the Son of Heaven".[116]

[116] This record shows vividly the diplomatic means by which the Western Han and the

Xiongnu vied for Loulan. At the beginning of the Zhenghe reign-period (92 BCE), the Xiongnu established the post of Commandant of Tongpu ("Slaves") over Yanqi, Weixu, and Weili, strengthening their control over various states in the Western Regions. Loulan, situated at a transport hub, was the place for which the Xiongnu had to contend. Finally, Loulan grew closer to the Xiongnu and was estranged from Han because the hostage who was sent to the Xiongnu was first sent back to Loulan and established as the king. Han's indictment and punishment of the hostage from Loulan in accordance with the terms of its own laws was clearly a mistaken move.

然樓蘭國最在東垂，近漢，當白龍堆[117]，乏水草，常主發導，負水儋糧，送迎漢使，[118]又數爲吏卒所寇，懲艾不便與漢通。後復爲匈奴反間，數遮殺漢使。[119]其弟尉屠耆降漢，具言狀。

However, Loulan was the farthest east [of the states of the Western Regions]. It lay close to Han and confronted the White Dragon Mounds[117]. The locality was short of water and pasture, and was regularly responsible for sending out guides, conveying water, bearing provisions,[118] and escorting or meeting Han envoys. In addition the state was frequently robbed, reprimanded or harmed by officials or conscripts, and found it inexpedient to keep in contact with Han. Later the state again conducted espionage for the Xiongnu, often intercepting and killing Han envoys.[119] The [king's] younger brother, Weituqi 尉屠耆, submitted to Han and gave a full account of the situation.

[117] The White Dragon Mounds 白龍堆 are the present-day *yardang* groups to the north-east of Lop Nur. When the Gushi people moved north, the north-east of Lop Nur became part of Loulan. This is why it was said of Loulan that it "confronted the White Dragon Mounds".

[118] "Conveying water, bearing provisions…": This indicates that the state of Shanshan, as early as when it was called Loulan, had its own agriculture. Moreover, according to the "Dayuan liezhuan" of *Shiji*, by the time of Zhang Qian's first mission to the west at the latest, the state of Loulan already "possessed towns with inner and outer walls". Perhaps for this reason, the state of Shanshan, where "in company with their flocks and herds, the inhabitants go in search of water and pasture", is referred to as a state with towns that possess inner and outer walls.

[119] The more important its position, Loulan, as a small state situated on the route, found its burden heavier, enduring not only corvée labor but also military service. As is recorded in this

memoir, in the third year of the Zhenghe reign-period (90 BCE), Han once again called out its troops to attack Jushi. Under these conditions the instigation of the Xiongnu easily succeeded. Because it leaned to the side of the Xiongnu, Loulan intercepted and killed Han envoys. In the "Fu Jiezi zhuan" 傅介子傳 of *Hanshu* (ch. 70), it is recorded that "Angui 安歸, the king of Loulan, had conducted espionage for the Xiongnu and intercepted and killed Han envoys. He sent out troops to kill and rob the Guards' Major, An Le 安樂; the Counsellor of the Palace, Zhong 忠; and the Gentleman Attendant at the Gate, Sui Cheng 遂成; among others, a total of three parties of Han envoys, as well as the envoys of Anxi and Dayuan, and plundered their emblems of authority, seals, and tributary gifts,[41] which were outrageous offences". From this, we know that Loulan not only killed Han envoys who went west but also killed the envoys of the various states in the Western Regions who came east, and played a role in severing Han's communications with various states in the Western Regions. Obviously Han could not tolerate the conduct of Loulan.[42]

元鳳四年，大將軍霍光白遣平樂監傅介子往刺其王。介子輕將勇敢士，齎金幣，揚言以賜外國爲名。既至樓蘭，詐其王欲賜之，王喜，與介子飲，醉，將其王屏語，壯士二人從後刺殺之，貴人左右皆散走。[120]介子告諭以"王負漢罪，天子遣我誅王，當更立王弟尉屠耆在漢者。漢兵方至，毋敢動，自令滅國矣！"介子遂斬王嘗歸首，馳傳詣闕，縣首北闕下。[121]封介子爲義陽侯[122]。

In the fourth year of the Yuanfeng 元封 reign period [77 BCE], the Supreme General Huo Guang 霍光 laid before the emperor a plan for sending Fu Jiezi 傅介子, Inspector [of the Stables] at the Pingle 平樂 Palace, to go out and stab the king to death. [Fu] Jiezi lightheartedly led a group of bold and venturesome men who were carrying gold and valuables with them; and he let it be known that these were intended as presents for the outer states. Once he had reached Loulan, he deceived the king [by spreading the rumor] that he intended to make him a presentation. The king was delighted; and he became intoxicated while drinking with [Fu] Jiezi, who now took the king aside for a private word. Two of his strong men followed and stabbed the king to death, and all his noblemen and attendants fled in confusion.[120] [Fu] Jiezi proclaimed the following message of admonition from the Han emperor: "The Son of Heaven has sent me to punish the king, by reason of his crime in turning against Han. It is fitting that in his place you should enthrone his younger brother Weituqi who is at present in Han. Han

troops are about to arrive here; do not dare to make any move which would result in yourselves bringing about the destruction of your state." [Fu] Jiezi then beheaded the king, who was named Changgui 嘗歸, and sent his head by the mounted messenger service to the palace, where it was suspended at the Northern Tower.[121] [Fu] Jiezi was invested with the title of Marquis of Yiyang 義陽.[122]

[120] Fu Jiezi's plan succeeded because the King of Loulan coveted Han goods, an example of Han's influence in the Western Regions. This can be considered in the context of Zhang Qian's mission to Dayuan and Wusun.

[121] According to the "Fu Jiezi zhuan" in *Hanshu*, "During the Yuanfeng 元鳳 reign-period, [Fu] Jiezi, the Superintendent of Fine Horse [Stables] 駿馬監, asked to be sent on a diplomatic mission to Dayuan and to admonish the states of Loulan and Qiuci with imperial decrees. On his arrival at Loulan, Fu Jiezi upbraided the king for his role in inciting the Xiongnu to intercept and kill Han envoys, saying, 'The Han army is arriving. If you had not instigated the Xiongnu, why didn't you mention that their envoys had gone to other states via your kingdom?' The king admitted guilt, saying, 'Officers of the Xiongnu mission have left. By this time they should have arrived at Wusun via Qiuci'. [Fu] Jiezi then went to Qiuci and upbraided its king, who also admitted his guilt. When [Fu] Jiezi returned to Qiuci from Dayuan, Qiuci's king told him that the envoys of the Xiongnu, having returned from Wusun, were in his state. [Fu] Jiezi, therefore, led his officers and soldiers to execute the Xiongnu's envoys. When he returned and reported this to the emperor, he was promoted to Zhonglang 中郎 (Gentleman of the Palace), and then promoted to Inspector [of the Stables] at the Pingle Palace. Fu Jiezi spoke to Huo Guang, the Supreme General: '[The kings of] Loulan and Qiuci changed sides several times. If they aren't killed, justice is not served. When I went through Qiuci, the king mingled with people, so it will be easy to kill him. I wish to stab him to death, and demonstrate our resolution and will to the various states'. The Supreme General said, 'Qiuci is far away. Just try it on Loulan'. After the matter was reported to the emperor, Fu Jiezi was sent out. [Fu] Jiezi, along with his officers and soldiers, brought gold and valuables, spreading the word that they were presents to the outer states, and arrived in Loulan. The king of Loulan had no liking for [Fu] Jiezi, and [Fu] Jiezi pretended to go away. When he reached the western border, he sent an interpreter to inform [the king]: 'The Han envoy with gold and brocades and embroideries as presents is making an inspection tour of various states to distribute them. But if the king does not come to accept them, I will go to the western states.' He then displayed the gold and valuables to the interpreter. The interpreter returned

to report this to the king. The king was greedy for Han goods and came to call on the envoy. [Fu] Jiezi sat down and drank with him and displayed the valuables to him. After the king and the others were intoxicated, [Fu] Jiezi said to the king, 'The Son of Heaven ordered me to have a word with the king in private'. The king stood up and walked to [Fu] Jiezi's tent, ordering the attendants to leave while they spoke. Two sturdy men stabbed him in his back. He died as soon as the knives crossed in his chest. The nobles attending him all dispersed and fled. Fu Jiezi admonished them: 'The king has committed an offence against Han, so the Son of Heaven sent me to execute him. In his place you should enthrone the former crown prince who is at present in Han. The Han armies are arriving. Don't do anything; otherwise, your state will be wiped out'. He then returned to the [Han] palace, carrying the head of the king". From this, it can be inferred that the former king of Loulan, Changgui 嘗歸, had sent one son, Weituqi 尉屠耆, as a hostage to Han, and another son, Angui 安歸, as a hostage to the Xiongnu. After Changgui was established, his latter wife said to him, "Neither of the sons sent by the previous king as hostages to Han has come back". "I have been in Han for a long time", Weituqi said when he returned home. From these passages it can be inferred that the statement that "Weituqi submitted to Han and gave a full account of the situation" in this text mainly refers to the situation before Angui's accession. The passage from "Loulan was the farthest east [of the states of the Western Regions]" to "later the state again conducted espionage for the Xiongnu, often intercepting and killing Han envoys" describes the circumstances both before and after Changgui's accession. Moreover, it would be easier to kill the king of Qiuci than Changgui, the king of Loulan who "had no liking for" Fu Jiezi. The reason why Huo Guang insisted that Fu Jiezi stab the king of Loulan first was obviously because Loulan was more important than Qiuci. Han had Changgui, who had been established by the Xiongnu, stabbed, then installed Weituqi, who was close to Han, and sent a general to set up an agricultural establishment at Yixun, all in order to eliminate the factors that led to Loulan's disloyalty. As expected, Loulan, i.e., Shanshan, was subject to Han from then on.

[122] According to the "Jing, Wu, Zhao, Xuan, Yuan, Cheng gongchen biao" in *Hanshu*, "Fu Jiezi, the Marquis of Yiyang 義陽, as the Inspector [of the Stables] at the Pingle Palace, went on a mission and killed the king of Loulan, cutting off his head. For this service he was ennobled with a fief of 759 households on the day *yisi* 乙巳 in the seventh month". An edict of Emperor Zhao 昭 is included in the "Fu Jiezi zhuan" of *Hanshu*: "Fu Jiezi, the Inspector [of the Stables] at the Pingle Palace, went on a mission carrying the imperial emblem of authority, and cut off the head of the king of Loulan, Angui. It was suspended at the Northern Tower. He settled a grievous offence with justice and without resorting to military force. Let Fu Jiezi be invested with the title of Marquis of

Yiyang, with a fief of 700 households, and the men of valor, who stabbed the king to death, be granted the positions of Gentlemen in Attendance". Angui here should be Changgui (one version must be incorrect).

乃立尉屠耆爲王，更名其國爲鄯善[123]，爲刻印章，賜以宮女爲夫人，備車騎輜重，丞相、將軍率百官送至橫門[124]外，祖[125]而遣之。

[Han] then established Weituqi as king, changing the name of the state to Shanshan 鄯善[123]. An official seal was engraved for [the king's] use; he was presented with one of the women of the palace to be his wife, and carriages, a mounted retinue, and baggage carts were prepared for him. The chancellor [and generals] led [a group] of government officials to escort him out of Heng 橫 Gate[124]; and when the ceremony of "godspeed" had been performed[125] he was sent on his way.

[123] "Changing the name of the state to Shanshan" 鄯善: The intention was obviously to make the state of Loulan forsake the Xiongnu for Han, and renounce evil for good. But Shanshan is only a transliteration that accommodates both pronunciation and meaning. In other words, "Shanshan", essentially, is a Chinese transliteration acceptable to the people of Loulan; the Chinese only emphasized "desiring good" in one of the connotations of the Chinese characters in the name. Similar examples include the title "Quhulai" 去胡來 of the king of Ruo Qiang. There are scholars who regard Shanshan [zjian-zjian] as sharing the same origin as Cherchen or Charchen.[43]

[124] *Hengmen* 橫門 (Heng Gate): According to *Sanfu huangtu* 三輔黃圖 (ch. 1), "To the north of Chang'an, the first gate toward the west is called Heng Gate".

[125] "*Zu*" 祖: According to the Yan Commentary, it means to "perform the ceremony of 'godspeed'." According to the Yan Commentary on "Jing shisan wang zhuan" 景十三王傳, "'*Zu*' is the sacrifice performed when seeing someone off, followed by a feast. In the past, Leizu 纍祖, the son of the Yellow Emperor, enjoyed travelling afar. But he died on the way, and was regarded as the god [of travel] by the future generations".

王自請天子曰："身在漢久，今歸，單弱，而前王有子在，恐爲所殺。國中有伊循城[126]，其地肥美，願漢遣一將屯田積穀，令臣得依其威重。"[127]於是漢遣司馬一人、吏士四十人，田伊循以填撫之。其後更置都尉，伊循官置始

此矣。[128]

The king had made a personal request to the Son of Heaven. "For a long time", he said: "I have been in Han. Now I am returning home deserted and weak at a time when sons of the former king are alive, and I fear that I may be killed by them. There is a town [called] Yixun 伊循 [126] in the state, whose land is fertile. I would be grateful if Han could send one leader to set up an agricultural colony there and accumulate a store of field-crops, so that I would be able to rely on the support of Han prestige."[127] Thereupon Han sent one major and forty officers and others to colonise Yixun, in order to maintain a peaceful situation. At a later time the office of Commandant was established instead; the foundation of an official post at Yixun started at this juncture. [128]

[126] The site of Yixun is generally considered to be located near present-day Miran to the east of Ruoqiang County, Xinjiang. Yixun [iei-ziuən] can be taken as a transcription of Asii, the name of a Sai tribe.

[127] "Whose land is fertile…": That the inhabitants of Shanshan went in search of water and pasture in company with their flocks and herds was their custom, not the result of their "sandy and salty" land.

[128] The Commandant at Yixun set up an agricultural colony there and accumulated a store of field-crops, indicating that its function was also to provide supplies to Han envoys as well as to pacify Shanshan. In the "Feng Fengshi zhuan" 馮奉世傳 in *Hanshu* (ch. 79), it is recorded that, during the reign of Emperor Xuan, "Feng Fengshi was sent on a mission to escort visitors back from Dayuan and another place and reached the town of Yixiu 伊脩". Feng Fengshi was received by the Commandant Song Jiang 宋將, which shows one of the duties of the Commandant at Yixun. Yixiu 伊脩 in the text is a corruption of Yixun 伊循, for the characters look similar.

鄯善當漢道衝，西通且末七百二十里[129]。自且末以往皆種五穀，土地草木，畜產作兵，略與漢同，有異乃記云。

Shanshan 鄯善 is situated on the Han communication routes; to the west it is connected with Qiemo over a distance of 720 *li* [129]. From Qiemo and beyond, [the states] all sow the five field-crops. The land, vegetation, stock-animals and manufacture of weapons

are in general similar to those of Han. Where there are differences they will be noted.

[129] "720 *li*" (Distance 5.6): The distance from the town of Wuni eastward to the seat of the king's government of Qiemo.

且末國，王治且末城[130]，去長安六千八百二十里[131]。戶二百三十，口千六百一十，勝兵三百二十人。輔國侯、左右將、譯長各一人。西北至都護治所二千二百五十八里[132]，北接尉犂[133]，南至小宛[134]可三日行[135]。有蒲陶[136]諸果。西通精絕[137]二千里[138]。

The state of Qiemo 且末: The seat of the king's government is in the town of Qiemo[130], which is 6,820 *li* [131] from Chang'an. There are 230 households, 1,610 individuals including 320 persons able to bear arms. [There are the following officials:] the Noble of Support of the State, the Leaders of the Left and the Right, and one Interpreter-in-Chief. To the north-west it is a distance of 2,258 *li* [132] to the seat of the Protector-General. To the north it adjoins Weili 尉犂,[133] and to the south one reaches Xiao Yuan 小宛 [134] after some three days' journey [135]. There are grapes and various types of fruit.[136] To the west there is communication with Jingjue 精絕 [137] over a distance of 2,000 *li* [138].

[130] The site of the town of Qiemo is generally considered to be located to the south-west of present-day Qiemo County, i.e., the ruins of Lalulik Tati. This theory is not final. Eighty kilometers to the north of Qiemo County, in the desert and by the ancient road along the Ayak River is another site of an ancient town, with a complete set of architecture and facilities. The possibility cannot be eliminated that this ancient town was the seat of the king's government of Qiemo.[44]

[131] "6,820 *li*" (Distance 6.1): The distance from Qiemo to Chang'an via the seat of the king's government of Shanshan; i.e., the aggregate of 720 *li*, the distance from Qiemo to the seat of the the king's government of Shanshan, and 6,100 *li*, the distance from the latter to Chang'an.

[132] "2,258 *li*" (Distance 6.2): The distance from Qiemo to Wulei via the seat of the royal government of Weili. According to this text, "To the north it [Qiemo] adjoins Weili". It is also possible that the figure is the distance from Qiemo to Wulei via Quli. According to the second part of this memoir (*Hanshu*, ch. 96B), Weili "adjoins Qiemo in the south-east".

[133] Weili 尉犂 is the same as the Weili 尉黎 in the previous text.

[134] It seems that the original name of Xiao Yuan 小宛 could also be the same as that of Dayuan. Since the term "Dayuan" had been in circulation, the character of *da* 大 in "Dayuan" was mistakenly regarded as the "*da*" which means "great", and "Dayuan" was often abbreviated "Yuan", the character *xiao* 小 ("little") was used in the compound term. In other words, Xiao Yuan also had something to do with the Tochari.

[135] "Three days' journey" (Distance 6.3): The distance from the town of Qiemo to the seat of the king's government of Xiao Yuan. "Some three days' journey" is approximately 300 *li*.

[136] The term *putao* 蒲陶 (grape) is first seen in the "Dayuan liezhuan" of *Shiji*.

[137] Jingjue 精絕 [tzieng-dziuat] and Shanshan should be different transcriptions of the same name. The state of Jingjue was also founded by the Sacarauli.

[138] "2,000 *li*" (Distance 6.4): It should refer to the distance from Qiemo to the seat of the king's government of Jingjue, but the figure is not based on actual surveys, but is deduced from the difference between 8,800 *li*, the distance from the seat of the king's government of Jingjue to Chang'an, and 6,800 *li*, the distance between Qiemo and Chang'an. Since the former is based on the distance from Wumi to Chang'an measured along the Northern Route, the figure of "2,000 *li*" here is not reliable.

小宛國，王治扜零城[139]，去長安七千二百一十里[140]。戶百五十，口千五十，勝兵二百人。輔國侯、左右都尉各一人。西北至都護治所二千五百五十八里[141]，東與婼羌接，辟南不當道。

The state of Xiao Yuan 小宛: The seat of the king's government is at the town of Wuling 扜零[139], and it is 7,210 *li* [140] from Chang'an. There are 150 households, 1,050 individuals including 200 persons able to bear arms. [There are the following officials:] the Noble of Support of the State, and the Commandants of the Left and the Right. To the north-west it is a distance of 2,558 *li* [141] to the seat of the Protector-General. In the east it adjoins the [land of the] the Ruo Qiang. It lies secluded to the south and is not situated on the route.

[139] The site of Wuling 扜零 is generally considered to be located in the present-day ruins of Endere. Wuling [a-lyeng] and Wuni are different transcriptions of the same name.

[140] "7,210 *li*" (Distance 7.1): The distance from Wuling to Chang'an via the seat of the

king's government of Qiemo; i.e., the aggregate of 300 *li*, equivalent to three days' journey from Wuling to the seat of the king's government of Qiemo, and 6,820 *li*, the distance between the latter and Chang'an. The figure "7,210 *li* " 七千二百一十里 is an error for "7,120 *li* " 七千一百二十里.

[141] "2,558 *li*" (Distance 7.2): The distance from Wuling to Wulei via the seat of the king's government of Qiemo; i.e., the aggregate of 300 *li*, the distance between Wuling and the seat of the king's government of Qiemo, and 2,258 *li,* the distance between the latter and Wulei.

精絕國，王治精絕城 [142]，去長安八千八百二十里 [143]。戶四百八十，口三千三百六十，勝兵五百人。精絕都尉、左右將、譯長各一人。北至都護治所二千七百二十三里 [144]，南至戎盧國 [145] 四日行 [146]，地阸陿，西通扜彌 [147] 四百六十里 [148]。

The state of Jingjue 精絕 : The seat of the king's government is at the town of Jingjue[142], and it is 8,820 *li*[143] from Chang'an. There are 480 households, 3,360 individuals including 500 persons able to bear arms. [There are the following officials:] the Commandant of Jingjue, the Leaders of Left and the Right, and an Interpreter-in-Chief. To the north it is a distance of 2,723 *li*[144] to the seat of the Protector-General, and to the south one reaches the state of Ronglu[145] after four days' journey[146]. The land is enclosed. To the west there is communication with Wumi[147] over a distance of 460 *li*[148].

[142] The site of Jingjue 精絕 is generally considered to be located in the present-day Niya ruins, in the desert to the north of Minfeng 民豐 County.

[143] "8,820 *li*" (Distance 8.1): It should be the distance from Jingjue to Chang'an via the seat of the king's government of Qiemo; i.e., the aggregate of 2,000 *li*, the distance between Jingjue and the seat of the king's government of Qiemo, and 6,820 *li*, the distance between the latter and Chang' an. But as a result of the reasons discussed above, the "8,820 *li*" here is the difference between "9,280 *li*", the distance between Chang'an and the seat of the king's government of Wumi, and "460 *li*", the distance between the latter and Jingjue.

[144] "2,723 *li*" (Distance 8.2): The distance from Jingjue northward to Wulei via Quli. According to this memoir, Quli "adjoins … Jingjue in the south".

[145] Ronglu 戎盧 is an oasis state on the Southern Route. Ronglu [njiuəm-la] and Loulan are

different transcriptions of the same name.

[146] "Four days' journey" (Distance 8.3): The distance from Jingjue southward to the seat of the king's government of Ronglu.

[147] Wumi 扜彌 is an oasis state on the Southern Route. It should be the Wumi 扜冞 in the "Dayuan liezhuan" of *Shiji*. Wumi 扜彌 [a(kio)-miai] and Qiemo can be seen as different transcriptions of the same name.

[148] "460 *li*" (Distance 8.4): The distance from Jingjue westward to the seat of the king's government of Wumi.

戎盧國，王治卑品城[149]，去長安八千三百里[150]。戶二百四十，口千六百一十，勝兵三百人。東北至都護治所二千八百五十八里[151]，東與小宛、南與婼羌、西與渠勒[152]接，辟南不當道。

The state of Ronglu 戎盧: The seat of the king's government is at the town of Beipin 卑品[149], and it is 8,300 *li*[150] from Chang'an. There are 240 households, 1,610 individuals including 300 persons able to bear arms. To the north-east it is a distance of 2,858 *li*[151] to the seat of the Protector-General. It adjoins Xiao Yuan on the east, the [land of the] Ruo Qiang on the south and Qule[152] on the west. It lies secluded to the south and is not situated on the route.

[149] The site of Beipin 卑品 is generally regarded as located near Minfeng 民豐 County, in the present-day valley of the Niya River. Beipin [pie-phiəm] could be a transliteration of Bhīma.

[150] "8,300 *li*" (Distance 9.1): This is probably the distance from Beipin to Chang'an via the seat of the royal government of King Quhulai; i.e., the aggregate of the distance between Beipin and the seat of King Quhulai (twenty days' journey, equivalent to 2,000 *li*), and the distance between the seat of King Quhulai and Chang'an (6,300 *li*). According to this memoir, Ronglu "adjoins … Ruo Qiang on the south", from which we know that south of Ronglu is another place with the toponym Ruo Qiang. One travelling from this Ruo Qiang eastward could reach the seat of King Quhulai.

[151] "2,858 *li*" (Distance 9.2): The distance between Beipin and Wulei 烏壘 via the seat of the king's government of Xiao Yuan; i.e., the aggregate of the distance between Beipin and the seat of the king's government of Xiao Yuan (three days' journey, equivalent to 300 *li*), and the distance between the seat of the king's government and Wulei, 2,558 *li*.

[152] Qule 渠勒 [gia-lek] can be seen as a transliteration of Tochari.

扜彌國，王治扜彌城[153]，去長安九千二百八十里[154]。戶三千三百四十，口二萬四十，勝兵三千五百四十人。輔國侯、左右將、左右都尉、左右騎君各一人，譯長二人。東北至都護治所三千五百五十三里[155]，南與渠勒、東北與龜兹[156]、西北與姑墨[157]接，西通于闐三百九十里[158]。今名寧彌。[159]

The state of Wumi 扜彌: The seat of the king's government is in the town of Wumi[153], and it is 9,280 *li*[154] from Chang'an. There are 3,340 households, 20,040 individuals including 3,540 persons able to bear arms. [There are the following officials:] the Noble of Support of the State, the Leaders of the Left and the Right, the Commandants of the Left and the Right, the Masters of Cavalry of the Left and the Right, and two Interpreters-in-Chief. To the north-east it is a distance of 3,553 *li*[155] to the seat of the Protector-General. It adjoins Qule 渠勒 on the south, Qiuci[156] on the north-east, and Gumo 姑墨[157] on the north-west. To the west there is communication with Yutian 于闐 over a distance of 390 *li*[158]. It is now named Ningmi 寧彌.[159]

[153] The site of Wumi 扜彌 is generally regarded as the present-day ruins of Dandān-Uiliq, 90 kilometers north-east of the seat of Cele 策勒 County.

[154] "9,280 *li*" (Distance 10.1): It should be the distance from Wumi to Chang'an via the seat of the king's government of Jingjue; i.e., the aggregate of 460 *li*, the distance between Wumi and the seat of the king's government of Jingjue, and 8,820 *li*, the distance between the latter and Chang'an. The "9,280 *li*" here is actually the difference between 9,670 *li*, the distance from the seat of the king's government of Yutian to Chang'an, and 390 *li*, the distance between the seat of the king's government of Yutian and Wumi.[45]

[155] "3,553 *li*" (Distance 10.2): The distance from Wumi to Wulei 烏壘 via the seat of the king's government of Gumo, or, possibly, via that of Qiuci. According to the text here, Wumi "adjoins … Qiuci on the north-east and Gumo on the north-west".

[156] Qiuci 龜兹 was an oasis state on the Northern Route. Qiuci could be the transcription of the name of a Sai tribe, the Gasiani.

[157] Gumo 姑墨 was the name of an oasis state on the Northern Route. Gumo [tzia(gia)-mət] and Qiemo might as well be regarded as different transcriptions of the same name.

[158] "390 *li*" (Distance 10.3): The distance from Wumi westward to the seat of the king's government of Yutian.

[159] "It is now named Ningmi" 寧彌: The "now" here refers to the time when this memoir was composed by Ban Gu 班固. The name "Ningmi" should have been given by the people in the Eastern Han. According to the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hou-Han shu* 後漢書, the state of Jumi "has its residence at the town of Ningmi", from which we know that Ningmi was also the name of the capital of the king of Jumi or Wumi. According to the text of *Hou-Han shu*, in the ninth year of the Jianwu 建武 reign-period (33), the King of Suoju, Xian 賢, defeated Wumi, killing its king and in his place installing the son of the king's brother, Kang 康. The state of Jumi was subsequently in turmoil. It was after Emperor Zhang 章 ascended the throne, when it submitted to Han, that it achieved peace. The name of the state was changed to Ningmi possibly on account of this.

渠勒國，王治鞬都城[160]，去長安九千九百五十里[161]。戶三百一十，口二千一百七十，勝兵三百人。東北至都護治所三千八百五十二里[162]，東與戎盧、西與婼羌、北與扜彌接。

The state of Qule 渠勒: The seat of the king's government is at the town of Jiandu 鞬都[160], and it is 9,950 *li*[161] from Chang'an. There are 310 households, 2,170 individuals including 300 persons able to bear arms. To the north-east it is a distance of 3,852 *li*[162] to the seat of the Protector-General. It adjoins Ronglu in the east, the [land of the] Ruo Qiang in the west, and Wumi in the north.

[160] The site of the town of Jiandu 鞬都 is the present-day ruins of Uzun-Tati.[46] "Jiandu" 鞬都 [kian-ta] should be a transcription of Hindhu, or it was so named because it was founded by the Tochari, who moved northward from India.

[161] "9,950 *li*" (Distance 11.1): This is possibly the distance from the town of Jiandu to Chang'an via the seat of the king's government of Ronglu; i.e., the aggregate of 1,650 *li*, equivalent to a journey of 16 days and a half, the distance between the town of Jiandu and the seat of the king's government of Ronglu, and 8,300 *li*, the distance between the latter and Chang'an. According to this text, Qule "adjoins Ronglu in the east".

[162] "3,852 *li*" (Distance 11.2): The distance from Jiandu to Wulei 烏壘 via the seat of the king's government of Wumi; i.e., the aggregate of 300 *li*, equivalent to three days' journey, the

distance between Jiandu and the seat of the king's government of Wumi, and 3,553 *li*, the distance between the latter and Wulei. According to this text, the state of Qule "adjoins Wumi in the north". The "3,553 *li*" (Distance 10.2), the distance between the seat of the king's government of Wumi and Wulei, should be an error for "3,552 *li*".

于闐國，王治西城 [163]，去長安九千六百七十里 [164]。戶三千三百，口萬九千三百，勝兵二千四百人。輔國侯、左右將、左右騎君、東西城長、譯長各一人。東北至都護治所三千九百四十七里 [165]，南與婼羌接，北與姑墨接。于闐之西，水皆西流，注西海。[166] 其東，水東流，注鹽澤，河原出焉。[167] 多玉石。[168] 西通皮山 [169] 三百八十里 [170]。

The state of Yutian 于闐: The seat of the king's government is in the town of Xi[163], and it is 9,670 *li*[164] from Chang'an. There are 3,300 households, 19,300 individuals including 2,400 persons able to bear arms. [There are the following officials:] the Noble of Support of the State, the Leaders of the Left and the Right, the Masters of Cavalry of the Left and the Right, the Chiefs of the Eastern and the Western towns, and the Interpreter-in-Chief. To the north-east it is a distance of 3,947 *li*[165] to the seat of the Protector-General. To the south it adjoins the [land of the] Ruo Qiang; to the north it adjoins Gumo. The rivers to the west of Yutian all flow west, running into the Western Seas[166]. Its eastern rivers flow east, running into the Salt Marsh. The source of the [Yellow] River rises there.[167] There is an abundance of jadestone.[168] To the west there is communication with Pishan 皮山[169] over a distance of 380 *li* [170].

[163] "The town of Xi" 西城: Located near present-day Hetian 和闐, most likely in Toktan.[47] "*Xi*" 西 might have erroneously replaced Yutian 于闐: with "*yu*" 于 omitted and "*tian*" 闐 corrupted to resemble "*xi*" 西.

[164] "9,670 *li*" (Distance 12.1): The distance from the town of Xi to Chang'an via the seat of the king's government of Gumo; i.e., the aggregate of 1,500 *li*, equivalent to fifteen days' journey from the town of Xi to the seat of the king's government of Gumo, and 8,150 *li*, the distance between the seat of the king's government of Gumo and Chang'an. The aggregate is 20 *li* less than 6,970 *li*, probably because the town of Xi was 1,520 *li* from the seat of the king's government of Gumo, and the figure was rounded to fifteen days' journey. According to this text, "to the north it [Yutian] adjoins

Gumo".

[165] "3,947 *li*" (12.2): The distance from the town of Xi to Wulei via the seat of the king's government of Wumi; i.e., the aggregate of 390 *li*, the distance between the town of Xi and the seat of the king's government of Wumi, and 3,552 *li*, the distance between latter and Wulei. Here the "3,947" 三千九百四十七 might be an error for "3,942" 三千九百四十二.

[166] "The Western Seas" 西海: Here it refers to the Aral Sea and the Caspian Sea.

[167] "The source of the [Yellow] River rises there" 河原出焉: This refers to the River Yutian, then regarded as one of the "two sources" of the Yellow River.

[168] "There is an abundance of jadestone": The jade of Yutian is renowned for its high quality.[48]

[169] Pishan 皮山 was an oasis state on the Southern Route. "Pishan" [biai-shean] is an abbreviated transcription of the Massagetae.

[170] "380 *li*" (Distance 12.3): The distance from the town of Xi to the seat of the king's government of Pishan.

皮山國，王治皮山城[171]，去長安萬五十里[172]。戶五百，口三千五百，勝兵五百人。左右將、左右都尉、騎君、譯長各一人。東北至都護治所四千二百九十二里[173]，西南至烏秅[174]國千三百四十里[175]，南與天篤[176]接，北至姑墨千四百五十里[177]，西南當罽賓[178]、烏弋山離[179]道，西北通莎車三百八十里[180]。

The state of Pishan 皮山: The seat of the king's government is at the town of Pishan[171], and it is 10,050 *li*[172] from Chang'an. There are 500 households, 3,500 individuals including 500 persons able to bear arms. [There are the following officials:] the Leaders of the Left and the Right, the Commandants of the Left and the Right, the Masters of Cavalry, and the Interpreter-in-Chief. To the north-east it is a distance of 4,292 *li*[173] to the seat of the Protector-General, and to the south-west it is a distance of 1,340 *li*[175] to the state of Wucha 烏秅[174]. To the south it adjoins Tiandu 天篤[176].To the north it is a distance of 1,450 *li*[177] to Gumo; to the south-west it is situated on the Jibin 罽賓[178] and Wuyishanli 烏弋山離[179] route. To the north-west there is communication with Suoju 莎車over a distance of 380 *li*[180].

[171] The town of Pishan 皮山城 is generally regarded as located near present-day Pishan

County (Guma).

[172] "10,050 *li*": (Distance 13.1): The distance from the town of Pishan to Chang'an via the seat of the king's government of Yutian; i.e., the aggregate of 380 *li*, the distance between the town of Pishan and the seat of the king's government of Yutian, and 9,670 *li*, the distance between the latter and Chang'an.

[173] "4,292 *li*" (Distance 13.2): The distance from the town of Pishan to Wulei via the seat of the king's government of Yutian; i.e., the aggregate of 350 *li*, the journey of three days and a half from Pishan to the seat of the king's government of Yutian, and 3,942 *li*, the distance between the latter and Wulei. The distance between Pishan and the seat of the king's government of Yutian, deduced from the distance between Pishan and Wulei, is different from Distance 12.3, which indicates that the two figures are drawn from different sources.

[174] "Wucha" 烏秅 [a-teak] can be seen as a transliteration of Asii.

[175] "1,340 *li*": (Distance 13.3): The distance from the town of Pishan to the seat of the king's government of Wucha. The distance listed here is different from the figure deduced from the distance between the town of Pishan and the seat of the king's government of Wucha (Distance 14.2), which indicates that the two figures are based on different sources.

[176] Tiandu 天篤 is the area centered on the valley of the present-day Indus. "Tiandu" 天篤 [thyen-tuək] is generally regarded as the transcription of Thindu.

[177] "1,450 *li*" (Distance 13.4): The distance between the town of Pishan and the seat of the king's government of Gumo.

[178] Jibin 罽賓 refers to the area of Gandhāra (the middle and lower reaches of the Kabul River including Puṣkalāvatī and Taxila). "Jibin" 罽賓 [kiat-pien] is a transcription of Kophen, an ancient name for Kabul.[49]

[179] Wuyishanli 烏弋山離 is the name of a state in the Western Regions. The second western migration of the Da Yuezhi also drove some of the Sakās to invade Parthian Persia from Sogdiana and Tukhārestān, and to occupy Drangiana and Arachosia. Drangiana was consequently called Sakāstān. These Sakās had suffered a crushing defeat at the hands of by Mithridates II (124/123-87 BCE), but they proclaimed independence soon after the latter's death. The state of Wuyishanli here is in fact the kingdom of the Sakās, whose political center was in Sakāstān. "Wuyishanli" 烏弋山離 [a-jiək-shean-liai] is a transcription of Alexandria, i.e., Alexandria Prophthasia.[50]

[180] "380 *li*" (Distance 13.5): The distance from the town of Pishan to the seat of the king's government of Suoju.

烏秅國，王治烏秅城 [181]，去長安九千九百五十里 [182]。戶四百九十，口二千七百三十三，勝兵七百四十人。東北至都護治所四千八百九十二里 [183]，北與子合 [184]、蒲犂 [185]，西與難兜 [186] 接。山居，田石間。有白草。累石爲室，民接手飲 。[187] 出小步馬 [188]，有驢無牛。其西則有縣度 [189]，去陽關五千八百八十八里 [190]，去都護治所五千二十里 [191]。縣度者，石山也，谿谷不通，以繩索相引而度云。

The state of Wucha 烏秅: The seat of the king's government is at the town of Wucha[181], and it is 9,950 *li*[182] from Chang'an. There are 490 households, 2,733 individuals including 740 persons able to bear arms. To the north-east it is a distance of 4,892 *li*[183] to the seat of the Protector-General. It adjoins Zihe 子合 [184] and Puli[185] in the north and Nandou 難兜 [186] in the west. [The inhabitants] live in the mountains, and work the land that lies between the rocks. There is white grass, and they pile up stones on one another to make dwellings. The inhabitants drink by joining their hands together.[187] [The land] produces the short-pacing horse[188], and there are asses but no cattle. To the west there is the Suspended Crossing[189], 5,888 *li*[190] from the Yang Barrier and 5,020 *li*[191] from the seat of the Protector-General. It is said: What is termed the Suspended Crossing is a rocky mountain; the valley is impenetrable, and people traverse the place by pulling each other across with ropes.

[181] The site of the town of Wucha is probably located in present-day Hunza.[51]

[182] "9,950 *li*" (Distance 14.1): The distance from Wucha to Chang'an via the seat of the king's government of Puli; i.e., the aggregate of 400 *li*, four days' journey from Wucha to the seat of the king's government of Puli, and 9,550 *li*, the distance between the latter and Chang'an.

[183] "4,892 *li*" (Distance 14.2): The distance between Wucha and Wulei 烏壘 via the seat of the king's government of Pishan; i.e., the aggregate of 600 *li*, six days' journey from Wucha to the seat of the king's government of Pishan, and 4,292 *li*, the distance between the latter and Wulei.

[184] "Zihe" 子合 [tziə-həp] is generally regarded as a derivative of *čukupa* or *čukuban*, i.e., *ču-go-banor* or *ču-go-pan* in Tibetan sources.

[185] Puli 蒲犂 was an oasis state on the Southern Route. "Puli" 蒲犂 [bua-lyei] is probably another transcription of Byltae in the *Geography* of Ptolemy (VI, 13). Byltae originally was probably a tribe of the Massagetae.

[186] Nandou 難兜 was an oasis state on the Southern Route. Nandou 難兜 [nan-to] shares the same name as Nandoumi 難兜靡, the founder of Wusun. The people of Nandou might have had something to do with Wusun.

[187] "The inhabitants drink by joining their hands together" 接手飲: According to the Yan Commentary, "[People] walk down from the top of the mountains to the valleys to drink; hence they join their hands together, the way gibbons do".

[188] "The short-pacing horse" 小步馬 (*xiaobu ma*): According to the Yan Commentary, "*Xiao* is the same as *xi* 細, meaning that such a horse runs quickly with small paces, like what is said these days: It 'leaves a thousand hoofmarks when running a distance of a hundred steps'".

[189] The Suspended Crossing 縣度 is located between Darel and Gilgit in the upper reaches of the Indus.

[190] "5,888 *li*" (Distance 14.3): The distance from the Suspended Crossing to the Yang Barrier via the town of Wucha.

[191] "5,020 *li*" (Distance 14.4): The distance from the Suspended Crossing to the town of Wulei 烏壘 via the town of Wucha. On the distance between the Suspended Crossing and Wulei, we will have two different figures if we deduce from Distance 14.3 and from Distance 14.4. This may mean that the distances to Chang'an and Wulei were measured from different starting points when surveys and calculations were conducted.

西夜國[192]，王號子合王[193]，治呼犍谷[194]，去長安萬二百五十里[195]。戶三百五十，口四千，勝兵千人。東北到都護治所五千四十六里[196]，東與皮山、西南與烏秅、北與莎車、西與蒲犂接。蒲犂及依耐[197]、無雷[198]國皆西夜類也。[199]西夜與胡異，其種類羌氐行國，[200]隨畜逐水草往來。而子合土地出玉石。

The state of Xiye 西夜[192]: The king is titled King of Zihe 子合[193]; the seat of his government is in the valley of Hujian 呼犍[194], and it is 10,250 *li*[195] from Chang'an. There are 350 households, 4,000 individuals including 1,000 persons able to bear arms. To the north-east one reaches the seat of the Protector-General after a distance of 5,046 *li*[196]. It adjoins Pishan in the east, Wucha in the south-west, Suoju in the north, and Puli in the west. Puli as well as the states of Yinai 依耐[197] and Wulei 無雷[198] are all of the same type as Xiye.[199] [The people of] Xiye are different from the Hu; their race is of the same type as the Qiang 羌 and Di 氐. It is a land of nomads[200]; in company with their

stock animals [the inhabitants] move around in search of water and pasture; and the soil of Zihe produces jade-stone.

[192] Xiye 西夜 was an oasis state on the Southern Route. "Xiye" 西夜 [shien-jyak] and "Sai" 塞 [sək] could be regarded as different transcriptions of the same name, so it could also be used as the name of the Sai ethnic group.

[193] "The king is titled King of Zihe": This perhaps indicates that the royal family of Xiye is the Zihe. With the Zihe as the kings of Xiye, the two peoples should have been mixed together to some extent.

[194] "The valley of Hujian" 呼犍谷: It should indicate the valley of the Asgan-sal to the west of Karghalik. To be more precise, it should be near Kosrāb, in the upper reaches of the valley where the Yarkand River and Asgan-sal converge.[52] There is a possibility that "Hujian" [xa-kian] is the Argippaei in the *History* of Herodotus (IV, 23).

[195] "10,250 *li*" (Distance15.1): The distance from the valley of Hujian to Chang'an via the seat of the king's government of Suoju; i.e., the aggregate of 300 *li*, three days' journey from the valley of Hujian to the seat of the king's government of Suoju, and 9,950 *li*, the distance between the latter and Chang'an.

[196] "5,046 *li*" (Distance 15.2): The distance from the valley of Hujian to the town of Wulei 烏壘 via the seat of the king's government of Suoju; i.e., the aggregate of 300 *li*, the distance between Hujian and the seat of the king's government of Suoju, and 4,746 *li*, the distance between the latter and the town of Wulei.

[197] Yinai 依耐 was an oasis state on the Southern Route. "Yinai" 依耐 [iəi-nə] is probably a different transcription of the small tribe Annibi in Serica as seen in the *Geography* of Ptolemy (VI, 16).

[198] Wulei 無雷 was an oasis state on the Southern Route. "Wulei" 無雷 [miua-luəi] could probably be a variant transcription of Byltae in the *Geography* of Ptolemy.

[199] "Puli as well as the states of Yinai and Wulei are all of the same type as Xiye": Since the people of Xiye are of the Sai "race", Puli and Yinai should also be of the Sai "race".

[200] "[The people of] Xiye are different from the Hu; their race is of the same type as the Qiang and Di": The Hu here refers to the Xiongnu, who were most probably Europoid.[53] Since the people of Xiye are of the Sai "race", it should not be said that they "are different from the Hu". The reason for this difference is probably that they were ethnically mixed with the Qiang and Di, hence

the statement, “their race is of the same type as the Qiang and Di”. Furthermore, Qiang and Di are referred to as a “land of nomads”; the connotation of this term here is different from that in the “Dayuan liezhuan” of *Shiji*, where only the Da Yuezhi and other people who ride on horses are referred to as nomads. Here it refers to nomads in a more general sense.

蒲犂國，王治蒲犂谷[201]，去長安九千五百五十里[202]。戶六百五十，口五千，勝兵二千人。東北至都護治所五千三百九十六里[203]，東至莎車五百四十里[204]，北至疏勒五百五十里[205]，南與西夜子合[206]接，西至無雷五百四十里[207]。侯、都尉各一人。寄田莎車。種俗與子合同。[208]

The state of Puli 蒲犂: The seat of the king’s government is in the valley of Puli[201], and it is 9,550 *li*[202] from Chang’an. There are 650 households, 5,000 individuals including 2,000 persons able to bear arms. To the north-east it is a distance of 5,396 *li*[203] to the seat of the Protector-General. To the east it is 540 *li*[204] to Suoju and to the north 550 *li*[205] to Shule 疏勒. To the south it adjoins Xiye and Zihe[206], and to the west it is a distance of 540 *li*[207] to Wulei 無雷. [There are the following officials]: a captain and a commandant. The state hopes to obtain [the produce of] cultivated fields from Suoju. Its race and way of life are similar to those of Zihe.[208]

[201] The site of the vally of Puli 蒲犂谷 is generally regarded as located in present-day Tashkurgan.

[202] “9,550 *li*” (Distance 16.1): The distance from the valley of Puli to Chang’an via the seat of the king’s government of Shule; i.e., 200 *li*, two days’ journey from the valley of Puli to the seat of the king’s government of Shule, and 9,350 *li*, the distance between the latter and Chang’an.

[203] “5,396 *li*” (Distance 16.2): The distance from the valley of Puli to the town of Wulei 烏壘 via the seat of King Zihe’s government in the state of Xiye; i.e., the aggregate of 350 *li*, the journey of three days and a half from the valley of Puli and the seat of King Zihe’s government, and 5,046 *li*, the distance between the latter and the town of Wulei.

[204] “540 *li*” (Distance 16.3): The distance between Puli and the seat of the king’s government of Suoju.

[205] “550 *li*” (Distance 16.4): The distance from Puli to the king’s government of Suoju. This figure is different from the distance between Puli and the seat of the king’s government of Shule,

deduced from 16.1, which indicates that they derive from different sources.

[206] “Xiye and Zihe” 西夜子合: In light of this statement, “The King of Ruo Qiang is titled King Quhulai”, this text should read, “The state of Xiye (whose king is titled King Zihe)” 西夜國 (王號子合王).

[207] “540 *li*” (Distance 16.5): The distance between the valley of Puli and the seat of the king’s government of Wulei 無雷.

[208] “Its race and way of life are similar to those of Zihe”: The text has already stated, “Puli as well as the states of Yinai and Wulei 無雷 are all of the same type as Xiye”. Thus, Puli, like Yinai and Wulei 無雷, is of the same ethnicity as Zihe and shares the same customs; it is also related to Xiye and the Sai. Puli and Wulei 無雷 can also be regarded as different transcriptions of the same name. Although “Zihe” can be seen as the counterpart of *čukupa* or *čukuban*, it cannot be said that the people of Puli, whose “race and way of life are similar to those of Zihe”, and the people of Wulei 無雷 are of the Tibetan “race”, one reason being that Puli 蒲犂 and Wulei 無雷, like Pulei 蒲類, could be seen as different transcriptions of the same name, and Pulei, as a tribe of Jushi 車師, should be of the Sai “race”. The text states explicitly, “The state of Xiye: The king is titled King of Zihe”, indicating that in the period described in the text, the state of Zihe, whose capital was located in the valley of Hujian, was under the control of the Xiye people. Since Xiye could be seen as a transcription of Sakā, then the ethnicity and way of life could have been influenced by Sakās, although in Xiye they might have been different from those in Jushi. But the differences were not conspicuous, and their ways of life and ethnicity were regarded as similar. Since it has been stated that “the state [of Puli] hopes to obtain [the produce of] cultivated fields from Suoju”, and that “its race and way of life are similar to those of Zihe”, the status of Zihe’s economy can be inferred.

依耐國，王治[209]去長安萬一百五十里[210]。戶一百二十五，口六百七十，勝兵三百五十人。東北至都護治所二千七百三十里[211]，至莎車五百四十里[212]，至無雷五百四十里[213]，北至疏勒六百五十里[214]，南與子合接，俗相與同[215]。少穀，寄田疏勒、莎車。

The state of Yinai 依耐 : The seat of the king’s government[209] is 10,150 *li* [210] from Chang’an. There are 125 households, 670 individuals including 350 persons able to bear arms. To the north-east it is a distance of 2,730 *li* [211] to the seat of the Protector-General. It is a distance of 540 *li* [212] to Suoju and 540 *li* [213] to Wulei 無雷; to the north it is a

distance of 650 *li* [214] to Shule. To the south it adjoins Zihe and the way of life of the two places is similar[215]. There are few cereals and the state hopes to obtain [the produce of] cultivated fields from Shule or Suoju.

[209] The text here is defective, with some charaters missing after the "seat of the king's government" 王治.[54] The seat of the king's government of Yinai should be located in the Great Pamir.[55]

[210] "10,150 *li*" (Distance 17.1): The distance from the seat of the king's government to Chang'an via the seat of the king's government of Wulei 無雷; i.e., the aggregate of 200 *li*, the distance between the seat of the king's governments of Yinai and that of Wulei 無雷, and 9,950 *li*, the distance between the latter and Chang'an.

[211] "2,730 *li*" (Distance 17.2): The distance from the seat of the king's government of Yinai and Wulei 烏壘 via the seat of the king's government of Wulei 無雷.

[212] "540 *li*" (Distance 17.3): The distance between the seat of the king's government of Yinai and that of Suoju.

[213] "540 *li*" (Distance 17.4): The distance between the seat of the king's government of Yinai and that of Wulei 無雷. The figure here is different from that deduced from Distance 17.1 and Distance 17.2, indicating that the three figures are based on different references.

[214] "650 *li*" (Distance 17.5): The distance between the seat of the king's government of Yinai and that of Shule.

[215] "The way of life of the two places is similar" 俗相與同: I suspect that there should be a character "*zhong*" 種 ("race") preceding the "*su*" 俗 ("way of life"). Since it has been stated in the text that "Puli as well as the states of Yinai and Wulei are all of the same type as Xiye", Yinai should have, like Puli, been of the same "race", and have shared the same way of life, as Zihe, and should also have been related to Xiye and the Sai.

無雷國，王治盧城 [216]，去長安九千九百五十里 [217]。戶千，口七千，勝兵三千人。東北至都護治所二千四百六十五里 [218]，南至蒲犂五百四十里 [219]，南與烏秅、北與捐毒 [220]、西與大月氏接 [221]。衣服類烏孫，俗與子合同 [222]。

The state of Wulei 無雷: The seat of the king's government is in the town of Lu 盧[216], and it is 9,950 *li* [217] from Chang'an. There are 1,000 households, 7,000 individuals

including 3,000 persons able to bear arms. To the north-east it is 2,465 *li* [218] to the seat of the Protector-General. To the south it is a distance of 540 *li* [219] to Puli. It adjoins Wucha 烏秅 in the south, Juandu 捐毒 in the north[220] and Da Yuezhi in the west.[221] Clothing is of the same type as that of Wusun, and the way of life is similar to that of Zihe [222].

[216] The town of Lu 盧城 should have been located in the Little Pamir, specifically in the valleys of the section of the Ak-su which flows north-east and forms the upper reaches of the Murg-āb, and the section of the Ak-su which flows west and forms the upper reaches of the Āb-i-panja.[56] "Lu" 盧 is an error for 無雷 (Wulei): with 無 omitted and 雷 corrupted to be taken as 盧.[57] That is to say, the seat of the king's government of Wulei is the town of Wulei.

[217] "9,950 *li*" (Distance 18.1): The distance from the town of Lu to Chang'an via the seat of the king's government of Puli; i.e., the aggregate of 400 *li*, equivalent to four days' journey, the distance between the town of Lu to the seat of the king's government of Puli, and 9,550, the distance between the latter and Chang'an.

[218] "2,465 *li*" (Distance 18.2): The distance from the town of Lu to Wulei 烏壘 via the seat of the king's government of Shule.

[219] "540 *li*" (Distance 18.3): The distance between the town of Lu and the seat of the king's government of Puli. The figure here is different from that calculated from Distance 18.1, indicating that they were based on different references.

[220] Juandu 捐毒 was an oasis state in the Pamirs. "Juandu" 捐毒 [jiuan-dəuk] is generally considered to be derived from "Hindhu". The state, hence, should have been founded by the Sai migrating north from India.

[221] "It adjoins … Da Yuezhi in the west": Wulei adjoins the area under the control of the *Xihou* of Guishuang 貴霜, who was subject to the Da Yuezhi.

[222] "The way of life is similar to that of Zihe" 俗與子合同: I suspect that there should be a character "*zhong*" 種 ("race") preceding "*su*" 俗 ("way of life"). Since it has been stated in the text that "Puli as well as the states of Yinai and Wulei are all of the same type as Xiye", Wulei 無雷 should have, like Puli, been of the same race, and have shared the same way of life, as Zihe, and should also have been related to Xiye and the Sai. Thus, the statement that "Clothing is of the same type as that of Wusun" does not merely refer to their shared way of life and production.

難兜國，王治 [223] 去長安萬一百五十里 [224]。戶五千，口三萬一千，勝兵八千

人。東北至都護治所二千八百五十里[225]，西至無雷三百四十里[226]，西南至罽賓三百三十里[227]，南與婼羌、北與休循[228]、西與大月氏接[229]。種五穀、蒲陶諸果。有銀銅鐵，作兵與諸國同。屬罽賓。

The state of Nandou 難兜: The seat of the king's government[223] is 10,150 *li* [224] from Chang'an. There are 5,000 households, 31,000 individuals including 8,000 persons able to bear arms. To the north-east it is a distance of 2,850 *li* [225] to the seat of the Protector-General. To the west it is a distance of 340 *li* [226] to Wulei 無雷, and, to the south-west, 330 *li* [227] to Jibin. It adjoins [the land of the] Ruo Qiang in the south, Xiuxun in the north[228], and the Da Yuezhi in the west[229]. [The inhabitants] grow the five field-crops, grapes, and various fruits. There is silver, copper, and iron, and [the inhabitants] make weapons in the same way as the various other states. It is subject to Jibin.

[223] Something is missing after the "seat of the king's government".[58] The seat of the king's government was probably located in present-day Gilgit.[59]

[224] "10,150 *li*" (Distance 19.1): The distance from the seat of the king's government of Nandou to Chang'an via the seat of the king's government of Wulei 無雷; i.e., the aggregate of 200 *li*, equivalent to two days' journey, the distance between the seat of the king's government of Nandou and that of Wulei 無雷, and 9,950 *li*, the distance between the latter and Chang'an.

[225] "2,850 *li*" (Distance 19.2): The distance from the seat of the king's government of Nandou to Wulei 烏壘 via the seat of the king's government of Wulei 無雷.

[226] "340 *li*" (Distance 19.3): The distance between the seat of the king's government of Nandou and that of Wulei 無雷. The figure here is different from those calculated from Distances 19.1 and 19.2, indicating that they are based on different references.

[227] "330 *li*" (Distance 19.4): The distance between the seat of the king's government of Nandou and that of Jibin. This figure might be wrong.

[228] Xiuxun 休循 was an oasis state in the Pamirs. "Xiuxun" 休循 [xiu-ziuən] might have been derived from the Gasiani, one of the Sai tribes.

[229] "It adjoins … the Da Yuezhi in the west": Since Nandou was located in the lower reaches of the Gilgit River, it should adjoin the area under the control of the *Xihou* of Shuangmi 雙靡 who was subject to the Da Yuezhi.

罽賓國，王治循鮮城[230]，去長安萬二千二百里[231]。不屬都護。戶口勝兵多，大國也。東北至都護治所六千八百四十里[232]，東至烏秅國二千二百五十里[233]，東北至難兜國九日行[234]，西北與大月氏[235]、西南與烏弋山離接。[236]

The state of Jibin 罽賓: The seat of the king's government is in the town of Xunxian 循鮮[230], and it is 12,202 *li* [231] from Chang'an. It is not subject to the Protector-General. There are many households, individuals, and persons able to bear arms, and it is a large state. To the north-east it is a distance of 6,840 *li* [232] to the seat of the Protector-General. To the east it is 2,250 *li* [233] to Wucha; to the north-east one reaches the state of Nandou after nine days' journey[234]. It adjoins the Da Yuezhi in the north-west[235] and Wuyishanli 烏弋山離 in the south-west.[236]

[230] Xunxian 循鮮 was probably located at Taxila. "Xunxian" [ziuən-sian], like "Shanshan" 鄯善 and "Jingjue" 精絕, can be regarded as different transcriptions of the same name.

[231] "12,202 *li*" (Distance 20.1): The distance from the seat of the king's government of Xunxian to Chang'an via the seat of the king's government of Wucha; i.e., the aggregate of 2,250 *li*, the distance between Xunxian and the seat of the king's government of Wucha, and 9,950 *li*, the distance between the latter and Chang'an.

[232] "6,840 *li*" (Distance 20.2): The distance from Xunxian to Wulei 烏壘 via the seat of the king's government of Wucha; i.e., the aggregate of 1,950 *li*, the distance between Xunxian to the seat of the king's government of Wucha, a journey of nine days and a half, and 4,892 *li*, the distance between the latter and Wulei. The "6,840 *li*" is a textual error for "6,842 *li*".

[233] "2,250 *li*" (Distance 20.3): The distance from Xunxian to the seat of the king's government of Wucha. The figure is different from the number calculated from Distance 20.2, indicating that they are based on different references.

[234] "Nine days' journey" (Distance 20.4): This should be the distance between Xunxian and the seat of the king's government of Nandou. "Nine days' journey" is equivalent to 900 *li*, which conflicts with figure 19.4, indicating that they are based on different references. The figure here might be wrong. As mentioned earlier, Distance 19.4 could also be wrong.

[235] "It adjoins the Da Yuezhi in the north-west": The Hindukush roughly marked the border between Jibin and the Da Yuezhi.

[236] "It adjoins … Wuyishanli in the south-west": The center of Wuyishanli's dominance is

Arachosia and Drangiana. It would only have been possible for Jinbin to have adjoined Wuyishanli if it occupied Paropamisadae.[60]

昔匈奴破大月氏，大月氏西君大夏[237]，而塞[238]王南君罽賓。[239]塞種分散，往往爲數國。[240]自疏勒以西北，休循、捐毒之屬，皆故塞種也。[241]

When, formerly, the Xiongnu conquered the Da Yuezhi, the latter moved west and established themselves as masters of Daxia 大夏[237]; it was in these circumstances that the king of the Sai 塞[238] moved south and established himself as master of Jibin.[239] The Sai tribes split and separated and repeatedly formed several states.[240] To the north-west of Shule 疏勒, states such as Xiuxun and Juandu are all of the former Sai race.[241]

[237] The Da Yuezhi "moved west and established themselves as masters of Daxia": Around 130 BCE, the Wusun, backed by the Xiongnu, attacked the Da Yuezhi, forcing the latter to give up the valleys of the Ili and Chu rivers and to migrate to the valley of the Amu Darya. The Da Yuezhi then defeated the state of Daxia, which occupied the southern bank of the Amu Darya.[61]

[238] "Sai" 塞 [sək] is generally regarded as a transcription of Sakā, identical with the "Sakā" in Western sources. "Sakā" was a general Persian term for the nomadic tribes on the northern bank of the Syr Darya, and does not refer to a specific tribe of a single "race". The "Sai race" in this text refers to the Sakās in the Behistun inscription of Darius I (r. 521-486 BCE) of Achaemenian Persia, who mainly comprised four tribes: the Asii, the Gasiani, the Tochari, and the Sacarauli. By the end of the 7th century BCE, the Asii and other tribes were already living in the valleys of the Ili and Chu Rivers. They were called "Issedones" in the *Arimaspea*, a long epic by the Greek poet, Aristeas, on the basis of what he had seen and heard during his journey to Central Asia (*History* of Herodotus, IV, 13). "Issedones" may be seen as a transcription of the "Asii". It seems to indicate that the Asii and the other tribes had already formed a tribal confederacy, with the Asii as the suzerain. As late as the 520s BCE, the Asii and the other tribes extended westwards as far as the right bank of the Syr Darya from the valleys of the Ili and Chu Rivers, and drove away the Massagetae, who originally lived there. After that, they were called "Sakās" by the Persians.[62]

[239] "The king of the Sai moved south and established himself as master of Jibin": The state of Jibin in this text was founded by the Sai people who migrated west from the Ili and Chu Rivers. The date is not known, but it should not be earlier than 129 BCE. The king of the Sai refers to the chief of

the Sai.

[240] "The Sai tribes split and separated and repeatedly formed several states": This is a result of their southward migration from the north bank of the Syr Darya, a chain reaction to the Da Yuezhi's two migrations toward the west. Further, Xun Ji 荀濟, in his "Lun Fojiao biao" 論佛教表 (Memorial on Buddhism) in the "Bianhuo" 辨惑 chapter of *Guang Hongmingji* 廣弘明集, states: "The Sai tribes were originally the Rong 戎 of Yunxing 允姓, who dwelt in Dunhuang for generations and, forced and driven out by the Yuezhi, moved to the south of the Congling 葱嶺 [the Pamir Region]" (*Taishō shinshū Daizōkyō*, no. 2103, 52:129a25-26). It seems that this passage could be inserted into the section on Jibin, reading, "The Sai tribes [who were originally the Rong of Yunxing, who dwelt in Dunhuang for generations and, forced and driven out by the Yuezhi, moved to the south of the Congling (the Pamir Region)], split and separated and repeatedly formed several states". "The Rong of Yunxing" first appears in *Zuozhuan* 左傳; their residence can be traced to the upper reaches of the Jing 涇 River. They moved westwards through the Hexi 河西 region (the Gansu 甘肅 Corridor) to the valleys of the Ili and Chu rivers in the 20s and 30s of the 7th century BCE. The "Yunxing" 允姓 [jiuən-sieng] may well be seen as the Chinese transcription of Asii. The statement that they "dwelt in Dunhuang for generations", however, is based on the erroneous identification of ancient Guazhou 瓜州 with Dunhuang, and cannot be believed.[63]

[241] "To the north-west of Shule…": This refers to the result of the split and separation of the Sai tribes. As a matter of fact, if we closely examine the names of the states and places in this memoir, we find that many are related to the four tribes of the Sai, namely, the Asii, the Gasiani, the Tochari, and the Sacarauli. Therefore, we may consider that the Sai in the Congling region moved farther east and gradually entered the Tarim Basin after 177/176 BCE, where they established some small states. This is not only true of Shule.[64]

罽賓地平，溫和，有目宿[242]、雜草奇木，檀[243]、櫰[244]、梓[245]、竹、漆[246]。種五穀、蒲陶諸果，糞治園田。地下溼，生稻，冬食生菜[247]。其民巧，雕文刻鏤，治宮室，織罽[248]，刺文繡，好治食[249]。有金銀銅錫，以爲器。市列。[250]以金銀爲錢，文爲騎馬，幕爲人面[251]。出封牛[252]、水牛、象、大狗[253]、沐猴、孔爵、珠璣、珊瑚[254]、虎魄[255]、璧流離[256]。它畜與諸國同。

The land of Jibin is flat and the climate is temperate. There is lucerne[242], with a variety of vegetation and rare trees, wingceltis[243], locust[244], catalpa[245], bamboo, and the

lac tree[246]. [The inhabitants] grow the five field crops, grapes, and various sorts of fruit, and they manure their orchards and arable land. The land is low and damp, producing rice; fresh vegetables are eaten in winter[247]. The inhabitants are skillful at decorative work, engraving and the art of inlay, at building residences, at weaving woollens[248], and at patterned embroidery. They are fond of [wine] and food.[249] There is gold, silver, copper, and tin with which they make utensils, and they have markets with stalls.[250] They use gold and silver to make coins, with [the image of] a mounted rider on the obverse and a human face on the reverse.[251] The [state] produces humped cattle[252], water-buffalo, elephants, large dogs[253], monkeys, peacocks, pearls of different kinds, coral[254], amber[255], and beryl[256]. The other stock animals are the same as those of the various other states.

[242] *Muxu* 目宿 is the same as *muxu* 苜蓿, first mentioned in the "Dayuan liezhuan" of *Shiji*.

[243] *Tan* 檀 (wingceltis) is a deciduous tree.

[244] *Huai* 櫰 (locust) is the same as *huai* 槐, a deciduous tree.

[245] *Zi* 梓 (catalpa) is a deciduous tree.

[246] *Qi* 漆 (lac tree) is a deciduous tree.

[247] "*Shengcai*" 生菜 here probably refers to fresh vegetables. Since "the climate is temperate" in Jibin, there was no lack of vegetable supplies even in winter.

[248] *Ji* 罽 refers to fabric woven of wool. According to the Yan Commentary on the "Gaodi ji 高帝紀" of the *Hanshu,* "罽 is woven of wool, of the same type as today's *he* 毼 (wool blanket) and *qushu* 氍毹 (wool carpet)".

[249] *Hao zhi shi* 好治食: One interpretation is to read it as *hao jiushi* 好酒食 (fond of [wine] and food) after Xun Yue's 荀悦 "Xiaowu huangdi ji 孝武皇帝紀" in *Hanji* 漢紀 (ch. 12).[65]

[250] "*Shi lie*" 市列 : There should have been a *you* 有 preceding the two characters.[66]

[251] "With [the image of] a mounted rider on the obverse and a human face on the reverse" 文爲騎馬，幕爲人面: The Yan Commentary quotes Zhang Yan 張晏: "Of their coins, the obverse side has the image of a mounted rider while the reverse side has the image of a human face".

[252] *Feng niu* 封牛 or *liu niu* 瘤牛 (humped cattle): According to the Yan Commentary, "*Feng niu* refers to cattle with humps on their necks".

[253] *Da gou* 大狗 (large dogs): The Yan Commentary quotes *Guangzhi* 廣志 by Guo Yigong 郭義恭: "The dogs in Jibin are as large as asses, and are red in color. [People] can call them using drum-

shaped rattles while several *li* away".

[254] *Shanhu* 珊瑚: One theory is that the term is derived from *(ā)sanga* in ancient Iranian.[67]

[255] *Hupo* 虎魄: One theory is that the term is derived from *kahrupāī* in ancient Iranian.[68]

[256] *Biliuli* 璧流離 is the same as *feiliuli* 吠流離 (Sanskrit: *vaiḍūrya*), or *qiulin* 璆琳; they all refer to *lapis lazuli*.

自武帝始通罽賓[257]，自以絕遠，漢兵不能至，其王烏頭勞[258]數剽殺漢使。烏頭勞死，子代立，遣使奉獻。漢使關都尉文忠送其使。[259]王復欲害忠，忠覺之，乃與容屈王子陰末赴共合謀，攻罽賓，殺其王，立陰末赴爲罽賓王，授印綬。[260]後軍候趙德使罽賓，與陰末赴相失，陰末赴鎖琅當[261]德，殺副已下七十餘人，遣使者上書謝。孝元帝以絕域不錄，放其使者於縣度，絕而不通。

Communications started from [the time of] Emperor Wu.[257] Jibin believed that it lay cut off by the long distance and that Han troops would not be able to reach it; and Wutoulao 烏頭勞[258], the king, frequently menaced or killed Han envoys. When Wutoulao died, his son succeeded him, and despatched envoys bearing gifts. Han ordered Wen Zhong 文忠, Commandant of the Barrier, to escort them [back to Jibin],[259] but the king reverted to earlier practice and tried to injure [Wen] Zhong. When he realized what was happening, [Wen] Zhong entered into a plot with Yinmofu 陰末赴, son of the Rongqu 容屈 king, to attack Jibin and kill the king. Yinmofu was established as king of Jibin and invested with a seal and ribbon.[260] Later Zhao De 趙德, an Army Captain, was sent as an envoy to Jibin and fell out with Yinmofu. Yinmofu had [Zhao De] bound in chains,[261] and put to death seventy members [of his mission] including his deputy; he then submitted a written account of the incident [to the Han emperor] begging to be forgiven. In view of the distance [at which the state lay] Emperor Xiaoyuan 孝元 did not order the matter to be considered [for further action], and he had the envoy [from Jibin] set free at the Suspended Crossing. Relations were severed and there was now no communication [between Han and Jibin].

[257] "Communications started from [the time of] Emperor Wu": This statement probably refers to the period after Zhang Qian's mission to Wusun, because Jibin does not seem to have been included among the states to which deputy envoys were sent by Zhang Qian when he undertook the mission to

Wusun. Of course, the possibility is not completely ruled out that those who discovered Jibin and thus had communication with it were the deputy envoys sent by Zhang Qian to Shendu.

[258] Wutoulao 烏頭勞 [a-do-lo]: It is possible to identify him with the Sakā king, Azilises.[69]

[259] This event should have occurred during the reigns of Emperors Yuan 宣 and Yuan 元, although the actual date is unknown.

[260] During the reign of Emperor Yuan (48-33 BCE) at the latest, a change had taken place in the royal line of Jibin, caused by a coup d'état staged by Wen Zhong 文忠, a Han envoy, and Yinmofu 陰末赴, the son of the Rongqu 容屈 king. "Rong-qu" 容屈 [jiong-khiuət] was a transcription of "Ιωνακη" (meaning "Greek"), while Yinmofu could be identified with the Greek king Hermaeus seen on the coins, possibly a descendant of the Greek nobles who had ruled the middle and lower reaches of the Kabul River before the Sakās. "To attack Jibin 罽賓", etc., also seems to show that Yinmofu had been a power outside the state of Jibin ruled by the Sakās. Wen Zhong took part in overturning the Sakā power of Jibin because Wutoulao, the Sakā king, and his son frequently menaced or killed Han envoys. From the statement that "Yinmofu was established as king of Jibin and invested with a seal and ribbon", it can be seen that the act of Wen Zhong was approved and supported by the Han court, at least after the fait accompli. The policy of the Western Han toward the Western Regions had undergone a great change at the point when Yinmofu killed the Han envoys. According to this memoir, the states, in addition to Jibin, that Emperor Yuan left out of consideration because they lay at such a great distance included Kangju, the Da Yuezhi, Anxi 安息, and Wuyishanli 烏弋山離, among others. It is self-evident that this practice was contrary to the policy towards the Western Regions in effect from the time of Emperor Wu.

[261] *Suo langdang* 鎖琅當: One theory is that the character *suo* is redundant.[70] According to the Yan Commentary, "*Langdang* 琅當 refers to locks with chains, like the locks in shackles".

成帝時，復遣使獻，謝罪。漢欲遣使者報送其使[262]，杜欽說大將軍王鳳曰：

In the time of Emperor Cheng 成, Jibin again sent an envoy with gifts and a message of apology. Han intended to send an envoy in return, to escort the mission back [to Jibin],[262] but Du Qin 杜欽 addressed Wang Feng 王鳳, the Supreme General, in the following terms:

[262] "Han intended to send an envoy in return, to escort the mission back [to Jibin]": The event occurred in the fourth year of the Heping 河平 reign-period (25 BCE).[71]

“前罽賓王陰末赴本漢所立，後卒畔逆。夫德莫大於有國子民，罪莫大於執殺使者，所以不報恩，不懼誅者，自知絕遠，兵不至也。有求則卑辭，無欲則嬌嫚，終不可懷服。凡中國所以爲通厚蠻夷，愿快其求者，爲壤比而爲寇也。[263]

“At first, Yinmofu 陰末赴, king of Jibin 罽賓, had originally been established by Han but later he rebelled. Now there is no greater [proof] of prestige than the possession of a state and the treatment of its inhabitants as one’s children, and there is no greater [example of] criminal behavior than the apprehension and murder of envoys. The reason why [Jibin] has not requited imperial grace and favor and does not fear punishment is that it knows itself to be cut off from [Han] by a long distance beyond the range of [Han] troops. If it requires something, its language is servile; if there is nothing which it desires, its behavior is arrogant; and in the end the state will not be fit for acceptance as our subject. All the instances in which the Middle Kingdom enters into generous relations with barbarians and gratifies their requests occur because, their territories being close, they make incursions [into the Middle Kingdom]. [263]

[263] “The Middle Kingdom enters into generous relations with barbarians and gratifies their requests” 通厚蠻夷, 愿快其求者: For the states far away, the rationale behind this was, “those whose customs were strange could be brought to court, and imperial power and prestige could be exercised throughout the area within the Four Seas”, as stated in the “Dayuan liezhuan” of *Shiji*. That “their territories being close, they make incursions [into the Middle Kingdom]” is only an excuse, not the main reason.

“今縣度之阸，非罽賓所能越也。其鄉慕，不足以安西域；雖不附，不能危城郭。前親逆節，惡暴西域，故絕而不通；今悔過來[264]，而無親屬貴人，奉獻者皆行賈賤人，欲通貨市買，以獻爲名，[265]故煩使者送至縣度，恐失實見欺。凡遣使送客者，欲爲防護寇害也。

“In the present case, the barrier formed by the Suspended Crossing is such that it cannot be traversed by [the inhabitants] of Jibin. Their show of respect is not sufficient to bring peace to the Western Regions, and although they do not adhere to [Han] they are incapable of endangering the walled cities [of the Western Regions]. Formerly [the

king] personally defied the emblems [of Han authority], and his iniquity lay exposed to the Western Regions. For this reason, relations were severed and there was no communication [between Jibin and Han]. Now they regret their earlier misdemeanors and come [with a show of submission],[264] but there are no members of the royal family or noblemen among those who bring gifts; the latter are all merchants and men of low origins. They wish to exchange their goods and conduct trade, under the pretext of presenting gifts.[265] Thus we have been put to the trouble of providing envoys to escort [the men of Jibin] to the Suspended Crossing; we have forfeited any real [gains to be made from their visit] and have been subject to deceit. All cases in which we have sent envoys to escort visitors back have been due to our wish to provide them with defensive protection against the danger of robbery.

[264] "Hui guo lai" 悔過來 (now they regret their earlier misdemeanors and come): There should have been a *shun* 順 (to submit) following *lai* 來.[72]

[265] The reason Jibin came with presents was to "exchange their goods and conduct trade". It is by taking advantage of this that Han maintained the situation in which the outer states came to the court to pay their respects.

"起皮山南，更不屬漢之國四五，斥候士百餘人，五分夜擊刀斗[266]自守，尚時爲所侵盜。驢畜負糧，須諸國稟食，得以自贍。國或貧小不能食，或桀黠不肯給，擁彊漢之節，餒山谷之間，乞丐無所得，離一二旬則人畜棄捐曠野而不反。又歷大頭痛、小頭痛之山，赤土、身熱之阪[267]，令人身熱無色，頭痛嘔吐，驢畜盡然。又有三池、盤石阪，道陿者尺六七寸，長者徑三十里。臨崢嶸不測之深，行者騎步相持，繩索相引，二千餘里[268]乃到縣度。畜隊，未半阬谷盡靡碎；人墮，勢不得相收視。險阻危害，不可勝言。

"But starting in the area south of Pishan 皮 山, one passes through some four or five states which are not subject to Han. A patrol of some hundred officers and men may divide the night into five watches and, striking their cooking pots[266] [to mark the hours] so keep guard, but there are still occasions when they will be subject to attack and robbery. For asses, stock animals, and transported provisions, they depend on supplies from the various states to maintain themselves. But some of the states may be poor

or small and unable to provide supplies, and some may be refractory and unwilling to do so. So our envoys clasp the emblems of mighty Han and starve to death in the hills and valleys. They may beg, but there is nothing for them to get, and after ten or twenty days man and beast lie abandoned in the wastes never to return. In addition, they pass over the ranges [known as the hills of the] Greater and the Lesser Headache, and the slopes of the Red Earth and the Fever of Body[267]. These cause a man to suffer fever; he has no color, his head aches and he vomits; asses and stock animals all suffer in this way. Furthermore, there are the Three Pools and the Great Rock Slopes, with a path that is a foot and six or seven inches wide, but leads forward for a distance of thirty *li*, overlooking a precipice whose depth is unfathomed. Travelers passing on horse or foot hold on to one another and pull each other along with ropes; and only after a journey of more than 2,000 *li* [268] do they reach the Suspended Crossing. When animals fall, before they have dropped half-way down the chasm they are shattered in pieces, and when men fall, the situation is such that they are unable to rescue one another. The danger of these precipices beggars description.

[266] "*Daodou*" 刀斗 is also known as *diaodou* 刁斗. The Yan Commentary on "Li Guang zhuan 李廣傳" in *Hanshu* quotes Meng Kang 孟康: "Cooking pots are made of bronze, each able to contain one *dou* of food. During daytime they are used to cook food, while at night they are struck to mark the hours."

[267] The hills of the Greater and the Lesser Headache, the slopes of the Red Earth and the Fever of Body, as well as the Three Pools and the Great Rock Slopes are to the west of Pishan and to the east of the Suspended Crossing. Their specific locations are unknown.

[268] "More than 2,000 *li*" (Distance 20.5): The distance from the seat of the king's government of Pishan to the Suspended Crossing via the seat of the king's government of Wucha.

"聖王分九州，制五服[269]，務盛內，不求外。今遣使者承至尊之命，送蠻夷之賈，勞吏士之衆，涉危難之路，罷弊所恃以事無用，非久長計也。使者業已受節，可至皮山而還。"

"When the Sage Kings divided the world into nine provinces and made the regulations for the five zones[269], their efforts were directed to making the inner regions

prosperous without seeking anything beyond. But now the envoys who are sent out on missions carry the commands of the Most Honourable to escort merchants of the barbarians. Large numbers of officers and soldiers are made to toil, being sent out on journeys over dangerous and arduous roads; and the resources on which we rely are dissipated and exhausted for a cause which brings no [material] advantage. This is no long-term plan. Those of our envoys who have already received their emblems of authority should be permitted to proceed as far as Pishan and then to return."

[269] "The Sage Kings divided the world into nine provinces and made the regulations for the five zones" 分九州, 制五服: According to the Yan Commentary, "The nine provinces are Ji 冀, Yan 兗, Yu 豫, Qing 青, Xu 徐, Jing 荊, Yang 楊, Liang 梁, and Yong 雍. The five zones are Dian 甸, Hou 侯, Sui 綏, Yao 要, and Huang 荒". In antiquity, the areas outside the capital are divided into five zones, each consisting of 500 *li*. The Zone of Dian is 500 *li* from the king's capital; the Zone of Hou, the area 500 to 1,000 *li* from the capital; the Zone of Sui, 1,000-1,500 *li* from the capital; the Zone of Yao, 1,500 to 2,000 *li* from the capital; and the Zone of Huang, the areas most distant from the capital (generally referring to the most remote areas). *Fu* 服 means service to the Son of Heaven.

於是鳳白從欽言。罽賓實利賞賜賈市，其使數年而壹至云。[270]

[Wang] Feng then proposed to the emperor that [Du] Qin's advice should be accepted. In fact Jibin was seeking to profit from the imperial gifts [that were presented to the state] and from trade, and its envoys came [to Han] once every several years.[270]

[270] It was during the reign of Emperor Cheng that the communication with Jibin, which had been cut off, was restored. However, it seems to have been a one-way trade: the Western Han sent envoys to Jibin no longer, but the envoys of Jibin "came [to Han] once every several years". From the words of Du Qin, it can be seen clearly that the Western Han was satisfied with preserving the various states with walled towns in its management of the Western Regions, and did not have an ambitious, long-term plan after the last years of the reign of Emperor Yuan.

烏弋山離國，王[271]去長安萬二千二百里[272]。不屬都護。戶口勝兵[273]，大國也。東北至都護治所六十日行[274]，東與罽賓、北與撲挑[275]、西與犂軒[276]、

條支[277]接。

The state of Wuyishanli 烏弋山離: The seat of the royal government[271] is 12,200 *li* [272] from Chang'an. It is not subject to the Protector-General. [There are many] households, individuals, and persons able to bear arms[273], and it is a large state. To the north-east it is a distance of sixty days' journey[274] to the seat of the Protector-General. It adjoins Jibin in the east, Putiao 撲挑 [275] in the north, and Lijian 犂靬 [276] and Tiaozhi 條支 [277] in the west.

[271] After the character *wang* 王, the character *zhi* 治 is missing, as well as the name of the seat of the king's government.[73] The seat of Wuyishanli's royal government was probably located in Alexandria Prophthasia.[74]

[272] "12,200 *li*" (Distance 21.1): This should be the distance between Wuyushanli and Chang'an via the seat of the royal government of Jibin. The text states that Jibin "adjoins ... Wuyishanli in the south-west". Since Wuyishanli was to the south-west of Jibin, the distance from Wuyishanli to Chang'an should not be the same as that between Jinbin and Chang'an. The figure is therefore wrong.

[273] Following 戶口勝兵, there should have been the character *duo* 多.

[274] "Sixty days' journey" (Distance 21.2): This should be the distance from the seat of the king's government of Wuyishanli to Wulei 烏壘 via the seat of the king's government of Jibin. The distance between the seat of the king's government of Jibin and Wulei is 6,840 *li*, which exceeds "sixty days' journey". Therefore, the figure here is wrong.

[275] Putiao 撲挑 here refers to Bactra. "Putiao" 撲挑 [phok-dyô] is a transcription of Bāχtri.

[276] Lijian 犂靬 is the same as Lixuan 黎軒 in the "Dayuan liezhuan" of *Shiji*; it refers to the Ptolemaic Dynasty in Egypt. In the "Dili zhi 地理志" of *Hanshu* (ch. 28B), it is recorded that there was a "Lijian" 驪靬 County in Zhangye 張掖 Prefecture. The Yan Commentary states, "Lijian 犂靬 was the state of Da Qin 大秦, and Lijian 驪靬 County in Zhangye 張掖 Prefecture was probably named after the state". In my opinion, Lijian 犛靬 is the same as the Lijian 犂靬 in this text. It is acceptable to take Lijian 驪靬 and Lijian 犂靬, among others, as different transliterations of the same name. Should the county of Lijian 驪靬 have been named after the state of Lixuan 黎軒, it must have had something to do with the Ptolemaic Dynasty in Egypt. Since Alexandria in Egypt was celebrated for its flourishing commerce, and there were traces left by its merchants in every corner in the world,

it is therefore not impossible that some of them arrived in the Hexi 河西 region and eventually were naturalized. Of course, it is also possible that the Western Han established a county by the name "Lijian" 驪靬 simply because it brought people from remote places to court, and it boasted that its "imperial power and prestige could be exercised throughout the area within the four seas". It is not necessarily true that the Lixuan 黎軒 people had come and submitted to Han. It should be pointed out that Da Qin is identified as the Roman Empire, which should not be confused with Lixuan 黎軒 or Lijian 犂靬.[75]

[277] Tiaozhi 條支 is the same as the Tiaozhi 條枝 in the "Dayuan liezhuan" in *Shiji*, referring to Seleucid Syria. "Tiaozhi" 條枝 [diəu-tjie] is an abbreviated transcription of the name of the kingdom's capital, [An]tiochi[a].

行可百餘日[278]，乃至條支。國臨西海[279]，暑溼，田稻[280]。有大鳥[281]，卵如甕。人衆甚多，往往有小君長，安息役屬之，以爲外國[282]。善眩。[283]安息長老傳聞條支有弱水[284]、西王母[285]，亦未嘗見也。自條支乘水西行，可百餘日，近日所入云。

After traveling for some hundred days one then reaches Tiaozhi.[278] The state is situated on the Western Sea[279]; it is warm and damp, and the fields are sown with rice[280]; there are birds'eggs[281] as large as [water] jars. The population is very numerous and in many places there are minor overlords or chiefs. Anxi 安息 subjugated it and treated it as an outer state[282]; the people are expert at conjuring.[283] The elders of Anxi have learned by hearsay that in Tiaozhi there is the Weak Water[284] and the Queen Mother of the West[285]; but they have all the same never seen them. If you travel by water westward from Tiaozhi for more than a hundred days you draw near the place where the sun sets.

[278] "After traveling for some hundred days one then reaches Tiaozhi" (Distance 21.3): This is the distance from the seat of the king's government of Wuyishanli to that of Tiaozhi via that of Anxi. The statement does not mean that one can reach Tiaozhi from Wuyishanli directly. The subsequent text reads, "Proceeding by the Southern Route from the Yumen and Yang Barriers, and travelling south through Shanshan, one reaches Wuyishanli, which is the extreme point of the Southern Route; and turning north and then proceeding eastward [*sic*; should be "westward"] one arrives at Anxi".

Since Wuyishanli is at the extreme point of the Southern Route, the jouney of some hundred days here refers to the time needed to travel from the capital of Wuyishanli northward to Anxi and then westward to Tiaozhi.

[279] The Western Sea here refers to the Mediterranean Sea.

[280] "The fields are sown with rice" 田稻: This is not a description of the reality of Tiaozhi, i.e., Syria, at that time; it only follows the "Dayuan liezhuan" in *Shiji*.[76]

[281] "Big birds" here refer to ostriches.

[282] Anxi "treated it as an outer state" 以爲外國: According to the Yan Commentary, "Anxi treats Tiaozhi as an outer state, which amounts to regarding it as a barbarian state 蕃國".[77]

[283] It is recorded in the "Zhang Qian, Li Guangli zhuan" in *Hanshu*, "Dayuan and other states sent messengers to follow after the Han envoys. They came to court and observed the extent of Han, and submitted a present of large birds' eggs and conjurors from Lijian 犛靬. The Son of Heaven was highly pleased". (Hulsewé and Loewe, *China in Central Asia*, pp. 223-224.) According to the Yan Commentary, "*huan* 眩 is read the same way as *huan* 幻. These days, performances such as swallowing swords, eating fire, having melons multiply and trees grow, dismembering humans, and dissecting horses are examples".[78]

[284] "The Weak Water": This referred in ancient times to water not able to bear boats. But Ruoshui 弱水 here is perhaps a textual error for Ruoshui 若水. Ruoshui is imagined to be located in the extreme west, perhaps because of the ancient memory of some people or tribes who migrated from the west.[79]

[285] "Queen Mother of the West": According to one theory, her prototype is Koubaba, i.e., Cybele, the great goddess of Anatolia, and is also related to such deities as Anat worshipped in the city-states like those on the shores of the Mediterranean in Syria during the 14th to 12th centuries BCE.[80]

烏弋地暑熱莽平，其草木、畜産、五穀、果菜、食飲、宮室、市列、錢貨、兵器、金珠之屬皆與罽賓同，而有桃拔[286]、師子、犀牛。俗重妄殺。[287]其錢獨文爲人頭，幕爲騎馬。以金銀飾杖。

The land of Wuyi[shanli] is very hot; it is covered in vegetation and flat. In such materials as plants, trees, stock-animals, the five grain crops, fruit, vegetables, food and drink, housing, market-stalls, coinage, weapons, gold and pearls, [conditions] are

identical with those of Jibin, but there are also antelope[286], lions, and rhinos. The way of life is such that a serious view is taken of arbitrary murder.[287] The obverse of the coins is exclusively that of a human being's head with a mounted rider on the reverse; and their staves are embellished with gold and silver.

[286] "*Taobo*" 桃拔 probably refers to the giraffe. The Yan Commentary quotes Meng Kang 孟康: "*Taobo* is also called *fubo* 符拔, which resembles a deer with a long tail. Those with one antler are perhaps natural deer, while those with two are perhaps *bixie* 辟邪 [a supernatural animal]. Lions are like tigers; they are yellow in color, have thick beards and whiskers, and on the tips of their tails there is a mass of hair as large as a *dou* 斗 measure."[81] One theory is that "*taobo*" 符拔 is a transcription of βούβαλις. [82]

[287] "The way of life is such that a serious view is taken of arbitrary murder" 俗重妄殺: This is probably a reference to the belief in Buddhism in that state. [83]

絕遠，漢使希至。自玉門、陽關出南道，歷鄯善而南行，至烏弋山離，南道極矣。轉北而東得安息。[288]

[The state] is cut off and remote, and Han envoys reach it only rarely. Proceeding by the Southern Route from the Yumen and Yang Barriers, and traveling south through Shanshan, one reaches Wuyishanli, which is the extreme point of the Southern Route; and turning north and then proceeding eastward one arrives at Anxi.[288]

[288] "The extreme point of the Southern Route": A Han envoy could travel on the Southern Route westward to Pishan. From Pishan, he could travel in the south-western direction to Wucha. From Wucha he could reach Jibin via the Suspended Crossing. From Jibin he could reach the seat of the king's government of Wuyishanli by travelling westward for more than sixty days. This is the so-called "Jibin and Wuyishanli Route". If the Han envoy wished to travel further west, he had to travel north from the seat of the king's government of Wuyishanli to Anxi, and then proceed west from Anxi.

安息國，王治番兜城[289]，去長安萬一千六百里[290]。不屬都護。北與康居、東與烏弋山離、西與條支接。土地風氣，物類所有，民俗與烏弋、罽賓同。亦以

銀爲錢，文獨爲王面，幕爲夫人面。王死輒更鑄錢。有大馬爵[291]。

The state of Anxi 安息: The seat of the king's government is in the town of Fandou 番兜[289], and it is 11,600 *li*[290] from Chang'an. It is not subject to the Protector-General. It adjoins Kangju 康居 in the north, Wuyishanli in the east, and Tiaozhi in the west. The land, climate, type of goods and customs are identical to those of Wuyi[shanli] and Jibin. Likewise they use silver to make coins, the obverse being decorated exclusively with the [image] of the king's face and the reverse with that of his consort. Whenever a king dies, a change of coinage is cast. There are large horses and large horse-like birds[291].

[289] "Fandou" 番兜 [phiuan-to] is probably a transcription of Parθava or Parthia.

[290] "11,600 *li*" (Distance 22.1): This should refer to the distance from the capital of Anxi to Chang'an via the seat of the king's government of the Da Yuezhi. According to this text, from the Da Yuezhi one reaches Anxi in the west after "49 days' journey". Since Anxi is to the west of the Da Yuezhi, the distance from Anxi to Chang'an should not be the same as that from the Da Yuezhi to Chang'an. The figure here must be wrong. The "11,600 *li*" could have been an error for "16,500 *li*".

[291] "Horse-like birds" 大馬爵: The Yan Commentary quotes *Guangzhi* 廣志: "The necks of these large birds can bend to their chests and abdomens. Their feet are shaped like those of camels. They are blue in color, and are eight to nine *chi* 尺 tall. Their wings measure more than one *zhang* 丈 when spread out. They take oats as food". The horse-like birds should be the "large birds" 大鳥 mentioned in the previous text.

其屬小大數百城，地方數千里，最大國也。臨嬀水[292]，商賈車船行旁國。書革[293]旁行[294]爲書記。

Several hundred towns, large and small, belong [to Anxi]. The territory extends for several thousand *li* and it is the largest of the states. It is situated on the Gui 嬀 River[292]. Its merchants travel by vehicle or ship to the neighboring states. They rule [pieces of] leather[293] with lines running horizontally[294] to form written records.

[292] The Gui River 嬀水 is the Amu Darya. "Gui" 媯 [kiua] is a transcription of Vakhshu or

Wakshu.

[293] "*Shu ge*" 書革 should be amended into *hua ge* 畫革 after the "Dayuan liezhuan" in *Shiji*. [84]

[294] "*Pang xing*" 旁行 means "*heng xing*" 横行 (running horizontally).

武帝始遣使至安息，王令將將二萬騎迎於東界。[295] 東界去王都數千里 [296]，行比至，過數十城，人民相屬。因發使隨漢使者來觀漢地，以大鳥卵 [297] 及犂靬眩人 [298] 獻於漢，天子大說。安息東則大月氏。

Emperor Wu was the first to send envoys to Anxi. The king ordered a general to take a force of 20,000 cavalry to greet them at the eastern border.[295] The eastern border is several thousand *li* [296] distant from the king's capital. When in the course of a journey one is about to approach [the capital] one passes through towns which can be numbered in the tens, where settlements are uninterrupted. [The king] took the occasion to send out [his own] envoys to come to Han in company with the Han envoys so as to observe Han territory. They took large birds' eggs[297] and conjurors from Lijian 犂靬 [298] as a present for the Han [emperor], and the Son of Heaven was delighted. East of Anxi are the Da Yuezhi.

[295] "Emperor Wu was the first to send envoys to Anxi": The first envoy to Anxi from Han during the reign of Emperor Wu should be the deputy envoy dispatched by Zhang Qian when he was on the mission to Wusun. Zhang Qian's mission to Wusun occurred early in the Yuanding reign-period (116 BCE), and this deputy envoy must have reached Anxi in the first or second year of the Yuanding reign-period (116 or 115 BCE). At the time, Mithridates II's (r. 124/123 BCE-87 BCE) attack against the Sakās was close to victory and his army was gathered on the eastern border. It was probably because of this that Mithridates II sent a force of 20,000 cavalry to greet the Han envoy.

[296] "Several thousand *li*" (Distance 22.2): The figure follows the "Dayuan liezhuan" in *Shiji*.

[297] The large birds' eggs: According to the Yan Commentary on the "Zhang Qian, Li Guangli zhuan" in *Hanshu*, "These birds' eggs are as [large as] water jars". The large birds' eggs brought to Han as a present by the envoys from Anxi were originally products of Tiaozhi.

[298] According to the "Dayuan liezhuan" in *Shiji*, "The people [of Tiaozhi] are expert at conjuring". The text here also makes a similar statement. However, in both books the conjurors, as a present offered by Anxi's envoys, were called "conjurors from Lixuan 黎軒" or "conjurors from

Lijian 犂靬". It is therefore possible that there were conjurors not only in Tiaozhi, but also in Lixuan. If the statement here about the conjurors in Tiaozhi follows *Shiji*, and the basis of *Shiji* was just the hearsay of Zhang Qian, it is possible that Lixuan was the only state whose people were expert at conjuring.

大月氏國，治[299]監氏城[300]，去長安萬一千六百里[301]。不屬都護。戶十萬，口四十萬，勝兵十萬人。[302]東至都護治所四千七百四十里[303]，西至安息四十九日行[304]，南與罽賓接[305]。土地風氣，物類所有，民俗錢貨，與安息同。[306]出一封橐駝[307]。

The state of Da Yuezhi 大月氏: The seat of [the king's] government[299] is in the town of Jianshi 監氏[300], and it is 11,600 *li* [301] from Chang'an. It is not subject to the Protector-General. There are 100,000 households, 400,000 individuals including 100,000 persons able to bear arms.[302] To the east it is a distance of 4,740 *li* [303] to the seat of the Protector-General, and to the west one reaches Anxi after 49 days' journey[304]; to the south it adjoins Jibin[305]. The land, climate, types of goods, customs, and coinage are identical to those of Anxi.[306] The land produces the single-humped camel[307].

[299] The character *wang* 王 (king) should precede *zhi* 治 (seat of government).

[300] "The town of Jianshi" 監氏城: It should have been the town of Lanshi 藍市, the capital of Daxia in the "Dayuan liezhuan" of *Shiji*. The text of this memoir states, "The seat of the royal government of the state of the Da Yuezhi is at the town of Jianshi 監氏", and "The royal court was established north of the Gui 媯 River to form the king's court". This means that the Da Yuezhi capital was situated north of the River Gui in the early years, but the capital was removed to the south of the river; that is, its royal court was established at the former capital of Daxia. This memoir no longer has a section on Daxia and, at the same time, does not mention its capital (*Shiji:* "Their capital is the town of Lanshi"), which supports the point that Lanshi is Jianshi. The Da Yuezhi, as a horse-riding nomadic tribe, had no capital immediately after they had entered the agricultural area in the valleys of the Ili and Chu rivers; as they gradually settled on the land, they established their capital at the capital of Daxia, which they had conquered. This was no exception to the general rule. "Lanshi" 藍市 [lam-zhiə] and "Jianshi" 監氏 [keam-zjie] are probably both transcriptions of Bactra, another name of Alexandria.

[301] "11,600 *li*" (Distance 23.1): The distance from Jianshi to Chang'an via the seat of the king's government of Juandu; i.e., the aggregate of 1,750 *li* covered in a journey of 17 days and a half, the distance between Jianshi and the seat of the king's government of Juandu, and 9,860 *li*, the distance between the latter and Chang'an. The "11,600 *li*" 萬一千六百里 could have been an error for "11,610 *li*" 萬一千六百十里.

[302] There was, in fact, not a great deal of difference between the population figures recorded in this memoir and those in *Shiji*. The so-called "100,000 persons able to bear arms" means that there were 100,000 persons who were able to bear arms among 400,000 individuals of the entire population. We should not think that the total population of the Da Yuezhi was only about 100,000 or 200,000 in the time described in *Shiji*, and then increased to 500,000 in the time described in *Hanshu*. The figure of "about 100,000 or 200,000 trained bowmen" in *Shiji* was only an estimate, but "100,000 persons able to bear arms" in *Hanshu* should be an accurate number.

[303] "4,740 *li*" (Distance 23.2): The distance from Lanshi to Wulei 烏壘 via the seat of the king's government of Xiuxun; i.e., the aggregate of 1,620 *li*, the distance between Lanshi and the seat of the king's government of Xiuxun, and 3,121 *li*, the distance between the latter and Wulei. The figure "4,740" 四千七百四十 is a textual error for "4,741" 四千七百四十一, and "1,610 *li*" 千六百一十里 (Distance 30.5), the distance between Lanshi and the seat of the king's government of Xiuxun, is a textual error for "1,620 *li*" 千六百二十里.

[304] "49 days' journey" (Distance 23.3): The distance between Lanshi and the capital of Anxi.

[305] "To the south [the state of the Da Yuezhi] adjoins Jibin": Jibin in this text was situated in the middle and lower reaches of the River Kabul, to the south of the Hindukush. Therefore, the borderline between the two states was roughly the Hindukush.

[306] According to the "Dayuan liezhuan" in *Shiji*, "It [Da Yuezhi] is a land of nomads. The people move around with their stock-animals and follow the same way of life as the Xiongnu. There are more than 100,000 trained bowmen". It is stated in this text, "The Da Yuezhi was originally a land of nomads. The people moved around with their stock-animals and followed the same way of life as the Xiongnu. There were more than 100,000 trained bowmen", and "The seat of [the king's] government is at the town of Jianshi 監氏 …. The land, climate, types of goods, way of life, and coinage are identical with those of Anxi". This indicates that, until the period described in this memoir, the Da Yuezhi, originally nomads, were settled on the land like the people of Anxi. The Da Yuezhi here had already conquered Daxia; they were no longer a nomadic state.

[307] "The single-humped camel" 一封橐駝: According to the Yan Commentary, "[It] has a

hump on its back. The character *feng* 封 stresses the height of the hump, like a small mound. It is commonly called the humped cattle". If the Yan Commentary is right, then the single-humped camel is the humped cattle.

大月氏本行國也，隨畜移徙，與匈奴同俗。控弦十餘萬。故彊，輕匈奴[308]。本居敦煌、祁連間[309]，至冒頓單于攻破月氏[310]，而老上單于殺月氏，以其頭爲飲器[311]，月氏乃遠去，過大宛，西擊大夏而臣之，都嬀水北爲王庭。[312]其餘小衆不能去者，保南山[313]羌，號小月氏。[314]

The Da Yuezhi was originally a land of nomads. The people moved around with their stock-animals and followed the same way of life as the Xiongnu. There were more than 100,000 trained bowmen, and for this reason they relied on their strength and disregarded the Xiongnu[308]. Originally [the people] dwelt between Dunhuang 敦煌 and Qilian 祁連.[309] Then the time came when the *Chanyu* Modu 冒頓 attacked and defeated the Yuezhi,[310] and the *Chanyu* Laoshang 老上 killed [the king] of the Yuezhi, making his skull into a drinking vessel.[311] The Yuezhi thereupon went far away, passing Dayuan and proceeding west, to attack and subjugate Daxia 大夏. The capital was established north of the Gui River to house the king's court.[312] The remaining small group [of the Yuezhi] who were unable to leave sought protection among the Qiang 羌 tribes of the Southern Mountains[313] and were termed the Xiao Yuezhi.[314]

[308] "For this reason they relied on their strength and disregarded the Xiongnu" 故彊，輕匈奴: The "Xiongnu zhuan" in *Hanshu* states: "At this time, the Eastern Hu people were very powerful and the Yuezhi were likewise flourishing. The *Chanyu* of the Xiongnu was Touman 頭曼. Touman, unable to hold out against the Qin forces, had withdrawn to the far north". (Burton Watson, trans., *Records of the Grand Historian of China, Translated from the Shih chi of Ssu-ma Ch'ien*, Columbia University Press, 2:160; with alterations. The text in the "Xiongnu zhuan" of Hanshu quoted here is identical with its counterpart in *Shiji*.) Between "*gu*" 故 and" *qiang*" 彊, the character *shi* 時 should be added after the text in the "Dayuan liezhuan" of *Shiji*.

[309] "Between Dunhuang and Qilian": Dunhuang here refers to the Qilian Mountains, while Qilian here refers to the Tianshan Mountains.[85]

[310] According to the "Xiongnu zhuan (shang)" in *Hanshu*, "The *Chanyu*'s oldest son, the

heir apparent to his position, was named Modu 冒頓, but the *Chanyu* also had a younger son by another consort whom he had taken later and was very fond of. He decided that he wanted to get rid of Modu and set up his younger son as heir instead, and he therefore sent Modu as a hostage to the Yuezhi nation. After Modu had arrived among the Yuezhi, Touman launched a sudden attack on them. The Yuezhi were about to kill Modu, but he managed to steal one of their best horses and escape, eventually making his way back home.... [When Modu was established] ... he rode west, attacking and routing the Yuezhi.... At that time, Han was fighting against Xiang Yu 項羽 in China and was tired of military actions". (Burton Watson, trans., *Records of the Grand Historian of China,* 2:160-163; with alterations.) This is the first time that the *Chanyu* Modu defeated the Yuezhi; it was toward the end of the third century BCE. Also according to the "Xiongnu zhuan (shang)" of *Hanshu*, *Chanyu* Modu presented a letter to the Han, saying, "Because of the violation of the pact by the petty officials and subsequent events, I have punished the Xian King of the Right by sending him west to search out the Yuezhi and attack them. Through the aid of Heaven, the excellence of his fighting men, and the strength of his horses, he has succeeded in wiping out the Yuezhi, slaughtering or forcing into submission every member of the tribe. In addition he has conquered Loulan 樓蘭, Wusun, Hujie 呼揭,[86] as well as twenty-six [二十六; should be thirty-six 三十六] states nearby, so that all of them have become a part of the Xiongnu. All the people who live by drawing the bow are now united into one family". (Burton, trans., 2:168; with alterations.) This is the second time that *Chanyu* Modu had defeated the Yuezhi; the event occurred in 177/176 BCE. As a result of this defeat, the Yuezhi migrated west to the valleys of the Ili and Chu rivers. *Chanyu* Modu reigned from 209 BCE to 174 BCE.

[311] "The *Chanyu* Laoshang killed [the king] of the Yuezhi, making his skull into a drinking vessel": According to the "Xiongnu zhuan (xia)" in *Hanshu*, in the early years of Emperor Yuan, Han sent Han Chang 韓昌, the Commandant of Chariots and Cavalry 車騎都尉, and Zhang Meng 張猛, the Councellor of the Palace 光祿大夫, on a mission to the Xiongnu. They "[together with the Xiongnu] drank blood from the vessel that the *Chanyu* Laoshang made of the king of the Yuezhi, whom he had defeated, and made an oath". After *sha Yuezhi* 殺月氏, the character *wang* 王 (king) is missing, which should be supplemented in conformity with the text in the "Zhang Qian, Li Guangli zhuan" of *Hanshu*.[87] The *Chanyu* Laoshang reigned from 174 BCE to 161 BCE.

[312] The section in this passage from "for this reason they relied on their strength" to "the royal court was established north of the Gui River to form the king's court": At first glance, it seems that the Da Yuezhi gave up the valleys of the Rivers Ili and Chu during the reign of the *Chanyu* Laoshang.

But according to the "Dayuan liezhuan" of *Shiji*, "when [the *Chanyu*] Modu ascended the throne he attacked and defeated the Yuezhi. Eventually the Xiongnu *Chanyu* Laoshang killed the king of the Yuezhi, making his skull into a drinking vessel. The Yuezhi had dwelt between Dunhuang and the Qilian, but when they were beaten by the Xiongnu, the Yuezhi thereupon went far away, passing Dayuan and proceeding west to attack and subjugate Daxia. The capital was established north of the Gui River to house the king's court". The momentum of the narrative comes to an end with "making his skull into a drinking vessel". It is here that the narrative mentions that the Yuezhi had abandoned their land and migrated west to the valley of the River Gui. From this we see that Sima Qian only generally attributed the western migration of the Yuezhi to the attack of the Xiongnu, and never mentioned that this migration of the Yuezhi took place during the reign of Laoshang. By an oversight, Ban Gu, the editor of *Hanshu*, moved the statement, "the Yuezhi originally lived between Dunhuang and Qilian", ahead of this passage, and deleted the words, "having been defeated by the Xiongnu", in order to coordinate with the following statement in the same chapter, "later, when the *Kunmo* of the Wusun attacked and defeated the Da Yuezhi, the Da Yuezhi migrated to the west and subjugated Daxia", leading one to attribute the cause of the Yuezhi's migration to the valley of the River Gui to the death of their king at the hands of Laoshang, a self-contradictory view. In fact, the immediate cause of the Da Yuezhi's abandonment of the valleys of the Rivers Ili and Chu was undoubtedly the harassment and defeat they had suffered in the hands of the *Kunmo* of the Wusun, but the root cause was the heavy casualties inflicted by *Chanyu* Laoshang previously. In addition, since the *Kunmo*'s attack on the Da Yuezhi was instigated by the Xiongnu, the statement in the "Dayuan liezhuan" of *Shiji*, "having been defeated by the Xiongnu, they went far away", although a general one, well explains the nature of the event. Various evidence shows that it was during the reign of the *Chanyu* Junchen 軍臣 (r. 161 BCE to 126 BCE) that the Da Yuezhi gave up the valleys of the Ili and Chu Rivers and migrated to the land of Daxia. The narrative in the "Dayuan liezhuan" of *Shiji* does not contradict this conclusion. For these reasons, we have to admit that this memoir follows the "Dayuan liezhuan" of *Shiji* but sometimes misses the point of the earlier text. This is because Ban Gu indiscriminately mixed Zhang Qian's report and the information he obtained later, thus obliterating the temporal elements of some of Zhang Qian's information. The subjugation of Daxia by the Yuezhi and the establishment of their capital north of the River Gui took place around 130 BCE.

[313] "The remaining small group [of the Yuezhi] who were unable to leave sought protection among the Qiang tribes of the Southern Mountains": Here the "Southern Mountains" refers to the Southern Mountains in the Western Regions, including the Kara Koran Mountains, the Kunlun

Mountains, and the Altyn Tagh.

[314] This section (from "The Da Yuezhi was originally a land of nomads" to "…were termed Xiao Yuezhi") records the history of the Da Yuezhi in an earlier period. The statement, "The capital was established north of the Gui River to house the king's court", clearly refers to the time before the royal court was established at the town of Jianshi. We cannot consider the memoir to be self-contradictory, nor can we consider that the town of Jianshi was precisely the royal court which was established north of the River Gui.

大夏本無大君長，城邑往往置小長，民弱畏戰，故月氏徙來，皆臣畜之，共稟漢使者[315]。有五翖侯[316]：一曰休密[317]翖侯，治和墨城[318]，去都護二千八百四十一里[319]，去陽關七千八百二里[320]；二曰雙靡[321]翖侯，治雙靡城[322]，去都護三千七百四十一里[323]，去陽關七千七百八十二里[324]；三曰貴霜翖侯[325]，治護澡[326]城，去都護五千九百四十里[327]，去陽關七千九百八十二里[328]；四曰肸頓[329]翖侯，治薄茅[330]城，去都護五千九百六十二里[331]，去陽關八千二百二里[332]；五曰高附[333]翖侯，治高附城[334]，去都護六千四十一里[335]，去陽關九千二百八十三里[336]。凡五翖侯，皆屬大月氏。[337]

Originally Daxia had no major overlord or chief, and minor chiefs were frequently established in the towns. The inhabitants are weak and afraid of fighting, with the result that when the Yuezhi migrated there they made them all into their subjects. They provided supplies for Han envoys[315]. There are five *Xihou* 翖侯[316]. The first is titled the *Xihou* 翖侯 of Xiumi 休密[317], and his seat of government is at the town of Hemo 和墨[318]; it is 2,841 *li* [319] from [the seat of] the Protector-General and 7,802 *li* [320] from the Yang Barrier. The second is titled the *Xihou* of Shuangmi 雙靡[321], and his seat of government is at the town of Shuangmi [322]; it is 3,741 *li* [323] from [the seat of] the Protector-General and 7,782 *li* [324] from the Yang Barrier. The third is titled the *Xihou* of Guishuang 貴霜[325], and his seat of government is at the town of Huzao 護澡[326]; it is 5,940 *li* [327] from [the seat of] the Protector-General and 7,982 *li* [328] from the Yang Barrier. The fourth is titled the *Xihou* of Bidun 肸頓[329], and his seat of government is at the town of Bomao 薄茅[330]; it is 5,962 *li* [331] from [the seat of] the Protector-General and 8,202 *li* [332] from the Yang Barrier. The fifth is titled the *Xihou* of Gaofu 高附[333], and his seat of government is in the town of Gaofu [334]; it is 6,041 *li* [335] from [the seat

of the] Protector-General and 9,283 *li* [336] from the Yang Barrier. All the five *Xihou* are subject to the Da Yuezhi.[337]

[315] "Provide supplies for Han envoys": This shows that the five *Xihou*, positions established by the Da Yuezhi and occupied by individuals of the former Daxia, had a measure of autonomy in foreign affairs. Although Daxia had ceased to be an independent state long ago, it nevertheless occupied an important place in eyes of the Han poeple. In the "Jing, Wu, Zhao, Xuan, Yuan, Cheng gongchen biao" 景武昭宣元成功臣表 of *Hanshu* (ch. 17), it is said that Zhang Qian, the Marquis of Bowang 博望, "as a Colonel had accompanied the Supreme General in campaigns against the Xiongnu many times, for he was well acquainted with roads and water resources. In addition, he served as an envoy to Daxia, an extremely distant state. He was therefore invested with the title of the Marquis [of Bowang]". In the "Xuzhuan" 敘傳 of *Hanshu* (ch. 100B), it is also stated that "holding the emblem of authority, the Marquis of Bowang rendered meritorious service in [his mission to] Daxia". The state of the Da Yuezhi is not mentioned in all these chapters. According to the "Zhang Qian, Li Guangli zhuan" in *Hanshu*, Han wished to open communications with the Yi of the south-west "with the intention that, as these lands adjoined each other, it would be possible to advance thereby and make communication with Daxia" (Hulsewé and Loewe, *China in Central Asia*, p. 220). According to the same source, Emperor Wu was first concerned that "places such as Daxia would gradually come to despise Han" (Hulsewé and Loewe, *China in Central Asia*, p. 229) after Li Guangli's first attack upon Daxia suffered a setback. Since Daxia was the most distant place that Zhang Qian had reached personally, opening communications with Daxia had become a symbol of opening communications with the Western Regions generally. In addition, as the "Dayuan liezhuan" in *Shiji* states, Daxia had "many rare goods"; "the people were settled on the land and their way of life was rather similar to that of the Middle Kingdom". Moreover, "the population of Daxia may amount to more than a million". According to the "Xinan Yi liezhuan" 西南夷列傳 of *Hanshu* (ch. 116), Zhang Qian "reported to the emperor with enthusiasm" that it was "eager to establish relations with the Middle Kingdom". It therefore can be completely understood that Daxia was charmed by the Han people. In fact, the Loulan campaign, the Gushi 姑師 campaign during the Yuanfeng reign-period (110-105 BCE), and the Dayuan campaign during the Taichu reign-period (104-101 BCE) were launched precisely because of the failure in opening communications with Daxia by way of the Yi in the south-west.

[316] *Xihou* is an official title that is often seen among the Sai and the tribes related to the Sai (such as Kangju and Wusun, among others). The seats of governments of the five *Xihou* of Daxia

were all located in the mountainous area east of Tukhārestān. "*Xihou*", according to one theory, is a transcription of the *yapoy* in Toγrï.[88]

[317] "Xiumi" 休密 [xiu-miet] is a transcription of the tribe of Komedae in the area of Sacara that appears in the *Geography* of Ptolemy (VI, 13).

[318] The town of Hemo 和墨 was located in the present-day Sarik-Čaupan and the surrounding area in the valleys of Wakhan.[89] Hemo is a transcription of Komedae.

[319] "2,841 *li*" (Distance 24.1): The distance from Hemo to Wulei 烏壘 via the seat of the king's government of the Da Yuezhi; i.e., the aggregate of 100 *li*, one day's journey from Hemo to the seat of the king's government of the Da Yuezhi, and 4,741 *li*, the distance between the latter and Wulei. The figure "2,841" 二千八百四十一 is a textual error for "4,841" 四千八百四十一.

[320] "7,802 *li*" (Distance 24.2): The distance from Hemo to the Yang Barrier via the seat of the king's government of the Da Yuezhi. The figure "7,802" 七千八百二 is a textual error for "7,082" 七千八十二.

[321] "Shuangmi" 雙靡 [sheong-miai] is a transcription of Śyāmāka.

[322] The town of Shuangmi was located between present-day Chitral and Mastuj.

[323] "3,741 *li*" (Distance 24.3): The distance from Shuangmi to Wulei 烏壘 via Hemo; i.e., the aggregate of 700 *li*, seven days' journey from Shuangmi to Hemo, and 4,841 *li*, the distance between Hemo and Wulei. The figure "3,741" 三千七百四十一 should be a textual error for "5,541" 五千五百四十一.

[324] "7,782 *li*" (Distance 24.4): The distance from Shuangmi to the Yang Barrier via Hemo; i.e., the aggregate of 700 *li*, the distance between Shuangmi and Hemo, and 7,082 *li*, the distance between Hemo and the Yang Barrier.

[325] "Guishuang" 貴霜 [kiuət-shiang] is a transcription of Gasiani, i.e., Kushān.

[326] The town of Huzao 護澡 is located to the west of present-day Wakhan, on the left bank of the Āb-i Panja. "Huzao" 護澡 [hak-tzô] is also a transcription of Gasiani, i.e., Kushān.

[327] "5,940 *li*" (Distance 24.5): The distance from Huzao to Wulei 烏壘 via Shuangmi; i.e., the aggregate of 200 *li*, two days' journey from Huzao to Shuangmi, and 5,541 *li*, the distance between Shuangmi and Wulei. The figure "5,940" 五千九百四十 is a textual error for "5,741" 五千七百四十一.

[328] "7,982 *li*" (Distance 24.6): The distance from Huzao to the Yang Barrier via Shuangmi; i.e., the aggregate of 200 *li*, the distance between Huzao and Shuangmi, and 7,782 *li*, the distance between Shuangmi and the Yang Barrier.

[329] "Bidun" 肸頓 [piet(bet)-tuən] is a transcription of Badakhshān.

[330] The town of Bomao 薄茅 was located in Badakhshān. Bomao is a textual error for Bodi 薄第. "Bodi" 薄第 [bak-dyei] is a transcription of Badakhshān.

[331] "5,962 *li*" (Distance 24.7): The distance from Bomao to Wulei via Huzao; i.e., the aggregate of 200 *li*, two days' journey from Bomao to Huzao, and 5,741 *li*, the distance between Huzao and Wulei 烏壘. The figure "5,962" 五千九百六十二 should be a textual error for "5,941" 五千九百四十一.

[332] "8,202 *li*" (Distance 24.8): The distance from Bomao to the Yang Barrier via Huzao; i.e., the aggregate of 200 *li,* the distance between Bomao and Huzao, and 7,982 *li*, the distance between Huzao and the Yang Barrier. The figure "8,202" 八千二百二 is a textual error for "8,182" 八千一百八十二.

[333] "Gaofu" 高附 [kô-bio] is a transcription of Yamgān or Hamakān.

[334] The town of Gaofu 高附 was located in the valley of the present-day Kokcha River.

[335] "6,041 *li*" (Distance 24.9): The distance between Gaofu and Wulei 烏壘 via Bomao; i.e., the aggregate of 1,100 *li*, eleven days' journey from Gaofu to Bomao, and 5,941 *li*, the distance between Bomao and Wulei. The figure "6,041" 六千四十一 is a textual error for "7,041" 七千四十一.

[336] "9,283 *li*" (24.10): The distance from Gaofu to the Yang Barrier via Bomao; i.e., the aggregate of 1,100 *li*, the distance between Gaofu and Bomao, and 8,182 *li,* the distance between Bomao and the Yang Barrier. The figure "9,283" 九千二百八十三 should be a textual error for "9,282" 九千二百八十二. The data that have survived to this day show that the survey of the distance from the seats of the five *Xihou* of Daxia to Wulei 烏壘 and the Yang Barrier had the same datum point. We have corrected some data that are corrupted. From the corrected figures of the distances between the seats of the five *Xihou* and Wulei and the Yang Barrier, we can deduce the same figure, the distance between Wulei to the Yang Barrier, i.e., 2,241 *li*. This figure is different from Distance 3, because their references are different.

[337] After their conquest of Daxia, the Da Yuezhi, taking advantage of the fact that "the Daxia had no major overlord or chief and minor chiefs were frequently established in towns", had the five *Xihou* administer a part of the former Daxia territory on their behalf. Nomadic tribes used to rule an agricultural area by propping up puppet regimes of the original inhabitants after having entered their lands. Similar practices were repeatedly adopted by the Xiongnu, the Yeda (the Hephthalites), and the Türks, among others.[90] The statement, "all the five *Xihou* are subject to the Da Yuezhi", probably indicates that they regularly presented local products to them and acknowledged allegiance to them. When Zhang Qian reached the state of the Da Yuezhi, Daxia had ceased to be an independent state.

However, the "Dayuan liezhuan" of *Shiji* has an independent section on Daxia, probably because the Da Yuezhi had not yet removed their king's court to the south of the river, and the former capital of Daxia was still an active center of the Daxia people at that time. There could even have been a pro-Da Yuezhi puppet regime. By the time described by this memoir, the Da Yuezhi had removed their king's court to the south of the river and ruled the town of Lanshi 藍市 and its surrounding area. Only the eastern part of the former "land of Daxia" was ruled by puppet regimes. This is why Ban Gu cancelled the independent section on Daxia and appended the writings relevant to Daxia to the section on the Da Yuezhi.

康居國，王冬治樂越匿地[338]。到卑闐城[339]。去長安萬二千三百里[340]。不屬都護。至越匿地馬行七日[341]，至王夏所居蕃內[342]九千一百四里[343]。戶十二萬，口六十萬，勝兵十二萬人。東至都護治所五千五百五十里[344]。與大月氏同俗。[345]東羈事匈奴。[346]

The state of Kangju 康居: The seat of the king's government in winter is in the area from [Le] yuenidi [樂] 越匿地[338] to the town of Beitian 卑闐[339]. It is 12,300 *li*[340] from Chang'an, and is not subject to the Protector-General. One reaches [Le] yueni[di] after a journey of seven days on horseback[341], and it is a distance of 9,104 *li*[343], within the realm, to the king's summer residence.[342] There are 120,000 households, 600,000 individuals with 120,000 men able to bear arms. To the east it is a distance of 5,550 *li*[344] to the seat of the Protector-General. The way of life is identical to that of the Da Yuezhi.[345] In the east [the inhabitants] were constrained to serve the Xiongnu.[346]

[338] Leyuenidi 樂越匿地: It is suspected that some characters are redundant. Elsewhere in the same memoir it is referred to as Yuenidi 越匿地. "Yueni" 越匿 [jiuat-niək] and "Yuni" 窳匿 could have been variations in the transcription of the same name.

[339] The town of Beitian 卑闐: It is situated to the south of the Kara Tau and north of the Syr Darya, around Turkestan. Another theory is that there are textual errors or textual corruptions. According to this theory, the seat of the king's government of Kangju was Beitian, which was seven days' journey on horseback to Leyuenidi, the king's winter residence, and was 9,104 *li* from Fannei 蕃內, the king's summer residence. The distances to Chang'an and the seat of the Protector-General are both in reference to Beitian.[91] "Beitian" 卑闐 [pie-dyen] is perhaps a different transcription of

Byltae in the *Geography* of Ptolemy (VI, 13). Originally, Byltae was probably the name of a tribe of the Massagetae. Although Kangju was founded by the Sacarauli, the seat of its king's government, Beitian, could have been named after Byltae, probably because the northern bank of the Syr Darya was the former land of the Massagetae.

[340] "12,300 *li*" (Distance 25.1): This seems to be the distance from Beitian to Chang'an via the seat of the king's government of Wusun; i.e., the aggregate of 3,400 *li*, the distance between Beitian and the seat of the king's government of Wusun, that is, thirty-four days' journey, and 8,900 *li,* the distance between the seat of the king's government of Wusun to Chang'an. According to this text, the state of Wusun "adjoins … Kangju in the north-west".

[341] "A journey of seven days on horseback" (Distance 25.2): This should be the distance from Beitian to Yuenidi.

[342] Fannei 蕃内 should be more than 1,000 *li* north-west of Turkestan. According to the Yan Commentary, "The king has different residences in the frigid weather of winter and in the heat of summer". "The seat of the king's government in winter" 冬治 and "the king's summer residence" 夏所居, etc., indicate that the people of Kanju had two residences, a typical nomadic way of life. The place is named "Fannei" 蕃内 [piuan-nuət] perhaps after the Pialae who lived there. According to the *Geography* of Ptolemy (VI, 16), the Pialae lived in the north of Serica.

[343] "9,104 *li*" (Distance 25.3): This should be the distance from Beitian to Fannei. The figure "9,104" 九千一百四 could be a textual error for "1,104" 一千一百四.

[344] "5,550 *li*" (Distance 25.4): This is perhaps the distance from Beitian to Wulei 烏壘 via the seat of the king's government of Qiuci 龜兹; i.e., the aggregate of 5,200 *li*, the distance between Beitian and the seat of the king's government of Qiuci, 52 days' journey, and 350 *li*, the distance between the seat of the king's government of Qiuci and Wulei. The figure "5,550" 五千五百五十 might be a corruption of "5,551" 五千五百五十一, because the "350 *li*" 三百五十里 (Distance 38.2), the distance between the seat of the king's government of Qiuci and Wulei, could be an error for "351 *li*" 三百五十一里.

[345] "The way of life is identical with that of the Da Yuezhi": This statement simply follows that in the "Dayuan liezhuan" of *Shiji*. In the age described in this memoir, the way of life of the Da Yuezhi, having become settled on the land, turned out to be identical to that of Anxi and Dayuan.

[346] "In the east [the inhabitants] were constrained to serve the Xiongnu": The "Dayuan liezhuan" of *Shiji* reads: "In the south [the inhabitants] were constrained to serve the Yuezhi; in the east, to serve the Xiongnu". This is because when Zhang Qian reached the Da Yuezhi in his mission

to the west, Kangju was only a small state; its trained bowmen numbered "eighty or ninety thousand", while the Da Yuezhi, with "100,000 to 200,000" trained bowmen, still held their royal court to the north of the River Gui. It would not be surprising that Kangju served them. But towards the period described in this memoir, the Da Yuezhi's royal court moved further away from Kangju to the south of the River Gui. Moreover, Kangju's strength had increased; with "120,000 men able to bear arms", Kangju was no longer subject to the Da Yuezhi.

宣帝時，匈奴乖亂，五單于並爭，漢擁立呼韓邪單于[347]，而郅支單于[348]怨望，殺漢使者，西阻康居。其後都護甘延壽[349]、副校尉陳湯[350]發戊己校尉、西域諸國兵至康居，誅滅郅支單于，語在《甘延壽、陳湯傳》。[351]是歲，元帝建昭三年也。[352]

In the time of Emperor Xuan 宣, the Xiongnu became ill-disciplined and disordered, with five *Chanyu* contending for power simultaneously. Han supported the *Chanyu* Huhanxie 呼韓邪[347] and had him established; so the *Chanyu* Zhizhi 郅支[348] felt offended and put the Han envoys to death and blocked the way west to Kangju. Later the Protector-General Gan Yanshou 甘延壽[349] and Deputy Colonel Chen Tang 陳湯[350] brought out troops of the Wuji 戊己 Colonel and of the various states of the Western Regions. On reaching Kangju he punished the *Chanyu* Zhizhi and exterminated [his line], as is described in the "Biographies of Gan Yanshou and Chen Tang".[351] These events occurred in the third year of the Jianzhao 建昭 reign-period of Emperor Yuan 元 [36 BCE].[352]

[347] *Chanyu* Huhanxie reigned from 58 BCE to 31 BCE.

[348] *Chanyu* Zhizhi reigned from 56 BCE to 36 BCE.

[349] Gan Yanshou 甘延壽 was the sixth Protector-General of the Western Regions of the Western Han; his term of service was between the third year of the Jianzhao 建昭 reign-period (36 BCE) and the first year of the Jingning 竟寧 reign-period (33 BCE).

[350] According to the "Baiguan gongqing biao", the secondary position under the Protector-General was titled "Deputy Colonel" 副校尉 and it was called "Deputy Colonel for the Western Regions" 西域副校尉 according to the "Chen Tang zhuan" 陳湯傳 in *Hanshu* (ch. 70), having "a rank equivalent to 2,000 piculs". According to "Chen Tang zhuan", in the second year of the Chuyuan

初元 reign-period (47 BCE), "[Zhang] Bo 張勃 recommended Chen Tang…. Later [Chen Tang] was promoted to the Deputy Colonel for the Western Regions and went on an expedition together with Gan Yanshou". According to the "Jing, Wu, Zhao, Xuan, Yuan, Cheng gongchen biao" 景武昭宣元成功臣表, "The Marquis of Yicheng 義成, Gan Yanshou, in the capacity of the Commandant of Cavalry for the Western Regions, launched an expedition against the *Chanyu* Zhizhi, and those killed below the king numbered 1,500, for which he was ennobled, with a fief of 400 households…. The title was granted to him on the day *wuchen* 戊辰 in the fourth month of the first year of the Jingning reign-period. He died nine years later".

[351] During the reign of Emperor Yuan 元, according to the "Chen Tang zhuan" in *Hanshu*, in the fourth year of the Chuyuan 初元 reign-period (45 BCE), the *Chanyu* Zhizhi 郅支 of the Xiongnu killed the Han envoy, Gu Ji 谷吉. "Realizing that he had betrayed Han, and having heard that Huhanxie 呼韓邪 was becoming increasingly strong, he fled west to Kangju. The king of Kangju gave his daughter to Zhizhi in marriage and Zhizhi reciprocated with his own daughter. The king of Kangju thought highly of Zhizhi and wanted to coerce the various states by taking advantage of Zhizhi's power. The *Chanyu* Zhizhi repeatedly borrowed troops from Kangju to attack Wusun and penetrated as far as the town of Chigu 赤谷, slaughtering and plundering the people and seizing their livestock. The Wusun did not dare to pursue him. The west of [the state of Wusun] was then weakly defended, an uninhabited area extending for 1,000 *li*. *Chanyu* Zhizhi thus regarded his territory as a large and powerful state, whose name and prestige were respected, and, with recent victories, he no longer treated the king of Kangju with due respect and killed his daughter, as well as his nobles and several hundred people in anger, with some of them dismembered and thrown into the River Dulai 都賴.[92] He forced the people, 500 each day, to construct fortifications, which lasted for two years. He also sent envoys to demand that the states, such as Hesu 闔蘇 [93] and Dayuan, pay tribute every year. They did not dare to disobey him. Han had sent three rounds of envoys asking for the return of Gu Ji's body, but Zhizhi harassed them and would not obey the edict, sending words to the emperor via the Protector-General: 'I have been in distress, and am willing to submit to the powerful Han and follow its advice while sending a son to attend at the court'. Such was the extent of his arrogance". In the third year of the Jianzhao 建昭 reign-period (36 BCE), Chen Tang and Gan Yanshou were assigned to the Western Regions. Chen Tang discussed the situation with Gan Yanshou: "It is the nature of the barbarians to fear, and subject themselves to, powerful peoples. The Western Regions had originally submitted to the Xiongnu. Recently, Zhizhi has made a name for himself, invading Wusun and Dayuan and plotting frequently with Kangju in order to conquer them. If he succeeds in conquering

these two states, he will then attack the state of Yilie 伊列 [94] to the north, occupy Anxi to the west, repel the Yuezhi[95] and Shanyiwuli 山離烏弋 [96] to the south, and the various states of the walled towns will be endangered in the years to come. Moreover, being agile and fierce, they love to fight and engage in combat. Having won several victories, if left unchecked for long, they will be a menace to the Western Regions. True, Zhizhi is in a remote place and difficult to reach, but these barbarians can no longer resort to heavily fortified towns and defensive weapons such as crossbows. With the officers and soldiers in the agricultural colonies called out, and the masses of the Wusun troops forced to join, when we gather at their walled town, the Xiongnu will have nowhere to turn when they want to flee. If they want to defend the town, they will be unable to protect themselves. The accomplishment of a thousand years could be achieved in one day". Thus, "they sent the court a memorial, impeaching themselves for forging an edict and explaining the military situation. On that day they set out with their troops, dividing them into six *xiao* 校 [military divisions]. While three *xiao*, taking the Southern Route, crossed the Congling and marched by way of Dayuan, the other three, under the command of the Protector-General himself, set out from the state of Wensu 溫宿 and, along the Northern Route, entered the town of Chigu, marched through Wusun, passed by the boundaries of Kangju, and reached the west of Tian 闐 Lake.[97] Baotian 抱闐, a viceroy of Kangju, led several thousand cavalry and plundered the east of the town of Chigu, killing and robbing more than a thousand men under the Greater *Kunmi* 昆彌, and riding away with a vast amount of livestock and other property. They caught up with the rear of the Han army and plundered considerable supplies and gear from the baggage carts. [Chen] Tang made the Hu soldiers attack them, killed 460 men, and rescued 470 men who had been captured and handed them over to the Greater *Kunmi*. Their horses, flocks and herds were distributed to the army as provisions. In addition, they captured Yinudu 伊奴毒, a nobleman of Baotian. When they entered the eastern border of Kangju, Chen Tang ordered his army not to plunder. He summoned Tumo 屠墨, a nobleman of Kangju, in secret and met with him, convincing him of the power and trustworthiness [of Han]. He drank wine and swore an oath with him, then sent him away. He led the army forward, stopping to camp 60 *li* away from the town of the *Chanyu*. [The troops] also captured Kaimou 開牟, the son of Beisezi 貝色子, a nobleman of Kangju, and made him serve as a guide [for the Han army]. Beisezi was the younger brother of the mother of Tumo, who also harbored a grudge against the *Chanyu* [Zhizhi]. Therefore, the Han army knew Zhizhi's capability. The next day, [Chen Tang] led the army to camp 30 *li* from the town. The *Chanyu* sent an envoy, asking, 'Why is the Han army here?' To which the following was said in reply: 'The *Chanyu* has sent a memorial [to the emperor], saying that he is in distress, and is willing to submit to the powerful Han

and follow its advice while he himself will come to the court to have an audience with [the emperor]. The emperor, taking pity on the *Chanyu*, who was [forced] to leave his state of great size and was now staying in Kangju against his will, has sent the Protector-General to lead the army and welcome the *Chanyu* and his family. Afraid that others might be disturbed or alarmed, we dare not march towards the town'. Several rounds of envoys came and went with messages. Gan Yanshou and Chen Tang took the opportunity to rebuke [the *Chanyu*]: 'We came here for the sake of the *Chanyu* from afar, but there has not been a nobleman or minister from you to meet the officers of the General and receive orders. How mindless the *Chanyu* is of the grave matters on hand, failing to observe the proper etiquette regarding the host and guest! Our troops, from afar, are exhausted, so are the horses and other animals. With food supplies almost all gone, we are not able to return on our own. We would like to consider this matter with the *Chanyu* and his officers'. The next day, the troops advanced toward the Dulai River, where the town of Zhizhi was; they stopped to camp three *li* away from the town, lining up in full battle formation. They saw that, on the walls in the town of the *Chanyu*, five-colored flags and banners were placed atop and hundreds in armor were stationed there, while several hundreds of cavalrymen, in addition, galloped to and fro on the ground, with more than a hundred footsoldiers on both sides of the gate in battle array, lined up in the 'fish-scale' formation. They practiced military exercises and maneuvers. The men on the walls called out to the Han troops: 'Come and fight!' More than one hundred cavalrymen galloped to the Han camp, and the Han soldiers aimed at them with bows strung to the full. They retreated. Quite a number of Han officers and troops were dispatched to shoot at the horsemen and the footsoldiers lined by the gate, who then all retreated inside. [Gan] Yanshou and [Chen] Tang ordered their troops to press upon the town when the drums beat, and surround the town in all directions, with everyone at his own particular task: some digging trenches, some blockading the gates, [the soldiers] pushing forward with those carrying huge shields in the front and those bearing bows and spears following in the rear. They shot arrows at those on the battlements, who then scurried down. Outside the wall fortified with earth was another fortified with wood, from where [the enemies] shot arrows, wounding many Han troops outside. The Han soldiers piled up wood to set fire to the wooden wall. In the night, hundreds of cavalrymen attempted to ride out; the Han soldiers confronted and shot them. Earlier, when the *Chanyu* had learned of the arrival of the Han army, he planned to flee from the town, but he suspected that Kangju nurtured a grudge against him and would collaborate with Han from inside; he also heard that Wusun and other states had sent troops [to join with the Han army]. He hence thought that he had nowhere to turn. Zhizhi left [the town], and then returned, saying, 'It would be better to defend [the town] resolutely. The Han

army comes from afar and is not able to launch a sustained attack'. The *Chanyu* thereupon put on his armor and went to a tower on the wall, while the *Yanzhi* 閼氏 and his other consorts, numbering in tens, shot with bows at the Han troops outside. The Han soldiers shot back and hit the *Chanyu* in the nose, and most of his consorts died. The *Chanyu* went down and mounted his horse, giving the order to fight in the palace. After midnight, the wooden wall was breached, and the people inside retreated to the earthen wall, shouting from the parapet. At that time, over 10,000 of Kangju's soldiers, distributed in more than ten places, surrounded the town in all directions and, shouting, flung themselves into the fight. At night, they charged the Han camps again and again, withdrawing immediately when the situation was not to their advantage. At daybreak, fire broke out in all directions; the [Han] officers and soldiers, shouting for joy, pursued their enemies, and the sound of bells and drums shook the earth. Kangju's troops retreated. The Han soldiers pushed forward with huge shields from all directions and entered the earthen wall simultaneously. The *Chanyu* and his followers, men and women numbering hundreds, rushed into the inner chambers. The Han soldiers set fire to the building, and officers and soldiers vied with each other to enter the compound. The *Chanyu* was wounded and died. Du Xun 杜勳, the temporary Assistant to the Protector-General (*Junhou jia cheng* 軍候假丞), cut off the *Chanyu*'s head, and recovered two emblems of authority of the Han envoys and the letter written on silk carried by Gu Ji. Those captured were given to their captors. Those killed, below the Yanzhi, the crown prince, and the famous nobles, numbered 1,518. Those captured alive numbered 145; and those who surrendered, more than a thousand. They were distributed among the fifteen kings of the states with walled towns who were called to serve". However, according to the "Xiongnu zhuan (xia)" in *Hanshu*, "Having killed the Han envoys, Zhizhi knew that he had betrayed Han. Having heard that Huhanxie was becoming increasingly strong, he was afraid that a surprise attack would be made against him and so wished to go far away. It so happened that, having often been defeated by the Wusun, the king of Kangju deliberated with all his *Xihou*, and concluded, 'the Xiongnu is a great state and Wusun has always been subject to it. Recently, *Chanyu* Zhizhi has been in distress outside his state. We may meet him and find a place for him in the east [of our state], then we can mount a joint attack, occupy the land of Wusun and establish him there. If we did this, we would never have to worry about the Xiongnu'. Kangju thereupon sent envoys to Jiankun 堅昆,[98] who conveyed the message to Zhizhi. Zhizhi had been in constant fear, and had begrudged Wusun. Hearing Kangju's plan, he was greatly delighted and made a pact with Kangju, and directed his troops to the west. The Kangju [king] sent noblemen, with camels, donkeys and horses, numbered in the thousands, to receive Zhizhi. Many of Zhizhi's men died of cold on the road,

and only 3,000 reached Kangju". The two memoirs are complementary.

[352] According to the "Yuandi ji" 元帝紀 in *Hanshu*, "In the autumn [of the third year of the Jianzhao 建昭 reign-period (36 BCE)], Gan Yanshou, the Commandant of Cavalry for Duties in the Western Regions, and Chen Tang, the Deputy Colonel, forged a decree to mobilize the officers and soldiers in the agricultural colonies under the command of the Wuji Colonel as well as the Hu troops in the Western Regions, and launched an expedition against the *Chanyu* Zhizhi. In the winter, the head of *Chanyu* Zhizhi was cut off, sent to the capital, and suspended at the gate of the lodge for the [visiting] barbarians".

至成帝時，康居遣子侍漢，貢獻，[353]然自以絕遠，獨驕嫚，不肯與諸國相望。都護郭舜[354]數上言："本匈奴盛時，非以兼有烏孫、康居故也；及其稱臣妾[355]，非以失二國也。漢雖皆受其質子，然三國內相輸遺，交通如故，亦相候司，見便則發；合不能相親信，離不能相臣役。以今言之，結配烏孫竟未有益，反爲中國生事。然烏孫既結在前，今與匈奴俱稱臣，義不可距。而康居驕黠，訖不肯拜使者。都護吏至其國，坐之烏孫諸使下，王及貴人先飲食已，乃飲啗都護吏，故爲無所省以夸旁國。以此度之，何故遣子入侍？其欲賈市。爲好，辭之詐也。[356]匈奴百蠻大國，今事漢甚備，聞康居不拜，且使單于有自下之意[357]。宜歸其侍子，絕勿復使，以章漢家不通無禮之國。敦煌、酒泉小郡及南道八國，給使者往來人馬驢橐駝食，皆苦之，空罷耗所過，送迎驕黠絕遠之國，非至計也。"漢爲其新通，重致遠人，終羈縻而未絕。[358]

At the time of Emperor Cheng 成, [the king of] Kangju sent a son to attend at the Han [court] with a present of gifts.[353] However, Kangju felt that it was separated [from Han] by a long distance, and alone in its arrogance it was not willing to be considered according to the same terms as the various other states. Guo Shun 郭舜[354], the Protector-General, submitted a number of reports to the following effect: "The prosperity which the Xiongnu originally enjoyed was not due to the fact that they had achieved united possession of Wusun and Kangju; and when the time came that they declared themselves [our] servants[355], this was not because they had lost those two states. Although Han has received hostages from them all, amongst themselves these three states are sending each other presents and communicating as they did previously. Likewise they keep a watch on one another; and if they see a suitable opportunity, they

then send out troops [against each other]. If they unite, they are incapable of enjoying each other's friendship or trust; if they are split apart, they are unable to make subjects of one another. In terms of the present [situation], the conclusion of a matrimonial relationship with Wusun has never brought any advantage, but has, on the contrary, involved trouble for the Middle Kingdom. Nevertheless, since Wusun has been so related previously, and now together with the Xiongnu declares its allegiance [to Han], it would not be right to refuse [its request]. However, Kangju is behaving arrogantly, even refusing to treat our envoys with the respect that is their due. When the officials of the Protector-General go to the state, they are seated below the envoys of Wusun and the various other [states]. The king and noblemen take their food and drink first and, when they have finished, they then have the officials of the protectorate-general served theirs; hence they make out that there is nobody to whom they need pay attention and thereby they show off to the neighboring states. If in view of these considerations we ask why [Kangju] sends its sons to attend [at the Han court], [we find] that their desire is only to trade [with us], and their words about establishing good relations, and so forth, are all lies.[356] The Xiongnu are the largest state of the many barbarians. At present they serve Han scrupulously; but if they are informed that Kangju is not treating [our envoys] with proper respect, it will soon come about that the *Chanyu* will believe that he is being humiliated[357]. It is fitting to send back the son of [Kangju] who is now attending at court, to sever relations and send no further envoys. Thereby we would demonstrate that the Han Dynasty has no dealings with states that lack a sense of proper behavior. Dunhuang 敦煌 and Jiuquan 酒泉, which are small prefectures, and the eight states of the Southern Route, have supplied our envoys in their comings and goings with men, horses, asses, camels, and food, and have all suffered thereby. The places en-route have been emptied and their resources spent, in providing an escort or welcome for [envoys of] an arrogant state that lies cut off at a great distance. This is no wise policy." For the reasons that communications had been started only recently and that it attached importance to bringing people from remote places to court, Han in the end maintained its ties and did not sever relations.[358]

[353] The date when the king of Kangju sent a son to attend at the Han court is unknown; the event probably occurred when Guo Shun was the Protector-General. Some erroneously date the event

to the second year of the Yuanyan 元延 reign-period (11 BCE).[99]

[354] Guo Shun 郭舜 was the 13th Protector-General, his term starting in the second year of the Yongshi 永始 reign-period and ending in the first year of the Yanyuan reign-period (15-13 BCE). According to the eulogy in the "Fu, Chang, Gan, Chen, Duan zhuan" 傅常甘陳段傳 in *Hanshu* (ch. 70), "Guo Shun was renowned for integrity and fairness".

[355] "When the time came that they declared themselves [our] servants": This refers to the submission of Huhanxie.

[356] "Their desire is only to trade [with us], and their words about establishing good relations, and so forth, are all lies": This section helps us to understand the trading patterns among the nomadic tribes, especially how "these three states [Kangju, the Xiongnu, and Wusun] are sending each other presents and communicating". This also shows that Kangju's purpose in sending a prince to attend at the Han court with presents is only to conduct trade with Han. According to the "Chen Tang zhuan" in *Hanshu*, "Later, Chen Tang sent a memorial, saying that the son sent by the king of Kangju to the Han court was not a prince. After examination, the person was found to be a prince. For this [offense], Chen Tang was imprisoned and deemed worthy of death". Although Chen Tang's words are inaccurate, his accusations are not groundless.

[357] "The *Chanyu* will believe that he is being humiliated": According to the Yan Commentary, "It means that the *Chanyu* sees Kangju, which does not serve Han, as noble, and himself, who serves Han, as menial, and hence harbors the intention to change course".

[358] "Communications had been started only recently": This refers to when the king of Kangju sent a son to attend at the Han court during the reign of Emperor Cheng, indicating that there must have been no communications between Kangju and Han for a long time. Furthermore, Kangju's wish to open communications with Han was due to its desire to open trade; this has something to do with its occupation of Sogdiana, for the Sogdians were celebrated expert traders. The Han court did not accept Guo Shun's suggestion completely, because "bringing people from remote places to court" was an important aim in the Western Han's involvement in the Western Regions since the time of Emperor Wu. However, the statement that "Han in the end maintained its ties and did not sever relations" probably refers to the fact that Han merely received the envoys of Kangju, but seldom sent its own envoys to Kangju. It is notable that Du Qin's words and the Protector-General Guo Shun's comments on Kangju's "sending a son to attend the Han court" used the same reasoning, both claiming that the states that lay at a distance should not be considered. In addition, during Duan Huizong's 段會宗 second term (21-18 BCE) as Protector-General, "Baosuni 保蘇匿, the crown prince of Kangju, led over

10,000 men and wanted to surrender to [Han]. [Duan] Huizong submitted a memorial to the emperor, and Han then sent a Guards' Major to await his arrival. [Duan] Huizong called out the troops under the Wuji 戊己 Colonel to accept his surrender along with the Guards' Major. The Guards' Major, fearful of their number, wanted to have all those surrendering tie themselves up. Baosuni thought that he had been betrayed and led his men to escape". The actual cause of the event is unknown, so it is mentioned here only for reference.

其[359]康居西北可二千里[360]，有奄蔡國。控弦者十餘萬人。與康居同俗。臨大澤，無崖，蓋北海[361]云。

Some[359] 2,000 *li*[360] to the north-west from Kangju is the state of Yancai 奄蔡. The trained bowmen number 100,000. It has the same customs as Kangju. It is situated on the Great Marsh, which has no [further] shore and which is presumably the Northern Sea[361].

[359] *Qi* 其 should be *zi* 自; the similar topography of the two characters leads to the error.

[360] "2,000 *li*" (Distance 26): This figure follows the "Dayuan liezhuan" of *Shiji*.

[361] "The Northern Sea" probably refers to the Aral Sea or the Caspian.

康居有小王五：一曰蘇䪥[362]王，治蘇䪥城[363]，去都護五千七百七十六里[364]，去陽關八千二十五里[365]；二曰附墨[366]王，治附墨城[367]，去都護五千七百六十七里[368]，去陽關八千二十五里[369]，三曰窳匿[370]王，治窳匿城[371]，去都護五千二百六十六里[372]，去陽關七千五百二十五里[373]；四曰罽[374]王，治罽城[375]，去都護六千二百九十六里[376]，去陽關八千五百五十五里[377]；五曰奧鞬[378]王，治奧鞬城[379]，去都護六千九百六里[380]，去陽關八千三百五十五里[381]。凡五王，屬康居。[382]

In Kangju there are five lesser kings. The first is titled the Suxie 蘇䪥 king[362] and his seat of government is in the town of Suxie[363], which is 5,776 *li*[364] from the [seat of the] Protector-General, and 8,025 *li*[365] from the Yang Barrier. The second is titled the Fumo 附墨 king[366] and his seat of government is in the town of Fumo[367], which is 5,767 *li*[368] from the [seat of the] Protector-General and 8,025 *li*[369] from the Yang Barrier. The

third is titled the Yuni 窳匿 king[370] and his seat of government is in the town of Yuni[371], which is 5,266 *li* [372] from the [seat of the] Protector-General and 7,525 *li* [373] from the Yang Barrier. The fourth is entitled the Ji 罽 king[374] and his seat of government is in the town of Ji[375], which lies 6,296 *li* [376] from the [seat of the]Protector-General and 8,555 *li* [377] from the Yang Barrier. The fifth istitled the Aojian 奧鞬 king[378] and his seat of government is in the townof Aojian[379], located 6,906 *li* [380] from the [seat of the] Protector-Generaland 8,355 *li* [381] from the Yang Barrier. All the five kings are subject to Kangju.[382]

[362] Suxie 蘇䪥 [sa-xat] is the Suxie 蘇薤 in the "Dayuan liezhuan" of *Shiji*. Both are variant transcriptions of the same name, i.e., Soghd.

[363] The site of the town of Suxie should be in Kesh.[100]

[364] "5,776 *li*" (Distance 27.1): The distance between the town of Suxie and Wulei 烏壘.

[365] "8,025 *li*" (Distance 27.2): The distance between Suxie and the Yang Barrier. The figure "8,025" 八千二十五 may be a textual error for "8,035" 八千三十五.

[366] Fumo 附墨 [bio-mək]: The meaning of this name remains to be determined.

[367] The site of the town of Fumo 附墨 should be in Kashania.

[368] "5,767 *li*" (Distance 27.3): The distance from Fumo to Wulei 烏壘. The figure "5,767" 五千七百六十七 may be a textual error for "5,766" 五千七百六十六.

[369] "8,025 *li*" (Distance 27.4): The distance from Fumo to the Yang Barrier.

[370] Yuni 窳匿 [jia-niək] may be a transcription of Čaš.

[371] The site of the town of Yuni 窳匿 should be in Tashkend.

[372] "5,266 *li*" (Distance 27.5): The distance between the town of Yuni and Wulei 烏壘.

[373] "7,525 *li*" (Distance 27.6): The distance between the town of Yuni and the Yang Barrier.

[374] Ji 罽 [kiat] is an abbreviated transcription of [Numij]kath.

[375] The site of the town of Ji 罽 should be in Bukhara.

[376] "6,296 *li*" (Distance 27.7): The distance from the town of Ji to Wulei 烏壘.

[377] "8,555 *li*" (Distance 27.8): The distance from the town of Ji to the Yang Barrier.

[378] Aojian 奧鞬 [uk-kian] is a transcription of Kharghānkath.

[379] The site of the town of Aojian should be in Kharghānkath.

[380] "6,906 *li*" (Distance 27.9): The distance between the town of Aojian and Wulei 烏壘. The figure "6,906" 六千九百六 should be a textual error for "6,096" 六千九十六.

[381] "8,355 *li*" (Distance 27.10): The distance from the town of Aojian to the Yang Barrier. The extant materials suggest that the distances from the seats of the five lesser kings of Kangju to Wulei 烏壘 and the Yang Barrier have one common datum point. It is very likely that the journeys from the seats of the five lesser kings to Wulei and the Yang Barrier are via Puli 蒲犂, Xiye 西夜, and Suoju 莎車. The errors in various materials have been corrected, and according to the revised distances between the seats of the five lesser kings and Wulei and the Yang Barrier, the distance between Wulei and the Yang Barrier can be deduced--namely, 2,259 *li*.

[382] The seats of all the five lesser kings of Kangju are in Sogdiana, indicating that at the time described in this memoir, Sogdiana was subject to Kangju.

大宛國，王治貴山城[383]，去長安萬二千五百五十里[384]。戶六萬，口三十萬，勝兵六萬人。副王、輔國王各一人。東至都護治所四千三十一里[385]，北至康居卑闐城千五百一十里[386]，西南至大月氏六百九十里[387]。北與康居、南與大月氏接，[388]土地風氣物類民俗與大月氏、安息同。大宛左右以蒲陶爲酒，富人藏酒至萬餘石，久者至數十歲不敗。俗耆酒，馬耆目宿。

The state of Dayuan 大宛: The seat of the king's government is in the town of Guishan 貴山[383] and it is 12,550 *li*[384] from Chang'an. There are 60,000 households, 300,000 individuals including 60,000 persons able to bear arms. [There are the following officials]: the king's deputy and the King of Support of the State. To the east it is 4,031 *li*[385] to the seat of the Protector-General; to the north 1,510 *li*[386] to the town of Beitian in Kangju; and to the south-west 690 *li*[387] to the Da Yuezhi. It adjoins Kangju in the north and the Da Yuezhi in the south.[388] The land, climate, types of goods and customs are identical to those of the Da Yuezhi and Anxi. In Dayuan and to its left and right [i.e. east and west] grapes are used to make wine. Rich people store up to ten thousand *shi* 石 or more, and in case when it is kept for a long period it may last for several decades without being spoilt. The general custom is to enjoy wine; and the horses enjoy lucerne.

[383] The town of Guishan 貴山 was located in present-day Khojend and surrounding areas. The name of Guishan 貴山 [giuət-shean] is derived from "Gasiani".

[384] "12,550 *li*" (Distance 28.1): This should be the distance from the town of Guishan to

Chang'an via the seat of the king's government of Xiuxun. This figure is incorrect. Since Dayuan is to the east of Kangju and the Da Yuezhi, the distance from Dayuan to Chang'an should not be greater than the distances between the Han capital and the two states.

[385] "4,031 *li*" (Distance 28.2): The distance from the town Guishan to the seat of government of Xiuxun; i.e., the aggregate of 900 *li*, the distance from the town of Guishan to the seat of the king's government of Xiuxun, equivalent to nine days' journey, and 3,121 *li*, the distance between the latter and Wulei 烏壘. The figure "4,031" 四千三十一 may be a textual error for "4,021" 四千二十一.

[386] "1,510 *li*" (Distance 28.3): The distance from the town of Guishan to Beitian.

[387] "690 *li*" (Distance 28.4): This should be the distance between the town of Guishan and the seat of the king's government of the Da Yuezhi. This figure is not obtained from an actual survey, but is the difference between 1,600 *li*, the distance from the seat of the king's government of Xiuxun to that of the Da Yuezhi, and 920 *li*, the distance from the seat of the king's government of Xiuxun to the town of Guishan. Because the "1,610 *li*" is not the distance from the seat of the king's government of Xiuxun to that of the Da Yuezhi via the town of Guishan, the figure is not reliable. As has been discussed above, the "1,610 *li*", the distance between the seat of the king's government of Xiuxun and that of the Da Yuezhi, is a textual error for "1,620 *li*"; and the "920 *li*", the distance between the seat of the king's government of Xiuxun and the town of Guishan, a textual error for "930 *li*".

[388] Dayuan is the present-day Ferghāna Basin. At that time, the Da Yuezhi's territories in the east include Badakhshān and Wakhan, among others. Thus, Dayuan and the Da Yuezhi should have come into contact at Karategin.

宛别邑七十餘城，多善馬。馬汗血，言其先天馬子也。[389]

The individual settlements of [Da]yuan amount to more than 70 towns. There are many good horses. The horses sweat blood, and it is said that their progenitors were descended from the Heavenly Horses.[389]

[389] "The horses sweat blood": The blood-sweating horses of Dayuan are called the Horses of Ershi 貳師馬, too, also known as the Heavenly Horses as seen in the subsequent text. For details, see my commentary on the "Dayuan liezhuan" of *Shiji*.

張騫始爲武帝言之，上遣使者持千金及金馬，以請宛善馬。宛王以漢絕遠，

大兵不能至，愛其寶馬不肯與。漢使妄言，宛遂攻殺漢使，取其財物。於是天子遣貳師將軍李廣利將兵前後十餘萬人伐宛[390]，連四年。宛人斬其王毋寡首，獻馬三千匹，漢軍乃還，語在“張騫傳”。

When Zhang Qian first told Emperor Wu about this, the emperor sent envoys bearing a thousand [pieces of] gold and a golden horse with which to make a request for fine horses of [Da]yuan. The king took the view that Han lay cut off and the distance was long; and that [Han] troops would be unable to reach [Da]yuan. He grudged his precious horses and was unwilling to give them away. The Han envoys spoke in unrestrained terms, and [Da]yuan then had them attacked and killed, and their goods taken away. At this the Son of Heaven sent the Ershi 貳師 General Li Guangli 李廣利 to take a force that amounted altogether to over a hundred thousand men, and the offensive against [Da]yuan[390] lasted for a continuous period of four years. The people of [Da]yuan beheaded Wugua 毋寡, their king, and offered [Han] a present of 3,000 horses; and the Han army then withdrew, as is described in “Memoir on Zhang Qian”.

[390] According to the “Wudi benji” 武帝本紀 in *Hanshu* (ch. 6), in the first year of the reign-period Taichu 太初 (104 BCE), “in the eighth month in the autumn, [the emperor] toured Anding 安定. [He] decreed that Li Guangli call out the probated men in the empire to launch an expedition against Dayuan in the west”.

貳師既斬宛王，更立貴人素遇漢善者名昧蔡爲宛王。後歲餘，宛貴人以爲昧蔡謟，使我國遇屠，相與共殺昧蔡，立毋寡弟蟬封爲王，遣子入侍，質於漢，漢因使使賂賜鎮撫之。又發使十餘輩，抵宛西諸國求奇物，因風諭以伐宛之威。宛王蟬封與漢約，歲獻天馬二匹。漢使采蒲陶、目宿種歸。天子以天馬多，又外國使來衆，益種蒲陶、目宿離宮館[391]旁，極望焉。

When the Ershi [General] had beheaded the king of [Da]yuan, he established in his place as king of [Da]yuan one of the noblemen who had previously treated the Han [envoys] in a pleasant manner and who was called Meicai 昧蔡. Over a year later the noblemen of [Da]yuan were taking the view that Meicai had brought about the destruction of their state by his ingratiating behavior; and together they killed Meicai

and established Chanfeng 蟬封, younger brother of Wugua, as king. They sent a son to attend at the Han [court] as a hostage, and Han took the occasion to send out envoys with gifts so as to pacify [the area]. In addition they sent out missions numbered in tens to proceed to the various states west of [Da]yuan to seek rare goods; they were also to take the opportunity to admonish [the states] and impress them with the strength [shown by Han] in conquering [Da]yuan. Chanfeng, king of [Da]yuan, reached an agreement with Han to present two Heavenly Horses each year, and the Han envoys returned, having collected seeds of grapes and lucerne. The Son of Heaven, considering that the Heavenly Horses were many, and that moreover the envoys who came from the outer states were numerous, had grapes and lucerne planted in increasingly greater quantities alongside the detached palaces and the lodges[391], as far as the eye could reach.

[391] "*Li gong guan*" 離宮館 (the detached palaces and the lodges): Preceding *guan* 館 there should be the character *bie* 别 (temporary), it seems, in accordance with the "Dayuan liezhuan" in *Shiji*. Ban Gu's "Xidu fu" 西都賦: "The detached palaces and the temporary lodges number thirty-six 離宮別觀三十六所" (*Wenxuan* 文選, ch. 1).

自宛以西至安息國，雖頗異言，然大同，自相曉知也。其人皆深目，多須。[392]善賈市，爭分銖。貴女子，女子所言，丈夫乃決正。其地無絲漆，不知鑄鐵器。及漢使亡卒降，教鑄作它兵器。[393]得漢黄白金，輒以爲器，不用爲幣。

To the west of [Da]yuan and as far as the state of Anxi 安息 there are many different languages spoken, but they are in general the same, and people understand each other's language. The inhabitants of the area all have deep-set eyes, and many wear moustaches and beards.[392] They are expert traders, haggling over fractions of a *shu* 銖. They hold women in honor, and what the women say the men act upon. Their land has [no] silk or lac trees, and [the people] do not know how to cast iron utensils. When conscripts who had deserted from the Han missions surrendered, they taught [the inhabitants] how to cast and manufacture weapons and utensils other than [those which they had].[393] Whenever they acquire Han gold or silver they make utensils with [the metal] and do not use it as currency.

[392] This section on the "race" and languages of the people in the Western Regions is almost identical with the "Dayuan liezhuan" in *Shiji*, a result of this memoir following the former. In short, one should not generalize and conclude, based on the lack of any summary of the racial groupings and languages of the people to the east of Dayuan, that the racial affinities and languages of the people to the east and west of Dayuan are different.

[393] "When conscripts who had deserted from the Han missions surrendered, they taught [the inhabitants] how to cast and manufacture weapons and utensils other than [those which they had]": According to the Yan Commentary, "When the Han envoys arrived [at other states], some conscripts deserted from the mission and surrendered [there]. They all taught the inhabitants [skills and techniques]". According to the "Feng Fengshi zhuan" 馮奉世傳 in *Hanshu*, Feng was sent on missions to Dayuan and other states.

自烏孫以西至安息，近匈奴。匈奴嘗困月氏，故匈奴使持單于一信到國，國傳送食，不敢留苦。及至漢使，非出幣物不得食，不市畜不得騎，所以然者，以遠漢，而漢多財物，故必市乃得所欲。[394]及呼韓邪單于朝漢[395]，後咸尊漢矣。

[The area] west of Wusun as far as Anxi is close to the Xiongnu. The Xiongnu had once harassed the Yuezhi; consequently when a Xiongnu envoy carrying a token of credence from the *Chanyu* reaches one of the states, the states en route provide a relay service of escorts and food, and do not dare to detain or harm the envoy. When the case of Han envoys arises, if they do not bring out valuables they do not get any food, and if they do not buy horses they have no means of traveling on horseback. The reason for this state of affairs is that Han has been regarded as being distant. However, Han possesses many valuable goods, and consequently purchasing has been necessary to acquire what is required.[394] By the time that the *Chanyu* Huhanxie 呼韓邪 came in homage to the Han court[395], and thereafter, all have held Han in high esteem.

[394] The passage from "[the area] west of Wusun" to "to acquire what is required" copies the "Dayuan liezhuan" in *Shiji*. Cf. the "Feng Fehgshi zhuan" in *Hanshu*: "Previously, Han sent out several missions to the Western Regions; many of the envoys were incompetent and failed in their missions: they were either corrupt, or were harassed by other states".

[395] According to the "Xuandi benji" 宣帝本紀 of *Hanshu*, in the first month in the spring of

the first year of the Huanglong 黃龍 reign-period, "*Chanyu* Huhanxie arrived at the court and was accorded the same courtesy and rewards as in his first visit. In the second month, the *Chanyu* returned to his state".

桃槐[396]國，王[397]去長安萬一千八十里[398]。戶七百，口五千，勝兵千人。

The state of Taohuai 桃槐[396]: The seat of the king's[397] government is 11,080 *li* [398] from Chang'an. There are 700 households, 5,000 individuals including 1,000 persons able to bear arms.

[396] Taohuai 桃槐 [dô-huəi] can be seen as a transcription of Tochari.

[397] After *wang* 王 (king) the character *zhi* 治 (seat of government) is missing, as well as the name of the seat of the king's government.[101] For the absence of other references, the location of the king's government of the state is not easy to determine. According to the order of its appearance in the memoir and in reference to the distances to Chang'an from Xiuxun and Juandu, it seems to be located to the west of Xiuxun and Juandu.

[398] "11,080 *li*" (Distance 29): This may be the distance from the seat of the king's government of Taohuai to Chang'an via the seat of the king's government of Xiuxun or that of Juandu.

休循國，王治鳥飛谷[399]，在葱嶺西，去長安萬二百一十里[400]。戶三百五十八，口千三十，勝兵四百八十人。東至都護治所三千一百二十一里[401]，至捐毒衍敦谷二百六十里[402]，西北至大宛國九百二十里[403]，西至大月氏千六百一十里[404]。民俗衣服類烏孫[405]，因畜隨水草，本故塞種也。

The state of Xiuxun 休循: The seat of the king's government is the Niaofei 鳥飛 valley[399]. It is west of the Cong Mountains and 10,210 *li* [400] from Chang'an. There are 358 households, 1,030 individuals including 480 persons able to bear arms. To the east it is a distance of 3,121 *li* [401] to the seat of the Protector-General, and 260 *li* [402] to Yandun 衍敦 valley, [in the state of] Juandu; to the north-west it is a distance of 920 *li* [403] to the state of Dayuan; and 1,610 *li* [404] to the west, to the Da Yuezhi. The customs and clothing are of the same type as in Wusun[405], and in company with their stock animals they go after water and pasture. Originally they were of the Sai race.

[399] It is generally considered that the Niaofei valley 鳥飛谷 *was located east of the Alai* Plateau. One theory is that it is in Dschipptik or the nearby area,[102] while another theory is that it is at Sari-tash in the upper reaches of Kizilsu.[103] The meaning of the name is yet to be determined.

[400] "10,210 *li*" (Distance 30.1): The distance from the Niaofei valley to Chang'an via the seat of the king's government of Juandu; i.e., the aggregate of 260 *li*, the distance between the Niaofei valley and the seat of the king's government of Juandu, and 9,860 *li*, the distance between the latter and Chang'an. The figure of "10,210" 萬二百一十 is a textual error for "10,110" 萬一百一十, and "9,860 *li*" 九千八百六十里, the distance from the seat of the king's government of Juandu to Chang'an, should be an error for "9,850 *li*" 九千八百五十里.

[401] "3,121 *li*" (Distance 30.2): The distance from the Niaofei valley to Wulei 烏壘 via the seat of the king's government of Juandu; i.e., the aggregate of 260 *li*, the distance between the Niaofei valley and the seat of the king's government of Juandu, and 2,861 *li*, the distance between the latter and Wulei.

[402] "260 *li*" (Distance 30.3): The distance between the Niaofei valley and the seat of the king's government of Juandu.

[403] "920 *li*" (Distance 30.4): The distance between the Niaofei valley and the seat of the king's government of Dayuan. As discussed above, the figure "920" 九百二十 is a texual error for "930" 九百三十. Further, this figure is somewhat different from the distance between the Niaofei valley and the seat of the king's government of Dayuan deduced on the basis of Distance 28.2, because the latter is an approximate figure.

[404] "1,610 *li*" (Distance 30.5): The distance between the Niaofei valley to the seat of the king's government of the Da Yuezhi. As mentioned above, the figure "1,610" 千六百一十 should be a textual error for "1,620" 千六百二十.

[405] "The customs and clothing are of the same type as in Wusun": This seems to indicate that the customs and clothing of Wusun are similar to those of the Sai. This is because Wusun was originally possessed by the Sai. The Da Yuezhi drove away the king of the Sai and occupied his lands. Later Wusun defeated the Da Yuezhi and repossessed these lands. Thus, among the people of Wusun were the Sai and the Da Yuezhi. This is why their customs and clothing were influenced by the Sai and resembled those of the Sai. Moreover, Wusun and the Asii, one of the Sai tribes, might be seen as different transcriptions of the same name. It is likely that Wusun and the Asii had shared the same ethnic origin, but later separated and went different ways.

捐毒國，王治衍敦谷[406]，去長安九千八百六十里[407]。戶三百八十，口千一百，勝兵五百人。東至都護治所二千八百六十一里[408]。至疏勒[409]。南與葱領屬，無人民。西上葱領，則休循也。西北至大宛千三十里[410]，北與烏孫接。衣服類烏孫，隨水草，依葱領，本塞種也。[411]

The state of Juandu 捐毒: The seat of the king's government is in Yandun 衍敦 valley[406] and is 9,860 *li* [407] from Chang'an. There are 380 households, 1,100 individuals including 500 persons able to bear arms. To the east it is 2,861 *li* [408] to the seat of the Protector-General, ...[text defective] to Shule[409]. To the south it adjoins the Cong Mountains; there are no human inhabitants. By ascending the Cong Mountains on the west, one reaches Xiuxun. To the north-west it is a distance of 1,030 *li* [410] to Dayuan, and to the north [the state] adjoins Wusun. Their clothing is of the same type as that of the Wusun. [The people] go after water and pasture, keeping close to the Cong Mountains. Originally they were of the Sai race. [411]

[406] Yandun valley 衍敦谷 is located at Irkeštam, where the Kizlisu River rises. This is the juncture where the two routes to Kashgar converge: one from Ferghāna by way of the passes in the Osh and Terek mountains, and the other from Balkh by way of the Alai Plateau and the passes of the Taum Murum mountain.[104] "Yandun" 衍敦 [jian-tuən] can be regarded as a variant transcription of Juandu 捐毒.

[407] "9,860 *li*" (Distance 31.1): The distance from the Yandun valley to Chang'an via the seat of the king's government of Shule 疏勒; i.e., the aggregate of 500 *li*, equivalent to five days' journey, the distance between Yandun and the seat of the king's government of Shule, and 9,350 *li*, the distance between the latter and Chang'an. In this text, following "to Shule", the distance between the Yandun valley and the seat of the king's government of Shule is missing; nevertheless, we can see that there is a route to Juandu from Shule. As mentioned above, the figure "9,860" 九千八百六十 is a textual error for "9,850" 九千八百五十.

[408] "2,861 *li*" (Distance 31.2): The distance from Yandun to Wulei 烏壘 via the seat of the king's government of Weitou 尉頭; i.e., the aggregate of 1,450 *li*, equivalent to fourteen and a half days' journey, the distance between the Yandun valley and the seat of the king's government of Weitou, and 1,411 *li*, the distance between the latter and Wulei.

[409] "To Shule": The distance is missing.

[410] "1,030 *li*" (Distance 31.3): The distance between the Yandun valley and the seat of the king's government of Dayuan.

[411] Although it has been stated of the states of Xiuxun and Juandu in the text that "originally they were of the Sai race", the origin and ethnicity of the people in the two states are not necessarily identical, since the Sai were not composed of a single tribe.

莎車國，王治莎車城[412]，去長安九千九百五十里[413]。戶二千三百三十九，口萬六千三百七十三，勝兵三千四十九人。輔國侯、左右將、左右騎君、備西夜君[414]各一人，都尉二人，譯長四人。東北至都護治所四千七百四十六里[415]，西至疏勒五百六十里[416]，西南至蒲犂七百四十里[417]。有鐵山，出青玉。

The state of Suoju 莎車: The seat of the king's government is in the town of Suoju[412], and it is 9,950 *li* [413] from Chang'an. There are 2,339 households, 16,373 individuals including 3,049 persons able to bear arms. [There are the following officials]: the Noble of Support of the State, the Leaders of the Left and the Right, the Masters of Cavalry of the Left and the Right, the Master of Defence against Xiye 西夜[414], two Commandants and four Interpreters-in-Chief. It is a distance of 4,746 *li* 415] in the north-east to the seat of the Protector-General, 560 *li* [416] in the west to Shule, and 740 *li* [417] in the south-west to Puli 蒲犂. There are iron-mines and [the land] produces blue-green jade.

[412] The town of Suoju 莎車城: Its site is generally considered to have been in the vicinity of present-day Suoju County (Yarkand).

[413] "9,950 *li*" (Distance 32.1): The distance from Suoju to Chang'an via the seat of the king's government of Shule; i.e., the aggregate of 600 *li*, equivalent to six days' journey, the distance between Suoju and the seat of the king's government of Shule, and 9,350 *li*, the distance between the latter and Chang'an.

[414] "The Master of Defence against Xiye" 備西夜君: Cf. note 91 on "the Master of Assault on Jushi" 擊車師君.

[415] "4,746 *li*" (Distance 32.2): The distance between Suoju and Wulei 烏壘, probably by way of the seat of the king's government of Pishan.

[416] "560 *li*" (Distance 32.3): The distance between Suoju and the seat of the king's government of Shule. The figure here is different from the distance between Suoju and the seat of the king's

government of Shule deduced from Distance 32.1, because the latter is an approximate figure.

[417] "740 *li*" (Distance 32.4): The distance between Suoju and the seat of the king's government of Puli. This figure is different from Distance 16.3; we do not know which is correct. But in reference to the distance from Wulei to Puli and Suoju, the margin of error of the figure here is smaller.

宣帝時，烏孫公主小子萬年，莎車王愛之。莎車王無子死，死時萬年在漢。莎車國人計欲自託於漢，又欲得烏孫心，即上書請萬年爲莎車王。漢許之，遣使者奚充國送萬年。萬年初立，暴惡，國人不說。莎車王弟呼屠徵殺萬年，并殺漢使者，自立爲王，約諸國背漢。會衞候馮奉世使送大宛客，即以便宜發諸國兵擊殺之，更立它昆弟子爲莎車王[418]。還，拜奉世爲光祿大夫。是歲，元康元年也。[419]

In the time of Emperor Xuan 宣, the princess of Wusun had a younger son called Wannian 萬年 whom the king of Suoju loved. The king of Suoju died without a son, and at his death Wannian was in Han. The people of the state of Suoju made plans with the intention of attaching themselves to Han, and in addition wished to secure the good will of Wusun. So they promptly sent a letter asking that Wannian should be made king of Suoju. Han allowed the request, and sent the envoy Xi Chongguo 奚充國 to escort Wannian. As soon as he was established, Wannian behaved oppressively and wickedly, and the people of the state took no pleasure [in his rule]. Hutuzheng 呼屠徵, younger brother of the [former] king of Suoju, put Wannian to death. He also killed the Han envoy, and setting himself up as king entered into an agreement with various other states to turn against Han. It happened at this time that Feng Fengshi 馮奉世, Guards' Captain, was being sent on a mission to escort visitors back from Dayuan. He seized the opportunity to call out troops from various states to attack and kill [Hutuzheng]; and in his place he established as king of Suoju the son of another of [the late king's] brothers[418]. On his return, [Feng] Fengshi was appointed Counsellor of the Palace; this year was the first in the Yuankang 元康 reign-period [65 BCE].[419]

[418] The people of Suoju asked Wannian 萬年, the second son of Wengguimi 翁歸靡 and Xieyou 解憂, to be made king of Suoju, intending to ingratiate themselves with the Western Han and Wusun at once. The outcome, however, was contrary to their expectations, a result that was probably inevitable for Suoju, a small state. Wannian was killed as soon as he was established. The Han envoy

sent to escort Wannian had not yet returned and thus was killed also. Wannian was the king for just over a year, possibly at the beginning of the final year of the Dijie 地節 reign-period (67/66 BCE).

[419] According to the "Feng Fengshi zhuan" 馮奉世傳 in *Hanshu*, "[Han] Zeng 韓增, General of the Vanguard 前將軍, recommended [Feng] Fengshi, the Guards' Captain, for the mission, with imperial credentials, to escort the visitors from Dayuan home. When he arrived at the town of Yixiu 伊脩,[105] Commandant Song Jiang 宋將 reported that Suoju, along with neighboring states, had killed the king of Suoju established by Han, Wannian, as well as the Han envoy, Xi Chongguo 奚充國. At that time the Xiongnu also dispatched forces to attack the town of Jushi, but withdrew because they were unable to take it. Suoju sent out envoys, spreading the word that the various states on the Northern Route had submitted to the Xiongnu. Then it attacked and robbed the states on the Southern Route and swore an oath of alliance with various states, [the participants] smearing their mouths with the blood of sacrifice and vowing to betray Han. The roads west of Shanshan were all made impassable. Because the Protector-Genaral Zheng Ji 鄭吉 and the Colonel Sima Yi 司馬意[106] were both in the states on the Northern Route, Feng Fengshi and his associate Yan Chang 嚴昌 concluded that if it was not attacked immediately, Suoju would become more and more powerful, and with its momentum difficult to check, the security of the Western Regions would be threatened.[107] Therefore they gave explicit instructions by emblems of authority to the kings of various states and called out their forces, a total of 15,000 men from the states on the Southern and Northern Routes, to attack Suoju and occupy its town. The king of Suoju took his own life and his head was passed on to Chang'an. The various states were all stabilized, and Han's military prowess was proclaimed throughout the Western Regions.... When the king of Dayuan learned that Feng had killed the king of Suoju, he treated him with respect, differently from the way other envoys were treated. Feng gained the Xianglong 象龍, the famous horse of the king of [Da]yuan 大宛, and returned home". In this account, Hutuzheng's 呼屠徵 threat that the states on the Northern Route were subject to the Xiongnu was simply bluffing. At that time Qiuci 龜兹 was subject to Han, and the Protector-General and others were on the Northern Route. Hutuzheng could communicate with only a few states on the Southern Route. Since they had no support from the Xiongnu, they could not have withstood Feng Fengshi. From then on Suoju was a dependency of Han.

疏勒國，王治疏勒城[420]，去長安九千三百五十里[421]。戶千五百一十，口萬八千六百四十七，勝兵二千人。疏勒侯、擊胡侯、輔國侯、都尉、左右將、左右騎君、左右譯長各一人。東至都護治所二千二百一十里[422]，南至莎車五百六十里[423]。有市列，西當大月氏、大宛、康居道也。[424]

The state of Shule 疏勒: The seat of the king's government is in the town of Shule[420], and it is 9,350 *li* [421] from Chang'an. There are 1,510 households, 18,647 individuals including 2,000 persons able to bear arms. [There are the following officials:] the Marquis of Shule, the Marquis of Assault on the Hu 胡 , the Marquis of Support of the State, the Commandant, the Leaders of the Left and the Right, the Masters of Cavalry of the Left and the Right, and the Interpreters-in-Chief of the Left and the Right. To the east it is a distance of 2,210 *li* [422] to the seat of the Protector-General, and to the south a distance of 560 *li* [423] to Suoju. There are markets with stalls. To the west it is situated on the route to the Da Yuezhi, Dayuan, and Kangju.[424]

[420] The site of the town of Shule 疏勒城 is generally considered to be in the vicinity of present-day Kashgar.

[421] "9,350 *li*" (Distance 33.1): The distance from the town of Shule to Chang'an via the seat of the king's government of Gumo 姑墨; i.e., the aggregate of 1,200 *li*, equivalent to 12 days' journey, the distance between the town of Shule and the seat of the king's government of Gumo, and 8,150 *li*, the distance between the latter and Chang'an.

[422] "2,210 *li*" (Distance 33.2): The distance from the town of Shule to Wulei 烏壘 via the seat of the king's government of Gumo; i.e., the aggregate of 1,200 *li*, the distance between the town of Shule and the seat of the king's government of Gumo, and 1,021 *li*, the distance between the latter and Wulei. The figure "2,210" 二千二百一十 is a textual error for "2,221" 二千二百二十一.

[423] "560 *li*" (Distance 33.3): The distance from the town of Shule to the seat of the king's government of Suoju.

[424] According to such texts in this memoir as "the Southern Route crosses the Cong Mountains and then leads to the Da Yuezhi", "following the course of the river west to Shule is the Northern Route", and, here, "To the west it [Shule] is situated on the route to the Da Yuezhi", we can infer that the Da Yuezhi could also be reached by the Northern Route.

尉頭國[425]，王治尉頭谷[426]，去長安八千六百五十里[427]。戶三百，口二千三百，勝兵八百人。左右都尉各一人，左右騎君各一人。東至都護治所千四百一十一里[428]，南與疏勒接，山道不通，西至捐毒千三百一十四里[429]，徑道馬行二日[430]。田畜隨水草，衣服類烏孫。[431]

The state of Weitou 尉頭[425]: The seat of the king's government is in the valley of Weitou[426], and it is 8,650 *li* [427] from Chang'an. There are 300 households, 2,300 individuals including 800 persons able to bear arms. [There are the following officials:] the Commandants of the Left and the Right, and the Masters of Cavalry of the Left and the Right. To the east it is a distance of 1,411 *li* [428] to the seat of the Protector-General. To the south it adjoins Shule, but the mountain roads do not permit communication. To the west it is a distance of 1,314 *li* [429] to Juandu; there is a direct road, and it is a journey of two days by horse[430]. [The people work] the fields and keep stock-animals, and they go after water and pasture. Their clothing is of the same type as that of Wusun.[431]

[425] "Weitou" 尉頭 [iuət-do] could be seen as an abbreviated transcription of the Asii or Gasiani.

[426] The site of the Weitou 尉頭 valley is perhaps in the vicinity of the ancient town of Tumshuqto[108] to the north-east of present-day Bachu.

[427] "8,650 *li*" (Distance 34.1): The distance from the Weitou valley to Chang'an via the seat of the king's government of Wensu 溫宿; i.e., the aggregate of 300 *li*, the distance between the Weitou valley and the seat of the king's government of Wensu, and 8,350 *li*, the distance between the latter and Chang'an.

[428] "1,411 *li*" (Distance 34.2): The distance from the Weitou valley to Wulei 烏壘 via the seat of the king's government of Gumo; i.e., the aggregate of 400 *li*, equivalent to four days' journey, the distance between the Weitou valley and the seat of the king's government of Gumo, and 1,021 *li*, the distance between the latter and Wulei. The figure "1,411" 千四百一十一 should be a textual error for "1,421" 千四百二十一.

[429] "1,314 *li*" (Distance 34.3): The distance from the Weitou valley to the seat of the king's government of Juandu. This figure is different from the distance between the Weitou valley and the seat of the king's government of Juandu deduced from Distance 31.2, indicating that the two figures are based on different references.

[430] "A journey of two days by horse" (Distance 34.4): The distance between the Weitou valley to the seat of the king's government of Juandu by the "direct road".

[431] "Their clothing is of the same type as that of Wusun": According to this memoir, such states include Xiuxun, Juandu, Wulei 無雷 and Weitou. The text states explicitly that Xiuxun and Juandu are of "the Sai race", and that Wulei is "of the same type as Xiye" and is of "the Sai race". In the state of Weitou the clothing resembled that of Wusun, which was not merely because of similar ways of life and production.

NOTES

1 The theory is from Ise Sentaro 伊瀬仙太郎, *Chūgoku Seiiki kēiēishi kenkyū* 中國西域經營史研究 (A study of the history of Chinese administration in the Western Regions) (Tokyo: Iwanami, 1968), pp. 30-35.

2 For a detailed study on the relationship between the Xiongnu and the Western Regions, see Yu Taishan, *Saizhong shi yanjiu* 塞種史研究 (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 1992), pp. 272-298.

3 For detailed studies on various issues concerning Wusun, see Yu Taishan, *Saizhong shi yanjiu,* pp. 131-143.

4 For detailed studies on the distances in this memoir, see Yu Taishan, *Liang Han Wei Jin Nanbeichao zhengshi Xiyu zhuan yanjiu* 兩漢魏晉南北朝正史西域傳研究 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2003), pp. 135-180.

5 Most of the names of various ethnic groups and places in the Western Regions and their interpretations are suggested as part of the hypothesis on the origin and migration of the Sai people. For details, see Yu Taishan, *Liang Han Wei Jin Nanbeichao zhengshi Xiyu zhuan yanjiu,* pp. 109-134.

6 For critiques on this, see Cen Zhongmian, *Huanghe bianqian shi* 黃河變遷史 (Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 1957), pp. 32-71, and Li Changfu 李長傅, *Yugong Shidi* 禹貢釋地 (Zhongzhou shuhuashe, 1983), pp. 111-115.

7 Cf. Yu Taishan, *Liang Han Wei Jin Nanbeichao zhengshi Xiyu zhuan yanjiu,* pp. 439-476.

8 For details on the various issues concerning the Da Yuezhi, see Yu Taishan, *Saizhong shi yanjiu,* pp. 52-69.

9 For details on the issues concerning Anxi, see Yu Taishan, *Saizhong shi yanjiu*, pp. 174-178.

10 This name first appears in the Behistun inscription of Darius I of Achaemenian Persia. The inscription can be found in R. G. Kent, *Old Persian: Grammar, Text, Lexicon* (New Haven, Connecticut: 1982).

11 For details concerning various issues on Dayuan, see Yu Taishan, *Saizhong shi yanjiu*, pp. 70-95.

12 For details on the various issues concerning Kangju, see Yu Taishan, *Saizhong shi yanjiu*, pp. 96-117.

13 For details on the various issues concerning Yancai, see Yu Taishan, *Saizhong shi yanjiu*, pp. 118-130.

14 Luoyin 漯陰, name of a county in Jibei 濟北 prefecture; its seat was north-east of present-day Qihe 齊河, Shandong Province.

15 The details on the establishment of the Four Prefectures of the Hexi Region, see Zhou Zhenhe 周振鶴, *Xi Han zhengqu dili* 西漢政區地理 (Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 1987), pp. 157-171.

16 For detail, see Wang Niansun 王念孫, *Dushu zazhi* 讀書雜志, ch. 4, no. 15.

17 The theory is based on Chen Mengjia 陳夢家, "Han Wu biansai kaolüe" 漢武邊塞考略, in *Hanjian zhuishu* 漢簡綴述 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1980), pp. 205-219.

18 Xu Song 徐松, *Hanshu Xiyu zhuan buzhu* 漢書西域傳補注 (A).

19 Cf. Yu Taishan, *Saizhong shi yanjiu,* pp. 131-133.

20 The town of Douzi 兜訾, a town in the state of Jushi; the meaning of its name and its location are yet to be determined.

21 For details on various issues concerning the Protector-General of the Western Regions, see Yu Taishan 余太山, *Liang Han Wei Jin Nanbeichao yu Xiyu guanxi shi yanjiu* 兩漢魏晉南北朝與西域關係史研究 (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 1995), pp. 233-257.

22 Cf. Liu Guanghua 劉光華, *Handai xibei tuntian yanjiu* 漢代西北屯田研究 (Lanzhou: Lanzhou daxue chubanshe, 1988), pp. 155-161.

23 Cf. Yu Taishan, *Saizhong shi yanjiu*, pp. 210-215. "Beixujian" 北胥鞬 reads "Bixujian" 比胥鞬 [piei-sia-kian] in *Tongdian* 通典 ("Xirong zongxu" 西戎總序 in the chapter of "Bianfang" [qi] 邊防七). Were *Tongdian* correct, then this name could be regarded as a transcription of the Massagatae. It would be likely that the Massagatae lived in Jushi.

24 Huang Wenbi 黃文弼, "Han Xiyu zhuguo zhi fenbu ji zhongzu wenti" 漢西域諸國之分佈及種族問題, in *Huang Wenbi lishi kaogu lunji* 黃文弼歷史考古論集 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1989), pp. 22-36.

25 For details on the various issues concerning the Wuji Colonel, see Yu Taishan, *Liang Han Wei Jin Nanbeichao yu Xiyu guanxi shi yanjiu,* pp. 258-270.

26 E. L. Stevensen, ed. and trans., *Geography of Claudius Ptolemy* (New York: 1932).

27 Cf. Wang Yuquan 王毓銓, "'Minshu' yu Han dai fengjian zhengquan" "民數" 與漢代封建政權, *Zhongguo shi yanjiu* 中國史研究 1979.3: 61-80.

28 On the origin of Ruo Qiang 婼羌, cf. Yu Taishan, *Guzu xinkao* 古族新考 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2000), pp. 53-76.

29 Zhou Liankuan 周連寬, "Han Ruo Qiang guo kao" 漢婼羌國考, *Zhongya xuekan* 中亞學刊 1 (1983): 81-90; this article points out that the seat of the king's government of Ruo Qiang was in present-

day Akxokesay. For details on the locations of the states in this memoir, see Yu Taishan, *Liang Han Wei Jin Nanbeichao zhengshi Xiyu zhuan yanjiu,* pp. 198-253.

30 Wang Niansun, *Dushu zazhi*, ch. 4, no. 15.

31 Cf. Yu Taishan, *Liang Han Wei Jin Nanbeichao zhengshi Xiyu zhuan yanjiu*, pp. 477-485.

32 Yu Taishan, *Saizhong shi yanjiu*, pp. 228-241; Meng Fanren 孟凡人, "Lun Shanshan guodu de fangwei" 論鄯善國都的方位, *Yazhou wenming* 亞洲文明, 2 (Anhui jiaoyu chubanshe, 1992), pp. 94-115.

33 Enoki Kazuo 榎一雄, "Rōran no ichi o shimesu Futatsu no Karosyuteī bunsyo ni tsuite" 樓蘭の位置を示す二つのカロシユテイ一文書について, in *Ishida Hakase syōzyū kinen Tōyōshi ronso* 石田博士頌壽記念東洋史論叢 (Tokyo: Kyōritsusha, 1965), pp. 107-125.

34 Wang Niansun, *Dushu zazhi*, ch. 4, no. 15.

35 The *History* of Herodotus is translated into Chinese by Wang Yizhu 王以鑄 (Beijing: Shangwu, 1985).

36 Pan Fujun 潘富俊, *Tang shi zhiwu tujian* 唐詩植物圖鑒 (Taibei: Maotouying chubanshe, 2001), pp. 78-79.

37 The Xiongnu River 匈奴河 is the present-day Baidarik River in Mongolia.

38 The *Xiongnu shui* 匈河水 is the *Xiongnu he* (Xiongnu River) seen in the "Jing, Wu, Zhao, Xuan, Yuan, Cheng gongchen biao" 景武昭宣元成功臣表 of *Hanshu*.

39 Junji 浚稽, name of a mountain in the Xiongnu territories; i.e., in the south of present-day Mongolia.

40 Cf. Yu Taishan, *Saizhong shi yanjiu*, pp. 215-217.

41 According to the Yan Commentary, "Emblems of authority and seals were those carried by the Han envoys. The tributary gifts were those contributed by the envoys of Dayuan and other states".

42 The "Su Wu zhuan" 蘇武傳 in *Hanshu*: "The Southern Yue 越 had killed Han envoys, so they were conquered and returned into the nine prefectures. The king of [Da]yuan had killed Han envoys, so his head was hung on the Northern Palace Gate. Chaoxian 朝鮮 had killed Han envoys, so soon met with destruction". Just for the offence of killing Han envoy, the king of Luolan should have already been deemed worthy of capital punishment.

43 E. G. Pulleyblank, "The Consonantal System of Old Chinese", *Asia Major* n. s. 9 (1962): 109.

44 Yu Taishan, *Liang Han Wei Jin Nanbeichao zhengshi Xiyu zhuan yanjiu*, pp. 477-485.

45 Nagasawa Kazutoshi 長澤和俊, "Kodai Seiiki Nandō kō" 古代西域南道考 (On the ancient Southern Route in the Western Regions), in Mori Masao 護雅夫, ed., *Nairiku Ajia, Nishi Sei Ajia no shakai to bunka* 内陸アジア・西アジアの社會と文化 (Tokyo: Yamakawa Shuppansha, 1983), pp. 57-77.

46 Yu Taishan, *Liang Han Wei Jin Nanbeichao zhengshi Xiyu zhuan yanjiu*, pp. 477-485.

47 A. Stein, *Ancient Khotan, Detailed Report of Archaeological Explorations in Chinese Turkestan*, vol. I (Oxford: 1907), pp. 185-235; Meng Fanren 孟凡人, "Yutian guo ducheng fangwei kao" 于闐國都城方位考, in *Xiyu kaocha yu yanjiu* 西域考察與研究 (Urumqi: Xinjiang renmin chubanshe, 1994), pp. 449-476.

48 See Zhang Hongzhao 章鴻釗, *Shiya / Baoshshuo* 石雅・寶石說 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1993), pp. 120-125.

49 For details on the various issues concerning Jibin, see Yu Taishan, *Saizhong shi yanjiu,* pp. 144-167.

50 For details on the various issues concerning Wuyishanli, see Yu Taishan, *Saizhong shi yanjiu*, pp. 168-181.

51 Matsuda Hisao 松田壽男, "Iran Nandō ron" イラン南道論 (On the Iranian Southern Road), in Matsuda Hisao Hakushi koki kinen shuppan iIinkai 松田壽男博士古稀記念出版委員會, ed., *Tōzai bunka kKōryūshi* 東西文化交流史 (Tokyo: Yūzankaku, 1975), pp. 217-251; and Ma Yong 馬雍, "Bajisitan beibu suojian 'Da Wei' shizhe de yanke tiji" 巴基斯坦北部所見"大魏"使者的巖刻題記 , *Xiyu shidi wenwu congkao* 西域史地文物叢考 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1990), pp. 129-137.

52 Matsuda Hisao, "Iran Nandō ron".

53 Cf. Yu Taishan, *Saizhong shi yanjiu,* pp. 242-271.

54 For detail, see Wang Niansun, *Dushu zazhi*, ch. 4, no. 15.

55 Matsuda Hisao, "Iran Nandō ron".

56 Matsuda Hisao, "Iran Nandō ron".

57 For detail, see Wang Niansun, *Dushu zazhi*, ch. 4, no. 15.

58 The theory is from Wang Niansun, *Dushu zazhi*, ch. 4, no. 15. Wang Xianqian 王先謙, in *Hanshu buzhu* 漢書補注, *juan* shang 卷上, thinks that the "Nandou cheng" 難兜城 (town of Nandou) can be added to the text in accordance with the entry on "Xirong liu" 西戎六 in the "Siyi yiba" 四夷一八 section of *Taiping yulan* 太平御覽 (ch. 797).

59 Enoki Kazuo 榎一雄, "Nantokoku ni tsuite no kō" 難兜國に就いての考 (On the state of Nandou), in *Katō Hakushi kanreki kinen Tōyōshi syūsetsu* 加藤博士還暦記念東洋史集說 (Kyōto: Fuzambō, 1941), pp. 179-199.

60 In light of the "Xiyu zhuan" 西域傳 in *Hou-Han shu* 後漢書 (ch. 118), Gaofu is identical with Paropamisadae. Its political allegiance had never been constant, but it had once been subject to

Jibin.

61 For details on the various issues concerning Daxia, see Yu Taishan, *Saizhong shi yanjiu*, pp. 24-51.

62 For details on the various issues concerning Sai ethnicity, see Yu Taishan, *Saizhong shi yanjiu*, pp. 1-23.

63 For details, see Yu Taishan, *Guzu xinkao*, pp. 53-76.

64 For details, see Yu Taishan, *Saizhong shi yanjiu*, pp. 210-215.

65 Wang Xianqian, *Hanshu buzhu* (*juan* shang).

66 Wang Niansun, *Dushu zazhi*, ch. 4, no. 15.

67 J. Chmielewski, "Two Early Loan-words in Chinese", in *Rocznik Orientailistyczny* 24.2 (1961): 65-86.

68 Cf. B. Laufer, *Sino-Iranica, Chinese Contrubutions to the History of Civilization in Ancient Iran, with Special Reference to the History of Cultivated Plants and Products* (Chicago: 1919). The volume is translated into Chinese; see Lin Yunyin 林筠因, trans., *Zhongguo Yilang bian* 中國伊朗編 (Beijing: Shangwu, 1964), pp. 351-353. Edward H. Schafer, *The Golden Peaches of Samarkand* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1963); the volume is translated into Chinese; see Wu Yugui 吳玉貴, *Tangdai wailai wenming* 唐代外來文明 (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 1995), pp. 524-527. See also Zhang Hongzhao, *Shiya / Baoshuo,* pp. 60-65.

69 Yu Taishan, *Saizhong shi yanjiu*, pp. 154-159.

70 Wang Niansun, *Dushu zazhi*, ch. 4, no. 15.

71 According to *Hanji* 漢紀 in *Zizhi tongjian* 資治通鑒 (ch. 30).

72 According to the Li Commentary on the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hou-Han shu*, quoting Du Qin 杜欽.

73 A. F. P. Hulsewé and M. A. N. Loewe, *China in Central Asia, the Early Stage: 125 B.C.-A.D. 23* (Leiden: 1979), p. 112, note 253.

74 Yu Taishan, *Saizhong shi yanjiu*, pp. 168-171.

75 For details on the various issues concerning Lijian 犂靬, see Yu Taishan, *Saizhong shi yanjiu,* pp. 182-209.

76 Laufer, *Sino-Iranica* / Lin Yunyin, trans., *Zhongguo Yilang bian*, pp. 197-199.

77 For details on the various issues concerning Tiaozhi, see Yu Taishan, *Saizhong shi yanjiu*, pp. 182-209.

78 D. D. Leslie, and K. H. J. Gardiner, *The Roman Empire in Chinese Sources* (Roma: 1996), pp. 150-152, 222-223.

79 Cf. Yu Taishan, *Guzu xinkao*, pp. 29-52.

80 Mori Masako 森雅子, "Seiōbo no genzō—Chūgoku kodai shinwa ni okeru chiboshin no kenkyū" 西王母の原像——中國古代神話における地母神の研究 (The original image of Xi Wangmu [the Queen Mother of the West] – A study on the Earth Mother as seen in the Chinese ancient mythology), *Shigaku* 史學 *56.3 (1986): 61-93.*

81 Cf. Hulsewé and Loewe, *China in Central Asia, the Early Stage,* pp. 114-115, note 262.

82 E. Chavannes, "Trois généraux chinois de la dynastie des Han orientaux", *T'oung Pao* 7 (1906): 210-269, esp. 232.

83 Xu Song, *Hanshu Xiyu zhuan buzhu* (A).

84 The theory is from Wang Niansun, *Dushu zazhi*, ch. 4, no. 15. The "Xirong (er)" 西戎二 in the section "Siyi (ba)" 四夷八 in *Taiping yulan* 太平御覽 (ch. 793) quotes this memoir, reading *hua* 畫 for *shu* 書.

85 For details, see Yu Taishan, *Saizhong shi yanjiu*, pp. 53-56.

86 Hujie 呼揭 was a nomadic tribe once active in the southern foothills of what is today the Altai Mountains. The theory is in Mori Masao 護雅夫, "Iwayuru Hoku-Teirei Sai-Teirei ni tsuite" いわゆる "北丁零", "西丁零" について (On the so-called "Northern Dingling" and "Western Dingling"), in *Takigawa Hakushi kanreki kinen ronbunshū: Tōyōshihen* 瀧川博士還暦記念論文集・東洋史篇 (Tokyo: Nagano Nakazawa, 1957), pp. 57-71.

87 Wang Niansun, *Dushu zazhi*, ch. 4, no. 15.

88 E. G. Pulleyblank, "Chinese and Indo-Europeans", *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 1966, pp. 9-39, esp. 28.

89 For the locations of the five *Xihou*, see Yu Taishan, *Saizhong shi yanjiu,* pp. 30-32.

90 Cf. Yu Taishan, *Yedashi yanjiu* 嚈噠史研究 (Ji'nan: Qi Lu shushe, 1986), pp. 129-142.

91 Xu Song, *Hanshu Xiyu zhuan buzhu* (A).

92 The Dulai River 都賴水 is generally considered to be the present-day Talas River.

93 Hesu 闔蘇 is the same as Yancai 奄蔡 in this memoir. Hesu 闔蘇 [hap-sa] and Yancai 奄蔡 [iam-tziat] can both be seen as the transcriptions of Asii.

94 Yilie 伊列 was the name of a state, which could have been named after the Ili River. The state should be located to the north of Wusun. It occupied the lower reaches of the the Ili River. Zhizhi had Kangju subdue Wusun, because only then could he attack Yilie to the north.

95 The "Yuezhi" is the same as the Da Yuezhi in this memoir.

96 Shanyiwuyi 山離烏弋 is the same as the Wuyishanli in this memoir; the order of the two sets of characters should be reversed.

97 The Tian Lake 闐池 is the present-day Issyk-Kul. Wusun's territory reaches this lake to the west.

98 Jiankun 堅昆 is a nomadic tribe. It is generally considered to be active in the area to the north-west of the Xiongnu, i.e., the upper reaches of the present-day Yenisey River.

99 See *Hanji* 漢紀 in *Zizhi tongjian* 資治通鑒 (ch. 32).

100 For the locations of the five lesser kings of Kangju, see Yu Taishan, *Saizhong shi yanjiu*, pp. 101-102, 106-108.

101 See Hulsewé and Loewe, *China in Central Asia, the Early Stage*, p. 138, note 353.

102 Shiratori Kurakichi 白鳥庫吉, "Seiikishi jyō no sinkenkyū: Dai Getsushi kō" 西域史上の新研究・大月氏考, pp. 97-227, esp. 122-129.

103 Matsuda Hisao, "Iran Nandō ron".

104 For details, see Yu Taishan, *Saizhong shi yanjiu*, pp. 86-88.

105 The town of Yixiu 伊脩城 should be the town of Yixun 伊循 in this memoir.

106 Sima Yi 司馬意 should be Sima Xi 司馬熹 in this memoir.

107 Cf. Yu Taishan, *Liang Han Wei Jin Nanbeichao zhengshi Xiyu zhuan yanjiu,* pp. 495-507.

108 Rong Xinjiang 榮新江, "Suowei 'Tumshuqese' wenshu zhong de 'gyāźdi'" 所謂 Tumshuqese 文書中的 "gyāźdi" , *Nairiku Ajia gengo kenkyū* 内陸アジア言語研究 7 (1991): 1-12.

三 《漢書·西域傳下》要注

A CONCISE COMMENTARY ON CHAPTER 96B OF *HANSHU*, "THE MEMOIR ON THE WESTERN REGIONS"*

烏孫國，大昆彌[432]治赤谷城[433]，去長安八千九百里[434]。戶十二萬，口六十三萬，勝兵十八萬八千八百人。相、大祿[435]、左右大將二人，侯三人，大將都尉各一人，大監二人，大吏一人，舍中大吏二人，騎君一人。東至都護治所千七百二十一里[436]，西至康居蕃內地五千里[437]。地莽平。多雨，寒。山[438]多松、樠[439]。不田作種樹[440]，隨畜逐水草，與匈奴同俗。國多馬，富人至四五千匹。民剛惡，貪狼無信，多寇盜，最爲彊國。

The state of Wusun 烏孫: The seat of the Greater *Kunmi*'s 昆彌 government[432] is in the town of Chigu 赤谷[433], and it is 8,900 *li* [434] from Chang'an. There are 120,000 households, 630,000 individuals including 188,800 persons able to bear arms. [There are the following officials:] the Chancellor, the *Dalu* 大祿[435], the two Supreme Leaders of the Left and the Right, three Marquises, the Commandant for the Supreme Leaders [of the Left] and the Commandant for the Supreme Leaders [of the Right], two Supreme Inspectors, the Supreme Official, two Supreme Officials of the Household, and the Master of Cavalry. It is a distance of 1,721 *li* [436], to the east, to the seat of the Protector-General, and 5,000 *li* [437], to the west, to land within the realm of Kangju. The land is covered in vegetation and is flat. There is heavy rainfall and it is cold; on the mountains[438] there are many pine and elm [trees][439]. [The people] do not work at cultivating the fields or planting trees[440], but in company with their stock animals they go in search of water and pasture. Their customs are the same as those of the Xiongnu. The state has abundant horses, and wealthy persons may own as many as four or five

* The English version of this memoir is from is from *China in Central Asia: The Early Stage: 125 B.C.-A.D. 23* by A. F. P. Hulsewé and M. A. N. Loewe, with alterations by Yu Taishan. The English version here is edited by Victor H. Mair.

thousand animals. The people are hard-hearted and greedy; they are unreliable and much given to robbery. [Wusun] is an exceedingly strong state.

[432] *Kunmi* 昆彌 was the title of the supreme chief of the Wusun, the equivalent of *Kunmo* 昆莫 in the subsequent text (the term first appears in the "Dayuan liezhuan" of *Shiji*). It was in the first year of the Ganlu reign-period (53 BCE), when the Western Han divided and ruled Wusun, that the titles of Greater *Kunmi* and Lesser *Kunmi* made their appearance.

[433] The town of Chigu 赤谷 was the seat of the Greater *Kunmi*. It was located south-east of Issyk Kul and in the upper reaches of the Narin River. "Chigu" 赤谷 means "Yanggu" 暘谷 (Bright Valley).[109]

[434] "8,900 *li*" (Distance 35.1): The distance from Chigu to Chang'an via the seat of the king's government of Gumo; i.e., the aggregate of 750 *li*, equivalent to a journey of seven and a half days, the distance between Chigu and the seat of the king's government of Gumo, and 8,150 *li*, the distance between the latter and Chang'an.

[435] *Dalu* 大祿 was the title of an official in Wusun.

[436] "1,721 *li*" (Distance 35.2): The distance from the town of Chigu to Wulei 烏壘 via the seat of the king's government of Gumo, i.e., the aggregate of 700 *li*, equivalent to seven days' journey from Chigu to the seat of the king's government of Gumo, and 1,021 *li*, the distance between the latter and Chang'an. For the distance between Chigu and the seat of the king's government of Gumo, the figures deduced from Distance 35.1 and Distance 35.2 are different, probably because the "8,900 *li*," the distance between Chigu and Chang'an, is the "8,850 *li*" rounded out.

[437] "5,000 *li*" (Distance 35.3): The distance between Chigu and Fannei 蕃內.

[438] The "mountains" here refers to the Tianshan Mountains.

[439] "*Man*" 樠, according to the Yan Commentary, is "a kind of tree. Its core is like that of the pine". Others regard it as a type of elm.[110]

[440] "*Shu*" 樹, according the Yan Commentary, means "*zhi*" 植 ("to plant").

故服匈奴，後盛大，取羈屬，不肯往朝會[441]。東與匈奴、西北與康居、西與大宛、南與城郭諸國相接。[442]本塞地[443]也，大月氏西破走塞王，塞王南越縣度，大月氏居其地。[444]後烏孫昆莫擊破大月氏，大月氏徙，西臣大夏，而烏孫昆莫居之，[445]故烏孫民有塞種、大月氏種云。[446]

Formerly [the state] had been in submission to the Xiongnu; later, with the growth of prosperity, the state accepted [the need to maintain] ties but was unwilling to attend their court meetings[441]. [Wusun] adjoins the Xiongnu in the east, Kangju in the north-west, Dayuan in the west, and the various states of the walled towns in the south.[442] It was originally the land of the Sai.[443] When the Da Yuezhi turned west, defeated and expelled the king of Sai, the latter moved south and crossed over the Suspended Crossing; the Da Yuezhi then took up residence in his lands.[444] Later, when the *Kunmo* of Wusun attacked and defeated the Da Yuezhi, the Da Yuezhi migrated to the west and subjugated the Daxia; and the *Kunmo* of Wusun took up his residence here.[445] For this reason, among the people of Wusun there are [elements of both] the Sai and Da Yuezhi races.[446]

[441] "Court meetings" 朝會: According to the "Xiongnu liezhuan" 匈奴列傳 in *Hanshu*, "In the first month of every year, the various chiefs of the Xiongnu hold a small-scale meeting at the court of the *Chanyu*, to offer the spring sacrifice. In the fifth month, a large-scale meeting is held in the town of Long ("Dragon") 龍, to offer sacrifices to their ancestors, to heaven and earth, and to gods and spirits. In the autumn, when the horses have gained fat, a large-scale meeting is held at Dailin 蹛林, to reckon the number of the population and stock animals". At that time Wusun was subject to the Xiongnu, and had to attend the meetings in a timely manner.

[442] "[Wusun] adjoins … the various states of the walled towns in the south" 南與城郭諸國相接: Some believe that the character *xiang* 相 is redundant here.[111] According to this memoir, "the states with walled towns" included Gumo 姑墨, Wensu 溫宿, Qiuci 龜茲, Yanqi 焉耆, and Juandu 捐毒.

[443] "The land of Sai" 塞地 was situated in the valleys of the Ili and Chu rivers.

[444] The Da Yuezhi, facing the Xiongnu's aggression, migrated to the west to the land of the Sai, and drove away the king of the Sai. This event occurred in 177/176 BCE. We can say that the Sai people had occupied the valleys of the Ili and Chu rivers until that year.

[445] The Da Yuezhi, who had occupied the valleys of the Ili and Chu rivers, were forced by the Wusun to migrate to the west again. In their second westward migration, the Da Yuezhi subjugated Daxia. Here "Daxia" refers to the tribes of the Asii and Tochari, among others. This westward migration of the Da Yuezhi took place around 130 BCE.

[446] "For this reason, among the people of Wusun there are [elements of] the Sai people and the Da Yuezhi people": Concerning the "people of Wusun", the Yan Commentary states, "Among

the various Rong in the Western Regions, the Wusun's physique was the strangest; and the present barbarians with blue eyes and red hair, who look like macaques, are actually of the Wusun race". The Hu people whom Yan encountered and who described their lineage themselves happened to be the descendants of Wusun, which led Yan to the conclusion that all the Hu people with "blue eyes and red hair" were of the Wusun "race". "Wusun" can be regarded as a transcription of Asii. In light of the time and place of their activities in history, the possibility cannot be ruled out that they shared the same origins as the Asii or Yancai 奄蔡, although they went separate ways later. If so, then the physical characteristics of the Wusun people should not differ greatly from those of states west of Dayuan. This text differentiates the Wusun, the Da Yuezhi, and the other Sai peoples who were earlier occupants of the Sai lands, in order to demonstrate that they only formed their own characteristics after separating from one another and going different ways.

始張騫言烏孫本與大月氏共在敦煌間[447]，今烏孫雖彊大，可厚賂招，令東居故地，妻以公主，與爲昆弟，以制匈奴。語在"張騫傳"。[448]

Formerly Zhang Qian had said: "Originally the Wusun [people] dwelt together with the Da Yuezhi in the area of Dunhuang 敦煌[447]; although they are now strong and great, it would be suitable to offer them generous gifts so as to induce them to turn east and take up residence in their former lands, and to present them with a princess in marriage, in order to establish brotherly relations and restrain the Xiongnu". These events are described in "Memoir on Zhang Qian".[448]

[447] "Originally the Wusun [people] dwelt together with the Da Yuezhi in the area of Dunhuang" 共在敦煌間: Some think that two characters, Qilian 祁連, should have followed Dunhuang 敦煌.[112]

[448] According to the "Zhang Qian, Li Guangli zhuan" in *Hanshu*, "The Son of Heaven asked [Zhang] Qian on frequent occasions about the states such as Daxia. Since he had already lost his noble rank, [Zhang] Qian took the opportunity to report as follows: 'When I was living among the Xiongnu I heard of the Wusun; the king bore the title *Kunmo*, and the [present] *Kunmo*'s father was Nandoumi 難兜靡. Originally, the Wusun had lived with the Da Yuezhi between Qilian 祁連 and Dunhuang 焞煌; they were a small state. The Da Yuezhi attacked and killed Nandoumi, seizing his land; and his people fled to the Xiongnu. An infant *Kunmo* had recently been born, and the *Xihou* 翎侯 Bujiu 布就, who was his guardian, took him in his arms and fled. He laid him in the grass and searched for

food for him. On coming back he saw a wolf suckling the child, and there were also ravens holding meat in their beaks and hovering at [the child's] side. Believing this to be supernatural, he then carried [the child] back to the Xiongnu, and the *Chanyu* loved and reared him. When he had reached thirty years of age (*zhuang* 壯), the *Chanyu* delivered the *Kunmo* to his father's people. He had him lead troops, and on several occasions he did so meritoriously. At the time the Yuezhi had already been defeated by the Xiongnu; heading west they attacked the king of the Sai 塞. The king of the Sai moved a considerable distance to the south and the Yuezhi then occupied his lands. Once the *Kunmo* had grown to adulthood, he asked permission of the *Chanyu* to avenge the wrongs his father had endured. Going west he attacked and defeated the Da Yuezhi, who again fled west, moving into the lands of Daxia. The *Kunmo* despoiled the population of the Da Yuezhi, and then remained in occupation. His forces gradually grew stronger, and at the death of the *Chanyu* he was no longer willing to attend at the court of the Xiongnu and serve them. The Xiongnu sent forces to attack the *Kunmo*, but without success. The Xiongnu were more convinced that he was supernatural, and kept a distance from him. At present the *Chanyu* has recently suffered at the hands of the Han and the *Kunmo*'s lands are empty. Barbarians have great attachment to their former lands and are also greedy for Han goods. If we could make use of the present opportunity to send generous presents to Wusun, and induce [its people] to move further east and live in their former territory, and if Han would send a princess to be the consort of [the king] to establish brotherly relations, the situation would be such that they would agree, and this would result in the cutting off of the right arm of the Xiongnu. Once a link has been forged with Wusun, the states such as Daxia to its west could all be induced to come to court and become outer subjects of Han'. The Son of Heaven agreed with this [advice] and appointed [Zhang] Qian to be Leader of the Gentlemen of the Palace, with a force of 300 men; each man had two horses, and the cattle and sheep were counted by the tens of thousands. He took gold, valuables, and silk which were worth an enormous amount, and there were a large number of deputy envoys bearing their insignia to be sent to the neighboring states, if the roads were feasible. When [Zhang] Qian arrived at Wusun, he presented the gifts and a message, but he did not receive from Wusun a definite reply. This is recorded in 'Xiyu zhuan'". (A. F. P. Hulsewé, *China in Central Asia* [Leiden: Brill, 1979], pp. 213-218; with modifications.) For relevant issues, cf. my annotations and comments onthe "Dayuan liezhuan" of *Shiji*.

武帝即位[449]，令騫齎金幣往。昆莫見騫如單于禮[450]，騫大慙，謂曰："天子致賜，王不拜，則還賜。"昆莫起拜，其他如故。

After his accession to the throne,[449] Emperor Wu 武 forthwith ordered [Zhang] Qian to go [to Wusun] with presents of gold and valuables. The *Kunmo* received [Zhang] Qian with ceremonial such as that [used for receiving] a *Chanyu*. [450] Highly mortified, [Zhang] Qian said: "The Son of Heaven has sent some gifts, and unless the king makes obeisance, I shall return with them [to Han]." The *Kunmo* stood up and made obeisance, and the other [parts of the ceremonial were continued] as formerly.

[449] "After his accession Emperor Wu forthwith ordered [Zhang] Qian to go [to Wusun] with presents of gold and valuables" 武帝卽位, 令騫齎金幣往 should read, "Emperor Wu forthwith ordered [Zhang] Qian to go [to Wusun] with presents of gold and valuables 武帝卽令騫齎金幣往". The character *wei* 位 is redundant.[113]

[450] "The *Kunmo* received [Zhang] Qian with ceremonial such as that [used for receiving] a *Chanyu*": According to the Yan Commentary, "The *Kunmo* regarded himself as of the same position as that of *Chanyu*".

初，昆莫有十餘字，中子大祿[451]彊，善將，將衆萬餘騎別居。大祿兄太子，太子有子曰岑陬[452]。太子蚤死，謂昆莫曰："必以岑陬爲太子。"昆莫哀許之。大祿怒，乃收其昆弟，將衆畔，謀攻岑陬。昆莫與岑陬萬餘騎，令別居，昆莫亦自有萬餘騎以自備。國分爲三，大總羈屬昆莫。

Initially, the *Kunmo* 昆莫 had more than ten sons. The *Dalu* 大祿 [451], whose place was in the middle of this group, was a man of valor and a skilful leader, and he had led over ten thousand horsemen away to take up abode separately. The elder brother of the *Dalu* was heir-apparent [to the *Kunmo*] and he had a son who bore the title *Cenzou* 岑陬 [452].The heir-apparent, who had died while still young, had said to the *Kunmo*, "You must without fail appoint the *Cenzou* as heir", and in his sorrow the *Kunmo* had promised to do this. Enraged, the *Dalu* thereupon collected his brothers and led a large group of people in revolt, planning to attack the *Cenzou*. The *Kunmo* therefore gave the *Cenzou* more than ten thousand horsemen and ordered him to take up residence separately; the *Kunmo* himself retained over ten thousand horsemen as a measure of self-defence. The state was divided into three parts, being on the whole tied and subject to the *Kunmo*.

[451] "The *Dalu* 大祿, whose place was in the middle of this group": The *Dalu* was the office held by the son of the *Kunmo* in the middle of the group of *Kunmo*'s sons; he is referred to by the title of his office in historical works.

[452] "He had a son who bore the title *Cenzou*" 有子曰岑陬: *Cenzou* was also the title of an office in Wusun. The son of the heir-apparent held the office of *Cenzou*; he is therefore referred to in historical works by the title of his office.

騫既致賜，諭指曰："烏孫能東居故地[453]，則漢遣公主爲夫人，結爲昆弟，共距匈奴，不足破也。"

Having delivered the [imperial] presents, [Zhang] Qian gave [the *Kunmo*] a message of guidance from the Han emperor, saying: "If the [people of] Wusun are able to move east and dwell in their former lands[453], then Han will send a princess to be [the *Kunmo*'s] wife, and a fraternal alliance will be formed; we will together stand against the Xiongnu who will not be hard to defeat."

[453] Wusun's "former lands" 故地 refers to Wusun's original territory before their westward migration to the valleys of the Ili and Chu Rivers, i.e., lands between "Dunhuang and Qilian".

烏孫遠漢，未知其大小，又近匈奴，服屬日久，其大臣皆不欲徙。昆莫年老，國分，不能專制，乃發使送騫，因獻馬數十匹報謝。[454]其使見漢人衆富厚，歸其國，其國後乃益重漢。[455]

Wusun thought that Han was remote, and had no informed idea of its size. Moreover [Wusun] was close to the Xiongnu, to whom it had been subject for a long period. None of the senior officials of Wusun wished to move. The *Kunmo* was old; and, the state being divided, he was unable to exercise complete control. So he sent out envoys to escort [Zhang] Qian [back], to take the opportunity to present the emperor with horses, numbered by the tens, and to reply [to his message] with apologies.[454] The *Kunmo*'s envoys returned to their state after observing the large numbers of Han people and the abundance of Han's wealth; thereafter the state's appreciation of Han was considerably enhanced.[455]

[454] "Zhang Qian, Li Guangli zhuan" in *Hanshu*: "The emperor obtained horses from Wusun; he liked them and named them 'the Horses of Heaven'. "(Hulsewé and Loewe, *China in Central Asia*, p. 266; with alterations.)

[455] Having established its state in the valley of the Ili and Chu Rivers, Wusun "was no longer willing to attend at the court of the Xiongnu and serve them" after the *Chanyu* Junchen 軍臣 of the Xiongnu died, as is recorded in the "Zhang Qian, Li Guangli zhuan" in *Hanshu*. However, since Wusun's land lay close to the Xiongnu, the state was still under the sway of the Xiongnu. This must have been the primary reason why Zhang Qian was again unable to rouse the interest of the Wusun. Of course, other factors, such as the division within the state, its distance from Han, and the age of the king, among others, also played a role to a certain extent. Of these, the most important factor was that "Wusun thought that Han was remote, and had no informed idea of its size", which meant that none of the senior officials of Wusun wished to move. Its envoys, following Zhang Qian, arrived in Chang'an and then returned to their state, reporting Han's prosperity and strength. "Thereafter the state's appreciation of Han was considerably enhanced". Stronger appreciation of Han meant that fear of the Xiongnu abated somewhat. This was the beginning of Wusun's gradual alliance with Han.

匈奴聞其與漢通，怒，欲擊之。又漢使烏孫，乃出其南，抵大宛、月氏，相屬不絕。烏孫於是恐，使使獻馬，願得尚漢公主，爲昆弟。天子問羣臣，議許，曰："必先內聘，然後遣女。"烏孫以馬千匹聘。漢元封中，遣江都王建女細君爲公主，以妻焉。[456]賜乘輿服御物，爲備官屬宦官侍御數百人，贈送甚盛。[457]烏孫昆莫以爲右夫人。匈奴亦遣女妻昆莫，昆莫以爲左夫人[458]。

Hearing that Wusun was in contact with Han, the Xiongnu grew angry and wished to attack. Moreover, when the Han envoys to Wusun came to leave thence by the south, they made their way to Dayuan and to the Yuezhi continuously without interruption. Wusun now grew apprehensive, and sent envoys with presents of horses [to the emperor], in the hope of obtaining a princess in marriage and of forming a fraternal alliance. The Son of Heaven asked his attendant officials for their views. They advised that "[the request of Wusun] should be granted, with the stipulation that only when the marriage gifts had been delivered to the court should a girl be sent". Wusun provided a marriage gift of 1,000 horses; and during the Yuanfeng 元封 reign-period [110-105 BCE] Han sent Xijun 細君, daughter of [Liu] Jian [劉] 建, king of Jiangdu 江都, as

a princess to wed [the *Kunmo*].[456] The presents included imperial carriages, wearing apparel, and equipment for imperial use. There was established for her an official staff, and a complement of several hundred eunuchs and serving attendants, and she was sent off with a very rich store of gifts.[457] The *Kunmo* of Wusun appointed her to be a Lady of the Right. The Xiongnu similarly sent a girl to be a wife for the *Kunmo*, who appointed her to be a Lady of the Left.[458]

[456] According to the "Xiongnu zhuan (shang)" of *Hanshu*, "Han sent Yang Xin 楊信 as an envoy to the Xiongnu. At this time the Han forces in the east had conquered Huimo 濊貉[114]and the state of Chaoxian 朝鮮 and made prefectures out of them, while in the west Han had created Jiuquan 酒泉 Prefecture in order to drive a wedge between the Xiongnu and the Qiang 羌 and cut off communications between them. It had also established relations with the Yuezhi and Daxia further west and had sent a princess to marry the king of Wusun, all in an effort to create a split between the Xiongnu and the states to the west which had up to this time aided and supported them". (Burton Watson, trans., *Records of the Grand Historian of China* [Columbia University Press, 1961], p. 185. The *Shiji* and *Hanshu* texts on this account are identical.) From this we know that the princess's marriage to the king of Wusun must have occurred before Yang Xin was sent as an envoy to the Xiongnu. According to the "Wudi benji" 武帝本紀 in *Hanshu*, "in the autumn" of the fourth year of the Yuanfeng 元封 reign-period (107 BCE), "since there was a possibility for the Xiongnu to be persuaded to submit, their strength being on the wane, an envoy was henceforth sent". The envoy was Yang Xin. The princess's marriage to the *Kunmo*, therefore, could not have taken place later than the autumn of the fourth year of the Yuanfeng reign-period (107 BCE).

[457] There was undoubtedly an influx of Han culture on a large-scale. Cf. the "Geng Gong zhuan" 耿恭傳 in *Hou-Han shu* 後漢書, ".... After he had arrived in the tribe of [Jushi 車師], [Geng] Gong 耿恭 sent a dispatch to Wusun to proclaim Han's power, prestige, and trustworthiness. The Greater *Kunmi* and those lower in rank all rejoiced, sending envoys to present fine horses and to produce the gambling and chess games which had been given to the princess by Emperor Xuan 宣. [The *Kunmi*] expressed his willingness to send his son to attend at the [Han] court. [Geng] Gong sent envoys, bringing gold and silk, to meet the son who was to attend at the court". Further, the "Yuezhi (yi)" 樂志一 of *Songshu* 宋書 has this account on the musical instrument called *pipa* 琵琶: "As told in *Pipa fu* 琵琶賦 by Fu Xuan 傅玄, 'Han sent a princess to Wusun to wed the *Kunmi*. [The emperor] was concerned that she would be homesick on the road, so he asked the artisans to simplify the *zheng*

箏 [commonly known as the Chinese zither with 21 or 25 strings] and the *zhu* 筑 [an ancient stringed musical instrument], so that they could be played on horseback. The local pronunciation [for these instruments] was followed, and the simplified instrument was called *pipa*. It was hoped that it could be easy [for the instrument] to circulate in the outer states'."

[458] The Xiongnu favored the left (the *Chanyu*'s heir-apparent was often appointed as *Tuqi* 屠耆 meaning "King of the Left"), so the *Kunmo* appointed the woman sent by the Xiongnu as "the Lady of the Left".[115] Of course, the Wusun and the Xiongnu followed the same customs, and the Wusun themselves may have also favored the left.

公主至其國，自治宮室居，歲時一再與昆莫會，置酒飲食，以幣帛賜王左右貴人。昆莫年老，語言不通，公主悲愁，自爲作歌曰："吾家嫁我兮天一方，遠託異國兮烏孫王。穹廬爲室兮旃爲牆，以肉爲食兮酪爲漿。[459] 居常土思兮心內傷，願爲黃鵠兮歸故鄉。"天子聞而憐之，間歲[460]遣使者持帷帳錦繡給遺焉。[461]

When the princess reached the state [of Wusun], she had buildings constructed for her residence. Once or twice a year she had a meeting with the *Kunmo*, at which a banquet was set out, and she presented the noblemen who attended the king with valuables and silk. The *Kunmo* was old, and [he and the princess] had no verbal communication. In her deep sorrow the princess composed for herself a song which ran: "My family sent me off to be married on the other side of heaven; / They sent me a long way to a strange land, to the king of Wusun. / A domed lodging is my dwelling place, with walls made of felt; / Meat is my food, with fermented milk as the sauce.[459] / I live with constant thoughts of my home, my heart is full of sorrow; / I wish I were a golden swan, returning to my home country." When the Son of Heaven heard this, he felt pity for her, and every other year[460] sent envoys bearing drapes, brocades, and embroideries to supply her needs.[461]

[459] "A domed lodging is my dwelling place, with walls made of felt…": This is the typical nomadic domicile.

[460] "*Jian sui*" 間歲: According to the Yan Commentary, "[Envoys] were sent every other year".

[461] The marriage of the Han princess to the *Kunmo* of Wusun does not mean that the alliance against the Xiongnu, the alliance that Emperor Wu wanted to forge, had actually been securely

established. According to the "Dayuan liezhuan" of *Shiji*, when Li Guangli 李廣利 embarked on his expedition against Dayuan, Emperor Wu "sent messengers to notify Wusun that it should call out large forces for a joint attack on [Da]yuan. Wusun despatched 2,000 cavalry to go there, but refused to commit itself, and would not advance". The target of Han's attack was only Dayuan, and Wusun's vacillation indicates all the more clearly what its stance would be, had Han attacked the Xiongnu. We could well conclude that after the third or fourth year of the Yuanfeng 元鳳 reign-period (108/107 BCE), Wusun was unwilling to alienate either party, Han or the Xiongnu, even Han or the strong states in the Western Regions. Li Guangli's first attack upon Dayuan failed, but Emperor Wu was unwilling to disband the army that had been sent against Dayuan. According to the same memoir, one of the causes for this was that Dayuan was a small state, and that "if Han was unable to reduce it", "Wusun and Luntou 侖頭 could easily harass Han envoys". From the "Fu Jiezi zhuan" 傅介子傳 in *Hanshu*, it can be seen that there were mission contacts between the Xiongnu and Wusun down to the Yuanfeng reign-period of Emperor Zhao 昭 (80-75 BCE). A matrimonial alliance with Wusun proved to be a very slow way "to cut off the right arm of the Xiongnu".

昆莫年老，欲使其孫岑陬尚公主。公主不聽，上書言狀，天子報曰："從其國俗，欲與烏孫共滅胡。"岑陬遂妻公主。昆莫死，岑陬代立。岑陬者，官號也，名軍須靡。昆莫，王號也，名獵驕靡。後書"昆彌"云。[462]

The *Kunmo* was old and wished to have his grandson the *Cenzou* married to the princess. However, she would not consent, and sent a written message to [the emperor] describing the state of affairs. The Son of Heaven replied, "You should follow the customs of the state. I wish to make common cause with Wusun to destroy the Hu (Xiongnu)". The *Cenzou* then took the princess as a wife; and when the *Kunmo* died, the *Cenzou* was established in his place. [The term] *Cenzou* is the title of an office, and the man's name was Junxumi 軍須靡. [The term] *Kunmo* is the title of the king, whose name was Liejiaomi 獵驕靡. Hereafter [the title] will be written "*Kunmi* 昆彌".[462]

[462] According to the Yan Commentary, "*Kunmo* was originally the title of the king but it was noted as *Kunmi*. This is because, since the king's name was Liejiaomi 獵驕靡, *kun* was taken to indicate *Kunmo*, and *mi*, [Lie]jiaomi. There are differences of stress in the pronunciations of 彌 and 靡, but they are essentially identical. *Kunmi* 昆彌 was thus used as the title of the king thereafter".

In my opinion, Yan's theory seems to be inadequate. *Kunmo* and *Kunmi* should be variations in the transcription of the same title.

岑陬尚江都公主，生一女少夫。公主死，漢復以楚王戊之孫解憂爲公主，妻岑陬[463]。岑陬胡婦子泥靡尚小，岑陬且死，以國與季父大祿子翁歸靡，曰："泥靡大，以國歸之。"

The *Cenzou* was married to the princess of Jiangdu, and she bore one daughter named Shaofu 少夫. At the death of the princess, Han for a second time appointed a princess to be wife of the *Cenzou*, in the person of Xieyou 解憂, granddaughter of Wu 戊, king of Chu 楚[463]. Nimi 泥靡, son of the *Cenzou*'s Hu wife, was still young, and when the *Cenzou* was about to die, he made over his state to Wengguimi 翁歸靡, son of his father's younger brother the *Dalu*, saying that the state was to be given to Nimi as soon as he reached his majority.

[463] The date when the *Kunmo*, Liejiaomi, died and Junxumi was established in his place is probably the sixth year of the Yuanfeng 元封 reign-period (105 BCE). Junxumi was married to the Jiangdu princess before he "was established". In this memoir, it is recorded of the Jiangdu Princess that "once or twice a year she had a meeting with the *Kunmo*" after she married Liejiaomi. Xijun died in the sixth year of the Yuanfeng reign-period (105 BCE) or the first year of the Taichu 太初 reign-period (104 BCE). This must have been the date when the *Cenzou* was married to Xieyou. Moreover, Emperor Wu ordered Xijun to follow the customs of Wusun and marry the *Cenzou*, and he ordered Xieyou to marry the *Cenzou* as soon as Xijun died, which shows his firm determination to form an alliance with Wusun.

翁歸靡既立，號肥王，復尚楚主解憂，生三男兩女：長男曰元貴靡；次曰萬年，爲莎車王；次曰大樂，爲左大將；長女弟史爲龜茲王絳賓妻；小女素光爲若呼翎侯妻。[464]

After his accession Wengguimi was called Fei 肥 ("the Fat") King; in his turn he was wedded to Xieyou, princess of Chu, who bore three sons and two daughters. The eldest son was called Yuanguimi 元歸靡; the second, named Wannian 萬年, became

king of Suoju; and the third, named Dale 大樂, was Supreme Leader of the Left. Dishi 弟史, the elder daughter, became the wife of Jiangbin 絳賓, king of Qiuci 龜兹, and Suguang 素光, the younger daughter, became the wife of the *Xihou* Ruohu 若呼.[464]

[464] Wannian became the king of Suoju and Dishi became the king of Qiuci, a manifestation of Wusun's influence on the neighboring states.

昭帝時，公主上書，言："匈奴發騎田車師，車師與匈奴爲一，共侵烏孫，唯天子幸救之！"漢養士馬，議欲擊匈奴。會昭帝崩，宣帝初卽位，公主及昆彌皆遣使上書，言："匈奴復連發大兵侵擊烏孫，取車延[465]、惡師[466]地，收人民去，使使謂烏孫趣持公主來，欲隔絕漢。[467]昆彌願發國半精兵，自給人馬五萬騎，盡力擊匈奴。唯天子出兵以救公主、昆彌。"[468]

During the time of Emperor Zhao 昭, the princess sent a written message [to the emperor], saying: "The Xiongnu have called out cavalry to work the land at Jushi; Jushi and the Xiongnu are forming a single unit to attack Wusun in concert; only the Son of Heaven is in a position to save Wusun." Han was rearing horses for military [use]; and after taking counsel [the government] decided to attack the Xiongnu. But at that juncture Emperor Zhao died. As soon as Emperor Xuan 宣 had acceded to the throne, the princess and the *Kunmi* both sent envoys with letters saying: "The Xiongnu have time and again sent out large forces to penetrate and attack Wusun, and again taken the lands of Juyan 車延[465] and Wushi 惡師[466], removing the inhabitants. They have sent envoys ordering Wusun to bring the princess with all speed, and they wish [Wusun] to sever relations with Han.[467] The *Kunmi* is willing to put half the state's best troops in the field; he will himself produce 50,000 cavalry, men and horses, and will exert his strength to the utmost to attack the Xiongnu. It rests only with the Son of Heaven to send out a force so as to save the princess and the *Kunmi*."[468]

[465] About the location of Juyan 車延, not much is known. "Juyan" 車延 [kia-jian] can be regarded as a transcription of Gasiani.

[466] About the location of Wushi 惡師, not much is known. One theory is that it was located in present-day Usu and the nearby area.[116] "Wushi" can be seen as a transcription of Asii.

[467] The "Chang Hui zhuan" 常惠傳 in *Hanshu* records: "At that time, the princess in Wusun sent a message, saying, 'The Xiongnu have called out cavalry to work the land at Jushi; Jushi and the Xiongnu have joined forces to attack Wusun in concert; only the Son of Heaven is in a position to save Wusun'. Han was rearing horses for military [use]; and after taking counsel [the court] decided to launch an attack against the Xiongnu. But at that juncture Emperor Zhao died. As soon as Emperor Xuan 宣 had acceded to the throne, he sent [Chang] Hui on a mission to Wusun in the second year of the Benshi 本始 reign-period [72 BCE]. Both the princess and the *Kunmi* sent envoys, conveying messages [to the throne] through [Chang] Hui, saying, 'The Xiongnu have time and again despatched large forces to attack Wusun, and have taken the lands of Juyan and Wushi, removing the inhabitants. They have sent envoys, coercing [us] to surrender the princess, and demanding that [we] sever all the ties with Han. The *Kunmi* is willing to put half of the state's best troops into the battlefield; he will himself produce 50,000 cavalry, including both men and horses, and will exert his strength to the utmost to fight against the Xiongnu. It rests only with the Son of Heaven to send out a force so as to save the princess and the *Kunmi*!' Han thereupon called out a large force which amounted to 150,000 cavalry, with five generals setting out by separate routes at the same time".

[468] From the "Xiongnu zhuan (shang)" quoted below, we know these events—taking the lands of Juyan and Wushi, and sending envoys to Wusun to demand the Han princess—had occurred before the death of Emperor Zhao.

漢兵大發十五萬騎，五將軍分道並出。語在"匈奴傳"。[469] 遣校尉常惠使持節護烏孫兵，昆彌自將翎侯以下五萬騎從西方入，至右谷蠡王庭，獲單于父行及嫂、居次、名王、犂汙都尉、千長、騎將以下四萬級，馬牛羊驢橐駝七十餘萬頭，烏孫皆自取所虜獲。[470] 還，封惠爲長羅侯。[471] 是歲，本始三年也。[472] 漢遣惠持金幣賜烏孫貴人有功者。[473]

Han called out a large force which amounted to 150,000 cavalry, with five generals setting out by separate routes at the same time. A description is given in the "Memoir on the Xiongnu". [469] Chang Hui 常惠, a Colonel, was sent with emblems of authority to act as the protector of the forces of Wusun. The *Kunmi* took personal command of 50,000 cavalry [led by] the *Xihou* and lesser [officers], and made his way from the western side into the court of the Luli 谷蠡, King of the Right. He took prisoner a paternal relative of the *Chanyu* and his sister-in-law, *Juci* 居次 ("noble women"),

famous kings, and 40,000 men including the Commandant of Liwu 犁汙, Chiefs of the Thousands and Leaders of Cavalry, in addition to over 700,000 head of horse, cattle, sheep, asses, and camels. The [men of] Wusun themselves took all their booty away,[470] and on his return [Chang] Hui was invested with the title of Marquis of Changluo 長羅;[471] [these events occurred] in the third year of the Benshi 本始 reign-period [71 BCE].[472] Han sent [Chang] Hui with gold and valuables as presents for the Wusun noblemen who had served with merit.[473]

[469] According to the "Xiongnu zhuan (shang)" in *Hanshu*, "The Xiongnu were frightened, and dared not despatch [more] troops. Instead, they sent an envoy to Wusun, demanding the Han princess. They attacked Wusun and took the lands of Juyan and Wushi. The princess in Wusun sent a letter, which was passed on to senior ministers of the state for their counsel, but no decision was reached. Then Emperor Zhao died and Emperor Xuan ascended the throne. The *Kunmi* of Wusun sent another letter, saying, 'The Xiongnu have time and again attacked and raided us. The *Kunmi* is willing to put half of the state's best troops into the battlefield; he will himself produce 50,000 cavalry, including both men and horses, and will exert his strength to the utmost to fight against the Xiongnu. It rests only with the Son of Heaven, who takes pity on the princess, to send out a force to save her'. In the second year of the Benshi reign-period [72 BCE], there was a great mobilization and a recruitment of light chariots and valiant soldiers from east of the [Hangu 函谷] Pass. Selections were made from the officials with a ranking of 3,000 piculs in the prefectures and states, and the stout, strong, and experienced horsemen and archers were all sent to go with the army. The Imperial Counsellor, Tian Guangming 田廣明, was made the General of the Qilian 祁連; he set out from Xihe 西河 with 40,000 cavalry.[117] Fan Mingyou 范明友, the General Crossing the Liao 遼 [River], commanding more than 30,000 cavalry, set out from Zhangye 張掖. Han Zeng 韓增, the General of the Vanguard, commanding more than 30,000 cavalry, set out from Yunzhong 雲中.[118] Zhao Chongguo 趙充國, the General of the Rear, was made the General of Pulei 蒲類; commanding more than 30,000 cavalry, he set out from Jiuquan 酒泉. Tian Shun 田順, the Grand Administrator of Yunzhong, was made the General of Tiger's Teeth; commanding more than 30,000 cavalry, he set out from Wuyuan 五原.[119] The five generals, with an army of 150,000 horsemen, each went more than 2,000 *li* beyond the Great Wall. The Colonel Chang Hui, who was sent as an envoy to escort and protect [the princess], joined [the campaign] with a force recruited from Wusun and [other states of] the Western Regions. The *Kunmi* took personal command of 50,000 cavalry under the *Xihou*; his army and the troops commanded by

the five generals added up to more than 200,000. When the Xiongnu learned about the scale of the expedition of the Han forces, their old and weak ran away immediately. They fled afar, driving their stock animals and carrying their belongings with them. This is why the five generals did not make many conquests and captures.... The General of the Pulei was to rendezvous with the Wusun army and to launch a joint attack on the Pulei Marsh[120] in the Xiongnu territory, but the Wusun forces arrived early and then left, and the Han troops were unable to join forces with them.... Colonel Chang Hui along with Wusun's troops made their way to the court of the Luli 谷蠡 King of the Right, taking prisoner a paternal relative of the *Chanyu* and his sister-in-law, *Juci* 居次 (noble woman), prominent kings, the Commandant of Liwu 犂汙, Chiefs of Thousand Troops, Leaders [of Cavalry], and those of lesser rank, a total of 39,000 persons, in addition to over 700,000 head of horses, cattle, sheep, asses, and camels. [Chang] Hui was invested with the title of Marquis of Changluo 長羅. The Xiongnu army suffered innumerable deaths, including deaths resulting from wounds incurred in the battle. Countless stock-animals also died in transportation to faraway destinations. The Xiongnu therefore were depleted and gradually declined; they blamed all this on Wusun. In the winter, the *Chanyu* took personal command of several tens of thousands of troops to attack Wusun. Capturing many who were old and weak, he was ready to return, when the army encountered very heavy snowfalls, accumulating more than one *zhang* 丈 in a day. Less than one tenth of the people and animals managed to get back. Taking advantage of the weakness of the Xiongnu, Dingling 丁令 [121] struck them in the north, Wuhuan 烏桓 [122] entered their territories in the east, and Wusun attacked them in the west, the three states killing several tens of thousands of people, several tens of thousands of horses, and a great number of cattle and sheep. In addition, the Xiongnu suffered starvation, which brought death to three tenths of the population and five tenths of the stock animals. With the Xiongnu significantly weakened, the various states that were their dependencies broke away, and attacks and raids among themselves went on unchecked".

[470] Following "Chang Hui, a Colonel, was sent...": The "Chang Hui zhuan" in *Hanshu* reads: "Chang Hui was made a Colonel and was sent with emblem of authority to act as the protector of the forces of Wusun. The *Kunmi* took personal command of 50,000 cavalry under the *Xihou*, and made his way from the west to the court of the Luli King of the Right. He took prisoner a paternal relative of the *Chanyu* and his sister-in-law, *Juci* ("noble woman"),[123] prominent kings, the Commandant of Liwu 犂汙, Chiefs of Thousand Troops, Leaders of Cavalry, and those of lesser rank, a total of 39,000 persons, in addition to over 50,000 head of horses, cattle, asses, and camels, and more than 600,000 sheep. The [men of] Wusun themselves kept their own booty".

[471] According to the "Jing, Wu, Zhao, Xuan, Yuan, Cheng gongchen biao" 景武昭宣元成功臣表, "The Marquis of Changluo, whose posthumous title was Zhuang 壯, Chang Hui, as a Colonel and Counsellor of the Palace, with emblem of authority, led the Wusun forces to attack the Xiongnu, captured a prominent king, and killed and captured 39,000 men. He was ennobled with a fief of 2,850 households. He was invested with the title of Marquis on the day *guisi* 癸巳 in the fourth month of the fourth year of the Benshi reign-period. He died twenty-four years later". The military actions ended in the third year (71 BCE), and Chang Hui was ennobled in the fourth year. The texts quoted above dated both events to the third year only for the sake of convenience in narration. Changluo was in the prefecture of Chenliu 陳留 (its seat of government was in the south-east of present-day Kaifeng 開封).

[472] In the "Xuandi ji" 宣帝紀 of *Hanshu*, it is recorded that in the second year of the Benshi reign-period (72 BCE), "The Xiongnu had repeatedly made encroachments in the border areas, and attacked Wusun to the west. The *Kunmi* of Wusun and the princess took advantage of an envoy [from Han, who was returning] and had letters sent to the emperor, saying that the *Kunmi* was willing to put the state's best troops into the field to fight against the Xiongnu, and they implored the Son of Heaven to be compassionate and send out a force to save the princess. In the autumn, there was a great mobilization and the recruitment and appointment of light chariots and valiant soldiers from east of the [Hangu 函谷] Barrier. Selections were made from the officials [with a ranking of] 300 piculs in the prefectures and states, and the stout, strong, and experienced horsemen and archers were all [sent] to go with the army. The Imperial Counsellor, Tian Guangming, was made the General of the Qilian; the General of the Rear, Zhao Chongguo, was made the General of the Pulei; and the Grand Administrator of Yunzhong, Tian Shun, was made the General of Tiger's Teeth. Together with the General Crossing the Liao [River], Fan Mingyou, and the General of the Vanguard, Han Zeng 韓增, [there were] altogether five generals with an army of one hundred fifty thousand horsemen. The Colonel Chang Hui, bearing emblem of authority, [was sent] to aid the army of the Wusun, and all [were sent] to attack the Xiongnu". In the same source, it is also recorded that in the first month of the third year (71 BCE), "on the day *wuchen* 戊辰, the five generals and their armies set out from Chang'an. In the summer, in the fifth month, the armies were disbanded. The General of the Qilian, [Tian] Guangming, and the General of Tiger's Teeth, [Tian] Shun, had committed crimes and were handed to the authorities concerned; both killed themselves. The Colonel Chang Hui, leading the army of the Wusun, penetrated the western [part of] the Xiongnu territory, making great conquests and captures, and so was ennobled". (Homer H. Dubs, trans., *The History of the Former Han Dynasty*, 2: 211-212; with modifications.) On the basis of these records, we know that forces of the

five generals were called out in the autumn of the second year of the Benshi reign-period, and they set out in the first month of the next year from Chang'an. The war ended in the fifth month. The war in the third year of the Benshi reign-period marked a change in Wusun's attitude, bringing an end to its equivocacy. The policy toward Wusun pursued by Han since Emperor Wu had finally produced results. The rebellion of Wusun was the most severe setback that the Xiongnu had suffered since they began managing the Western Regions. The defeat during the third year of the Benshi reign-period made it impossible for them to recover, resulting in Huhanxie's 呼韓邪 submission to Han afterwards.

[473] "Chang Hui zhuan" in *Hanshu* states: "[Chang] Hui, in the company of more than ten officers and subordinates, set out to return to Wusun. They had not yet reached Wusun, when some people from Wusun purloined Chang Hui's seals, ribbons, and emblem of authority. [Chang] Hui returned to [Han], thinking that the crime warranted death.[124] At that time the five generals of Han did not achieve anything. The Son of Heaven invested [Chang] Hui with the title of the Marquis of Changluo because he was sent as an envoy by order of the emperor and made great conquests and captures. And he again sent him with gold and valuables as presents for the Wusun noblemen who had served with merit". It is recorded in the "Jing, Wu, Zhao, Xuan, Yuan, Cheng gongchen biao" that Chang Hui was ennobled in the fourth month of the fourth year in the Benshi reign-period (70 BCE), and the presentation of gifts to the Wusun noblemen was after this event, possibly also in the fourth year.[125]

元康二年，烏孫昆彌因惠上書："願以漢外孫元貴靡爲嗣，得令復尚漢公主，結婚重親，畔絕匈奴，願聘馬驘各千匹。"詔下公卿議，大鴻臚蕭望之[474]以爲"烏孫絕域，變故難保，不可許"。上美烏孫新立大功，又重絕故業，遣使者至烏孫，先迎取聘。[475]昆彌及太子、左右大將都尉皆遣使，凡三百餘人，入漢迎取少主。上乃以烏孫主解憂弟子相夫[476]爲公主，置官屬侍御百餘人，舍上林[477]中，學烏孫言。[478]天子自臨平樂觀[479]，會匈奴使者、外國君長，大角抵[480]，設樂而遣之。使長羅侯光祿大夫惠爲副，凡持節者四人，送少主至敦煌。

In the second year of the Yuankang 元康 reign-period [64 BCE], the *Kunmi* of Wusun availed himself [of the services of Chang] Hui to send a letter [to the emperor]: "He wished to have Yuanguimi 元歸靡, whose grandmother had been of Han extraction, appointed as his heir, and effect a further marriage with a Han princess to strengthen family ties. He would turn his back [on former loyalties] and make a complete break with the Xiongnu, and would be willing to provide marriage gifts of horses and mules,

each numbering one thousand." It was commanded that the senior ministers of state should consider the matter. Xiao Wangzhi 蕭望之, the Superintendent of State Visits,[474] took the view that "Wusun was situated in a remote, isolated region; it would therefore be difficult to guard against untoward events, and [the request] should not be granted". The emperor thought highly of the great service recently rendered by the Wusun, and, moreover, took a serious view of relinquishing the work of his forebears. So he sent an envoy to Wusun to take prior delivery of the marriage gifts.[475] The *Kunmi* and the heir-apparent, together with the Supreme Leaders of the Left and the Right and the Commandant all sent an embassy, consisting of altogether more than 300 persons, to come to Han to fetch the princess for her marriage. The emperor thereupon appointed Xiangfu 相夫, [daughter of] the younger brother of Xieyou 解憂, princess of Wusun, to be the princess. [476] He established an official staff and complement of over 100 serving attendants, who were lodged in the Shanglin 上林 [Park] [477] to study the language of Wusun.[478] The Son of Heaven attended in person at the Pingle 平樂 Lodge.[479] He called a meeting of the Xiongnu envoys and the leading chiefs of the outer states, and after a display of wrestling[480] and a musical entertainment sent the party on its way. [Chang Hui], Marquis of Changluo and Counsellor of the Palace, was appointed deputy [envoy] and altogether four men bearing credentials escorted the princess as far as Dunhuang.

[474] In the second year of the Yuankang reign-period (64 BCE), Xiao Wangzhi was promoted from Superintendent of the Lesser Treasury 少府 to the Metropolitan of the Left 左馮翊, not the Superintendent of State Visits 大鴻臚.[126]

[475] "So he sent an envoy to go to Wusun to take prior delivery of the marriage gifts": The study of the Han inscribed wooden slips unearthed at Xuanquan 懸泉 has revealed the identity of this envoy -- Chang Hui, the Marquis of Changluo.[127]

[476] 烏孫主解憂弟子相夫: Preceding the character *zhu* 主, it seems, there should be the character *gong* 公.

[477] Shanglin 上林 refers to the Shanglin Park. It was built in Qin, and Emperor Wu made it an imperial park. Its site is in the west of present-day Xi'an 西安, Shanxi 陝西 Province.

[478] "To study the language of Wusun," etc.: At that time, it seems that the Western Han government had established special institutes where the languages of other states and ethnic groups

were taught and learned.

[479] The Pingle Lodge 平樂觀 is in the Shanglin Park. It is recorded in the "Wudi ji" 武帝紀 of *Hanshu* that "in the summer" of the sixth year of the Yuanfeng reign-period (105 BCE), "the people at the capital watched wrestling competitions in the Pingle Lodge".

[480] "A display of wrestling": *Da jiaodi* 大角抵 refers to the competition of fighting skills. It is recorded in the "Wudi ji" of *Hanshu*: "In the spring of the third year of [the Yuanfeng reign-period], wrestling competitions were conducted, and people from within 300 *li* around all came to watch". The Yan Commentary quotes Ying Shao 應劭: "*Jiao* 角 means to compete in [fighting] skills 角技. *Di* 抵 means to rival 抵觸". He also quotes Wen Ying 文穎: "[This set] of music is named *jiaodi* 角抵, because two persons of almost equal strength compete with each other in fighting skills and archery; hence the term *jiaodi*; it is perhaps the music for miscellaneous competitions of skill".

未出塞，聞烏孫昆彌翁歸靡死，烏孫貴人共從本約[481]，立岑陬子泥靡代爲昆彌，號狂王。惠上書："願留少主敦煌，惠馳至烏孫責讓不立元貴靡爲昆彌，還迎少主。"事下公卿，望之復以爲"烏孫持兩端，難約結。前公主在烏孫四十餘年，恩愛不親密，邊竟未得安，此已事之驗也。[482]今少主以元貴靡不立而還，信無負於夷狄，中國之福也。少主不止，繇役將興，其原起此"[483]。天子從之，徵還少主[484]。

But before they had passed beyond the defence lines it was reported that Wengguimi 翁歸靡, the *Kunmi* of the Wusun, had died, and that the noblemen of Wusun had together complied with the original agreement[481], establishing Nimi 泥靡, son of the *Cenzou*, to be *Kunmi* in his place; he was titled Kuang 狂 ("the Mad") King. [Chang] Hui reported in writing [to the emperor] suggesting that "the princess should be detained at Dunhuang and that he himself should proceed on horseback with all speed to Wusun, where he would reproach [the noblemen] for not establishing Yuanguimi 元歸靡 as the *Kunmi*; he would then return and fetch the princess". The matter was referred to the senior ministers of state, and [Xiao] Wangzhi again took the view that "Wusun's attitude was equivocal, and that it was impossible to enter into an agreement with [that state]. Previously a princess had been in Wusun for over forty years; [in spite of] the favor and kindness [shown to Wusun], an intimate friendship had not been created and the borderlands had not attained a state of peace. This was the evidence of the events of the

past;[482] the return of the princess at the present juncture, when Yuanguimi had not been established [as *Kunmi*], would involve no breach of faith towards the barbarians and would be a fortunate matter for the Middle Kingdom. But if the princess were not kept back, conscripts would be called up for service, and such actions would be precipitated by this incident".[483] The Son of Heaven followed this advice, and summoned the princess for recall.[484]

[481] "The original agreement": According to this memoir, when the *Cenzou* was about to die, Nimi 泥靡, the son of the *Cenzou*'s Hu wife, was still young; he made over his state to Wengguimi 翁歸靡, the son of his father's younger brother the *Dalu*, saying that "the state was to be given to Nimi as soon as he came of age".

[482] From Xiao Wangzhi's comments it is clear that some Han senior officials had disapproved of the policy of forging a matrimonial alliance with Wusun since the time of Emperor Wu. It is true that "Wusun's attitude was equivocal", and that "it was impossible to enter into an agreement with [that state]" since Han had married its princess to Wusun; but, as mentioned above, this is because Wusun had to do so in its own interest. Wusun could not lean to the Han side if the Western Han's military power was not superior to that of the Xiongnu. It should be noted that in spite of the fact that the princess was in Wusun for over forty years, and "the favor and kindness [shown to Wusun], an intimate friendship had not been created and the border lands had not attained a state of peace", one should not completely neglect the positive role of the matrimonial alliance with Wusun in Han's course to defeat the Xiongnu and manage the Western Regions, evident from the fact that both the princess and the *Kunmi* of Wusun sent written messages to the Han emperor at the beginning of the Benshi reign-period.

[483] According to the "Xiao Wangzhi zhuan" 蕭望之傳 in *Hanshu*, "Previously, Wenguimi, the *Kunmi* of Wusun, sent a letter [to the emperor] via Chang Hui, the Marquis of Changluo, saying that he wished to have Yuanguimi 元歸靡, whose grandmother had been a Han princess, appointed as his heir, and to have him marry a Han princess too. He would then submit to Han, and make a complete break with the Xiongnu. The emperor referred this matter to the senior ministers of state. [Xiao] Wangzhi held the opinion that, since Wusun was situated in a remote, isolated region, it would not be a good long-term strategy if [Han] believed the words couched in beautiful verbiage and sent [a princess] for a marriage 10,000 *li* away. The Son of Heaven did not follow his advice. In the second year of the Shenjue 神爵 reign-period, [Chang] Hui, the Marquis of Changluo, was sent as an envoy to escort a princess [to Wusun] to wed Yuanguimi. Before they passed beyond the defence lines,

Wengguimi, [the *Kunmi* of Wusun], had died, and his elder brother's son, the Mad King, established himself, breaking the agreement. [Chang] Hui sent a letter from the barrier, saying that he would rather that the princess remain at Dunhuang. He then proceeded to Wusun, reproached [those concerned] for the breach of the agreement, and established Yuanguimi as the *Kunmi*. Returning [from Wusun], he joined the princess. The matter was referred to the senior ministers of state by the emperor, and [Xiao] Wangzhi again thought that the intended course should not be pursued. 'Wusun's attitude was equivocal, and it would not abide by the agreement firmly. The consequences are obvious. Previously a princess had been in Wusun for over forty years, but an intimate relationship had not developed [between her and the king] and the borderlands had not seen peace as a result. This was the outcome of the events of the past. The recall of the princess at the present juncture, when Yuanguimi had not been established [as *Kunmi*], would involve no breach of faith towards the barbarians [on our part] and would be a fortunate matter for the Middle Kingdom. But, if the princess were not prevented [from going there], conscripts would be called up for service, and such actions would be precipitated by this incident'. The Son of Heaven followed this advice, and recalled the princess. Later, although Wusun divided its state and both *Kunmi* coexisted, with Yuanguimi as the Greater *Kunmi*, Han no longer intermarried with the Wusun". From this we know that the princess was escorted to Wusun in the second year of Shenjue reign-period (60 BCE); Wenguimi also died in that year. The time when Wengguimi made his offer of marriage can be dated to the second year of the Yuankang 元康 reign-period (64 BCE).

[484] This record shows a clear reversal in the relationship between the Western Han and Wusun during the reign-periods from Yuankang to Shenjue. When he sent Zhang Qian as an envoy to Wusun, Emperor Wu also wished to send a princess to be the consort of the *Kunmo* and thus establish fraternal relations with the state. Later Wusun provided a betrothal gift of one thousand horses in order to marry the Han princess and establish brotherly relations with Han. Both tried to establish the relationship on an equal footing. As a result of Han giving the hand of Xijun to the *Kunmo*, and having Xijun follow the customs of Wusun and marry the grandson of the *Kunmo*, this relationship was finally secured. The relationship between Han and Wusun did not preclude Wusun from establishing a similar relationship with the Xiongnu; rather, Han's marriage of the princess to the *Kunmo* of Wusun to some extent improved Wusun's position as a Xiongnu dependency. The relationship between Han and Wusun was based on Wusun's neutrality between Han and the Xiongnu. This might have accorded with Wusun's self-interest, but not with Han's original intention, which was the reason for Xiao Wangzhi's complaint that Wusun's "attitude was equivocal, and it would

not abide by the agreement strictly". The "equivocal" policy of Wusun also led to the resentment of the Xiongnu, who wished to attack Wusun for the princess. In the end a war broke out in the third year of the Benshi reign-period (71 BCE). As a result of the war, the relationship between Wusun and the Xiongnu was broken off. In the second year of the Yuankang reign-period (64 BCE), Wengguimi devised a plan to bring about a further marriage with a Han princess to strengthen family ties, turning his back on and making a complete break with the Xiongnu, his former allies, and Emperor Xuan gave his blessing to the proposal, which heralded, officially, the alliance between Wusun and Han. Of course, Wengguimi's wish to marry the Han princess to Yuanguimi was also designed to obtain foreign support for his son's accession. Emperor Wu's aim, to form a matrimonial alliance with Wusun, was now a complete success. However, the relationship between Han and Wusun changed gradually and subtly from the Yuankang reign-period or even from the Benshi reign-period onwards because, after the third year of the Benshi reign-period (71 BCE), the Xiongnu no longer constituted a threat to Han, their power waning day by day, and Wusun could not restore its former relationship with the Xiongnu and revive the old equivocal attitude. In other words, the foundation on which the Western Han sought and maintained its matrimonial alliance with Wusun no longer existed. In the end Han did not marry a princess to the *Kunmo* of Wusun. The turning point came when Yuanguimi was not established as the kunmi. Although Wusun later divided the state and both *Kunmi* coexisted, with Yuanguimi as the Greater *Kunmi*, Han no longer intermarried with the Wusun, the primary cause being the change in the status quo. Emperor Xuan had agreed to the Wusun's request in the second year of the Yuankang reign-period (64 BCE) simply because he "thought highly of the great service recently rendered by the Wusun, and, moreover, took a serious view of relinquishing the work of his forebears". The original proposal was no longer in effect as soon as an excuse had presented itself. On the basis of the "Xiao Wangzhi zhuan" in *Hanshu*, we know that Xiao Wangzhi revered Confucianism and thus was opposed to the offorts in the border areas. By contrast, Emperor Xuan "did not strictly follow Confucianism". Therefore Xiao Wangzhi's opposition to the marriage to Wusun did not necessarily accord with the views of Emperor Xuan. Emperor Xuan resolved to recall the princess not so much out of concern that "conscripts would be called up for service" as out of consideration that there was no longer a need to bring about a further marriage with Wusun's *Kunmo* to strengthen family ties.

狂王復尚楚主解憂，生一男鴟靡，不與主和，又暴惡失衆。漢使衛司馬魏和意、副候任昌送侍子[485]，公主言狂王爲烏孫所患苦，易誅也。遂謀置酒會，罷，使士拔劍擊之。劍旁下，狂王傷，上馬馳去。其子細沈瘦會兵圍和意、昌及公主

於赤谷城。數月，都護鄭吉發諸國兵救之，乃解去。[486] 漢遣中郎將張遵持醫藥治狂王，賜金二十斤，采繒[487]。因收和意、昌係瑣，從尉犂檻車至長安，斬之。車騎將軍長史張翁留驗公主與使者謀殺狂王狀，主不服，叩頭謝，張翁捽主頭罵詈。主上書，翁還，坐死。副使季都別將醫藥養視狂王，狂王從十餘騎送之。都還，坐知狂王當誅，見便不發，下蠶室。[488]

The Mad King was in his turn married to Xieyou, princess of Chu 楚, who bore one son, Chimi 鴟靡. [The Mad King] did not live in a state of amity with the princess; in addition he was oppressive and wicked and had lost the goodwill of the people. When the Han envoy, the Guards' Major Wei Heyi 魏和意, and the deputy, the Captain Ren Chang 任昌, escorted [back to Wusun] the son who had served as an attendant [in Han],[485] the princess said that the Mad King was a source of distress and suffering to Wusun and could easily be executed. A plot was then laid for a banquet to be set out; at the conclusion of the gathering a soldier was to be sent in to draw his sword and strike the king. The sword [struck him] on his side, and the Mad King, though wounded, mounted his horse and galloped off. His son Xishenshou 細沈瘦 assembled troops and surrounded [Wei] Heyi, [Ren] Chang, and the princess in the town of Chigu 赤谷. Several months later Zheng Ji 鄭吉, the Protector-General, called out forces of the various states to relieve them, and they were then set free.[486] Han sent Zhang Zun 張遵, Leader of the Gentlemen of the Palace, to take medicines to cure the Mad King and to give him a present of 20 *jin* 斤 of gold and colored silks[487]. Using the opportunity to take [Wei] Heyi and [Ren] Chang in custody, he had them bound in chains and sent in a criminals' tumbril from Weili 尉犂 to Chang'an, where they were beheaded. Zhang Weng 張翁, Aide-de-Camp to the General of Chariots and Cavalry, was left to investigate the case of the plot of the princess and the envoys to kill the Mad King. The princess did not admit to the charge and, striking her head on the gound, denied complicity. Zhang Weng seized her by the hair and roundly reviled her. The princess sent in a written report, and on his return [Zhang] Weng was brought up on a charge and put to death. Ji Du 季都, a deputy envoy, separately brought a physician to attend the Mad King, who, accompanied by over ten horsemen, escorted him back. On his return [Ji] Du was charged with knowing that the Mad King merited punishment by death and failing to take any action, despite seeing an opportunity to do so, and he was sent down to the

silkworm house [for castration].[488]

[485] We do not know whether "the son who had served as an attendant [in Han]" was from Wusun or from other states, nor do we know whether Wusun had sent its king's son as an attendant to Han at that time. If the son who was escorted by Wei and Ren was from Wusun, he should have been *sent no later than the end of the Shenjue reign-period (58 BCE) or the beginning of the Wufeng* 五鳳 reign-period (57 BCE), when Wusun was not yet subject to the Protector-General. If Wusun did send its prince as an attendant to the Han court at that time, its intention was possibly the same as that of Kangju, which sent its prince to the Han court during the reign of Emperor Cheng.

[486] This should have occurred during the Wufeng reign-period (57-54 BCE).[128]

[487] The quantity of "colored silks" 采繒 is missing.[129]

[488] This record is very important, because it shows that the relationship between Han and Wusun had again reached a new stage. The event occurred during the Wufeng reign-period (57-54 BCE). The Mad King was in his turn married to Xieyou, and Han's matrimonial alliance with Wusun nominally existed as before. Xieyou's mission, however, was no longer "to make common cause with Wusun to destroy the Hu [Xiongnu]", but to secure Han's control over Wusun. The Mad King, Nimi, was the son of Junxumi 軍須靡 and a princess of the Xiongnu. Therefore, the Mad King's accession to the throne was contrary to Han's expectations. The Mad King was oppressive and wicked and lost the goodwill of his people, the reason why the princess and the Han envoys plotted to kill him. This was the first time that the Western Han interfered in the internal affairs of Wusun, although it did not act openly. The Han court in fact did not oppose the action of Wei and Ren, and the reason that both were beheaded was not that they plotted to kill the Mad King but that they were unsuccessful in the attempt. Their execution was also designed to placate the people of Wusun. Zhang Zun was sent to cure the Mad King and to give him a present of gold and silks, but this was all a show. Both Zhang Weng and Ji Du were found guilty because they did not understand the true intentions of the imperial court, and both were the victims of Han's policy change concerning Wusun.

初，肥王翁歸靡胡婦子烏就屠，狂王傷時驚，與諸翎侯俱去，居北山[489]中，揚言母家匈奴兵來，故衆歸之。後遂襲殺狂王，自立爲昆彌。漢遣破羌將軍辛武賢將兵萬五千人至敦煌，遣使者案行表[490]，穿卑鞮侯井[491]以西，欲通渠[492]轉穀，積居廬倉[493]以討之[494]。

At the time when the Mad King had been wounded, Wujiutu 烏就屠, son of Wengguimi, the Fat King, and his Hu wife, had been frightened and fled with the various *Xihou* to live in the Northern Mountains[489]. He made out that Xiongnu troops of his mother's family were coming, and as a result large numbers attached themselves to his cause. In a surprise attack he later killed the Mad King and set himself up as *Kunmi*. Han sent Xin Wuxian, General of the Conquest of the Qiang 羌, to lead a force of 15,000 men to Dunhuang, and messengers were sent to reconnoitre, mark out the courses[490], and dig [for water] to the west of the Beitihou 卑鞮侯 wells[491]. They wished to construct water-channels[492] for the transport of grain, so that this could be accumulated and stored in the Julu 居廬 Granary[493] in order to defeat [Wujiutu].[494]

[489] "The Northern Mountains" refers to the present-day Tianshan Mountains.

[490] "*Xing biao*" 行表: here has the meaning, "to mark out the courses". The "Gouxu zhi" 溝洫志 in *Hanshu* states: "The Qi 齊 water engineer Xu Bo 徐伯 was [chosen] to mark the courses, and several tens of thousands were conscripted to work on the canal". The Yan Commentary states: "While surveying, the courses where the canal is to be made are marked out, in the same way as posts are now erected for signs".

[491] "The Beitihou 卑鞮侯 wells": The Yan Commentary quotes Meng Kang 孟康, "Big wells are linked to the waterway in six directions; in the lower areas, water gushes out: the place is by the foothills of the mountain east of the White Dragon Mound". "Beiti" 卑鞮 [pie-tie] acquired its name from the people of Pulei 蒲類 or Beilu 卑陸.

[492] "*Tong qu*" 通渠 means "to dig canals". From the Han inscribed wooden slips unearthed at Xuanquan 懸泉, we know that at that time there was an office of Colonel in Charge of Canal Construction 穿渠校尉, whose duties entailed such tasks.[130]

[493] "The Julu Granary" 居廬倉 was located east of the White Dragon Mound 白龍堆, between the White Dragon Mound and the Three Long Sands 三隴沙.[131] Another theory is that Julu was an abbreviation of Juluzi 居盧訾; this term is seen in the Han inscribed wooden slips unearthed at Lop Nur.[132]

[494] According to the "Xuandi ji" 宣帝紀 and "Zhao Chongguo, Xin Qingji zhuan" 趙充國辛慶忌傳 in *Hanshu*, Xin Wuxian 辛武賢, the Administrator of Jiuquan Prefecture, was appointed the Poqiang 破羌 (Conquest of the Qiang 羌) General in the first year of the Shenjue reign-period (60 BCE). In the fifth month of the second year he was dismissed, and "resumed the post of the Administrator of Jiuquan Prefecture". "Seven years later he was again appointed the Poqiang General

and went on a campaign against Wusun, reaching Dunhuang". This shows that Wujiutu's killing of the Mad King and the expedition against Wujiutu occurred in the first year of the Ganlu 甘露 reign-period.[133]

初，楚主侍者馮嫽能史書，習事，嘗持漢節爲公主使，行賞賜於城郭諸國，敬信之，號曰馮夫人。爲烏孫右大將妻，右大將與烏就屠相愛，都護鄭吉使馮夫人說烏就屠，以漢兵方出，必見滅，不如降。烏就屠恐，曰："願得小號[495]。"宣帝徵馮夫人，自問狀。遣謁者竺次、期門甘延壽爲副，送馮夫人。馮夫人錦車[496]持節，詔烏就屠詣長羅侯赤谷城，立元貴靡爲大昆彌，烏就屠爲小昆彌，皆賜印綬，[497]破羌將軍不出塞還。

Feng Liao 馮嫽, an attendant serving the princess of Chu 楚, was adept in the official style of writing and well-versed in [official] business. Once, carrying emblems of Han [authority], she had been sent on behalf of the princess to present gifts to the various towns, and all the states held her in esteem and trust. She was titled "Lady Feng" and was the wife of the Supreme Leader of the Right of the Wusun. The Supreme Leader of the Right was an intimate friend of Wujiutu. Zheng Ji 鄭吉, the Protector-General, sent Lady Feng to urge Wujiutu that, as Han troops were about to set out, and as [the state] would undoubtedly be destroyed, the best thing to do would be to surrrender. Wujiutu was afraid and said that he would like to have the use of a lesser title[495]. Emperor Xuan 宣 summoned Lady Feng and asked her personally about the situation; and he sent Zhu Ci 竺次, the Internuncio, with Gan Yanshou 甘延壽, Guard of the Gate, as his deputy, to escort Lady Feng. Lady Feng [rode in] a carriage decked in brocade[496] and carried the insignia of authority. It was commanded that Wujiutu should proceed to the Marquis of Changluo 長羅 in the town of Chigu. Yuanguimi 元歸靡 was established as the Greater *Kunmi* and Wujiutu 烏就屠 as the Lesser *Kunmi*, each one being presented with seals and ribbons[497]. The General of Conquest of the Qiang returned without having passed outside the defence lines.

[495] "*Xiao hao*" 小號: title of the Lesser *Kunmi*.

[496] "*Jin che*" 錦車: The "Xiaoxuan huangdi ji" 孝宣皇帝紀 in *Hanji* 漢紀 reads *shao che* 軺車.[34]

[497] This event occurred in the first year of the Ganlu reign-period (53 BCE), marking the

beginning of Han's open interference in Wusun's internal affairs. The state of Wusun was eventually divided and ruled because Han took advantage of the internal conflicts in Wusun and intimidated it by superior force, applying both hard and soft tactics. The existence of both a Greater and a Lesser *Kunmi*, each being presented with seals and ribbons, shows that Wusun had become a dependency of Han.

後烏就屠不盡歸諸翎侯民衆，漢復遣長羅侯惠將三校 [498] 屯赤谷，因爲分別其人民地界，大昆彌戶六萬餘，小昆彌戶四萬餘，然衆心皆附小昆彌。[499]

Later, Wujiutu had not yet made a complete restoration to the *Xihou* of their peoples, when Han again despatched [Chang] Hui, Marquis of Changluo, to lead three colonels[498] to garrison Chigu. He took the opportunity to divide the inhabitants and lands, assigning to the Greater *Kunmi* over 60,000 households and to the Lesser *Kunmi* over 40,000. However, the affections of the majority lay with the Lesser *Kunmi*.[499]

[498] It is recorded in the "Zhao Chongguo, Xin Qingji zhuan" in *Hanshu* that Xin Qingji, "when young, held the office of *Youxiaocheng* 右校丞 (assistant director of a construction office) thanks to his father, and had set up an agricultural colony along with Chang Hui, the Marquis of Changluo, at the town of Chigu in Wusun, and fought against the *Xihou,*[135] breaking through their lines and repelling them. [Chang] Hui reported his merit in the battlefield to the throne, and he was appointed a Gentleman in Attendance. He was later promoted to the rank of Colonel, leading the officers and soldiers stationed in the state of Yanqi 焉耆". His might be one of the three colonelcies.

[499] Following the conferral of seals and ribbons on Wusun, an agricultural colony was established there to accumulate a store of grain, obviously for the long-term control of Wusun. This event occurred in the first (53 BCE) or second year of the Ganlu reign-period. As is recorded in the "Xiongnu zhuan (xia)" of *Hanshu*, the *Chanyu* Zhizhi "thought that his own strength was inadequate to settle affairs with the Xiongnu, and he increasingly leaned towards Wusun in the west and intended to join the forces of the two states. So he sent an envoy to meet with the Lesser *Kunmi*, Wujiutu. Wujiutu, believing that Han supported the *Chanyu* Huhanxie and that Zhizhi had become an exile, wanted to attack Zhizhi to please Han. He therefore had the envoy of Zhizhi killed, had his head sent to the seat of the Protector-General, and called out a force of 8,000 horsemen to confront Zhizhi. Seeing many troops of Wusun and [believing] that his envoy had failed to return, Zhizhi commanded his soldiers to engage the forces of Wusun, and defeated them. Following this he proceeded to attack

Wujie 烏揭[136] to the north, which surrendered. He also sent his troops to conquer Jiankun 堅昆 to the west, and forced Dingling to the north to surrender, thus annexing the three states. He repeatedly sent troops to attack Wusun and often prevailed". Zhizhi "sent an envoy to meet with the Lesser *Kunmi*" mainly because Wujiutu's mother was a Xiongnu. This occurred around the first year of the Huanglong 黄龍 reign-period (49 BCE). Wujiutu had already submitted to Han, and when he saw that Zhizhi was frustrated and hard pressed, he "wanted to attack Zhizhi".

元貴靡、鴟靡皆病死，公主上書言年老土思，願得歸骸骨，葬漢地。天子閔而迎之，公主與烏孫男女三人[500]俱來京師。是歲，甘露三年[501]也。時年且七十，賜以公主田宅奴婢，奉養甚厚，朝見儀比公主。後二歲卒，三孫因留守墳墓云。

Yuanguimi 元歸靡 and Chimi 鴟靡 both fell ill and died, and the princess sent a written report to the effect that she was old and her thoughts were with her homeland, and that she would like to be able to bring her bones for burial in Han territory. The Son of Heaven felt pity for her and had her fetched, and she arrived in the capital city in the company of her three grandchildren[500]. These events occurred in the third year of the Ganlu 甘露 reign-period [51 BCE][501]. It is said: At this time she was approaching seventy years of age, and she was presented with the lands, residences, and slaves usually given to a princess, and treated very generously; during court audiences the ceremonial position which she occupied was that of a princess. Two years later she died, and her three grandchildren thereupon remained to keep watch over her grave.

[500] "公主與烏孫男女三人" should read "公主與孫男女三人", with the character *wu* 烏 mistakenly inserted.[137]

[501] It is recorded in the "Xuandi ji" 宣帝紀 of *Hanshu* that in the winter of the third year of the Ganlu reign-period (51 BCE), "the princess in Wusun returned [to Han]". With Xieyou's return to Han, the nominal alliance between Han and Wusun came to an end. "The Son of Heaven felt pity for her and had her fetched" at the time when her tasks had been accomplished.

元貴靡子星靡代爲大昆彌[502]，弱，馮夫人上書，願使烏孫鎮撫星靡。漢遣之，卒百人送焉。

Xingmi 星靡, son of Yuanguimi, became the Greater *Kunmi* in his place;[502] but he was weak, and Lady Feng sent a letter suggesting that she should be sent to Wusun to support Xingmi. Han sent her there with an escort of one hundred conscripts.

[502] The establishment of Xingmi as the Greater *Kunmi* should have occurred in the third year of the Ganlu reign-period (51 BCE).

都護韓宣[503]奏，烏孫大吏、大祿、大監皆可以賜金印紫綬，以尊輔大昆彌，漢許之。後都護韓宣復奏，星靡怯弱，可免，更以季父左大將樂代爲昆彌，漢不許。後段會宗爲都護[504]，招還亡畔，安定之[505]。

Han Xuan 韓宣[503], the Protector-General, submitted a statement suggesting that the Supreme Official, the *Dalu*, and the Supreme Inspector should all be presented with gold seals and purple ribbons, in order to confer honor and support on the Greater *Kunmi*, and the emperor gave permission for this. Later the Protector-General, Han Xuan, submitted a further statement to the effect that Xingmi was cowardly and weak, and that he should be dismissed; he should be replaced as *Kunmi* by his uncle the *Dalu* and the Supreme Leader of the Left, but Han did not give permission for this. Later, Duan Huizong 段會宗 became Protector-General and recalled those who had fled or rebelled,[504] in order to have them settled.[505]

[503] Han Xuan was Han's second Protector-General of the Western Regions; his term of office lasted from the first year to the fourth year of the Chuyuan 初元 reign-period of Emperor Yuan (48-45 BCE).

[504] Duan Huizong was Han's seventh Protector-General of the Western Regions; his term of office lasted from the first year of Jingning 竟寧 reign-period to the third year of the Jianshi 建始 reign-period of Emperor Cheng (33-30 BCE). According to his biography in *Hanshu*, "during the Jingning reign-period, he, serving as the Director of the Du 杜 Mausoleum,[138] was recommended for the positions of Protector-General, Commandant of Cavalry, and Counselor of the Palace by five [high-ranking] government officials. [The various states of] the Western Regions respected him for his decisiveness and trustworthiness. Three years later, at the end of his term, he returned and was appointed the Administrator of Pei 沛 Prefecture.[139] When the *Chanyu* was due to visit the Han court,

he was reassigned as the Administrator of Yanmen 雁門.[140] Several years later, he was dismissed for his involvement in a criminal case. The various states of the Western Regions sent a written message to the emperor petitioning for the [re]appointment of [Duan] Huizong as Protector-General, and [he] was once again appointed Protector-General during the Yangshuo 陽朔 reign-period". Duan Huizong, with his second appointment as Protector-General, was to become the eleventh official to hold this position; his term lasted from the the fourth year of the Yangshuo reign-period to the third year of the Hongjia 鴻嘉 reign-period (21-18 BCE). It is recorded in the "Baiguan gongqing biao" 百官公卿表 of *Hanshu*, under the entry for the third year of the Yangshuo reign-period, "[Han] Yuan 韓淵, the son of Han Li 韓立, the Commandant of Cavalry Protecting the Western Regions 護西域騎都尉, was appointed Chamberlain for the Imperial Insignia 執金吾". This seems to show that the Protector-General of the Western Regions in the third year of the Yangshuo reign-period was Han Li, the tenth officer to hold this post, whose term lasted from the first year to the fourth year of Yangshuo reign-period (24-21 BCE).

[505] Xieyou's return to Han occurred in the winter of the third year of the Ganlu reign-period (51 BCE). Thus, it is possible that Yuanguimi died and Xingmi was established in his place in the same year. The Han court did its utmost to assist Xingmi, sending Lady Feng to support him, and presenting his officers with gold seals and purple ribbons. Han Xuan's recommendation for his dismissal was not approved, and Duan Huizong recalled those who had fled or rebelled on his behalf, solely because Xingmi was the son of Yuanguimi. Xingmi's weakness made it easier for Han to exert greater control over Wusun.

星靡死[506]，子雌栗靡代。小昆彌烏就屠死，子拊離代立，爲弟日貳所殺。漢遣使者立拊離子安日爲小昆彌。[507]日貳亡，阻康居。[508]漢徙己校屯姑墨[509]，欲候便討焉。安日使貴人姑莫匿等三人詐亡從日貳，刺殺之。都護廉褒[510]賜姑莫匿等金人二十斤，繒三百匹。

At Xingmi's death,[506] his son Cilimi 雌栗靡 took his place, and at the death of Wujiutu, the Lesser *Kunmi*, his son Fuli 拊離 took his place. He was killed by his younger brother Ri'er 日貳, and an envoy sent by Han established Fuli's son Anri 安日 as Lesser *Kunmi*.[507] Ri'er fled and entrusted himself to Kangju[508] and Han moved the Ji Colonelcy to garrison Gumo[509], in order to look for a favorable opportunity to attack. Anri sent Gumoni 姑莫匿 and two other noblemen who were to make a pretence of

deserting to Ri'er in order to put him to the sword; and Lian Bao 廉褒[510], the Protector-General, presented Gumoni and the others each with twenty *jin* 斤 of gold and 300 bolts of silk.

[506] The death of Xingmi occurred in the first year of the Jingning 竟寧 reign-period (33 BCE) according to some scholars,[141] or early in the Jianshi 建始 reign-period of Emperor Cheng 成 (32 BCE) according to others.[142] In the previous text it is stated that Duan Huizong, on behalf of Xingmi, recalled those who had fled or rebelled in order to have them settled, and that Duan first assumed the office of Protector-General in the first year of the Jingning reign-period (his term of office lasted until the third year of the Jianshi reign-period of Emperor Cheng). Both views are plausible.

[507] According to his biography in *Hanshu*, "[Duan] Huizong departed [for his second term of office], and [the kings] of various states in the Western Regions sent their sons and brothers to the outskirts to welcome him. The Lesser *Kunmi*, having been established by him earlier, was grateful to him for his benevolence, and wanted to meet with him, but the various *Xihou* argued against it. [The Lesser *Kunmi*] did not listen to them, and went to Qiuci to pay his respects to him. The states with walled towns all felt attached to him". From this we can infer that the "envoy sent by Han" was Duan Huizong. Since Duan first became Protector-General in the third year of the Jianshi reign-period (30 BCE), the establishment of Ri'er should have occurred after this year. The earliest possible date of Fuli's killing is after the third year of the Jianshi reign-period, at the end of the term of Duan Huizong's office.

[508] According to the biography of Chen Tang 陳湯 in *Hanshu* (ch. 70), "the Protector-General of the Western Regions, Duan Huizong, once found himself besieged by Wusun soldiers and sent a message [to the court] by mounted courier, wishing to mobilize the troops from the walled towns and Dunhuang 敦煌 for reinforcement. The Chancellor Wang Shang 王商, the Supreme General Wang Feng 王鳳, and all the other officials debated the question for several days without reaching a decision". The Wusun force that besieged Duan Huizong was possibly led by Ri'er 日貳. According to the same biography, Chen Tang concluded that there was no need to be further concerned. "The emperor asked, 'How is it so?' [Chen] Tang replied, 'It takes five Hu soldiers to match up with one Han soldier. Why is it so? It is because their knives are blunt, and their bows and arrows are not in good condition. It is said that they have learned quite a few Han techniques, but one Han soldier can still match three Hu soldiers in combat. Again, according to the art of war, "It needs twice as many soldiers for the offensive side to match those on the defensive". Today, the number of those who

lay siege to Duan Huizong is not sufficient to prevail, so Your Majesty need not worry. Moreover, soldiers cover 50 *li* a day when traveling light, and 30 *li* a day when carrying heavy equipment. [Duan] Huizong intended to call out the soldiers from the states with walled towns as well as those from Dunhuang; they are soldiers for retaliation, not soldiers to stave off an emergency'. The emperor said, 'What's to be done? Can the siege be lifted? In your opinion, when can the siege be over?' Chen Tang, knowing that the Wusun side was a motley crowd unable to mount a sustained assault and that, from past experience, the attack could last for several days, therefore told the emperor, 'The siege is over'. Counting the days with his fingers, he said, 'Within five days you should hear good news'. Four days later, the report from the army arrived, indeed stating that the siege had ended". According to the "Baiguan gongqing biao" in *Hanshu*, "Wang Shang 王商, the General of the Right, was appointed Chancellor on the day *jiashen* 甲申 in the third month of the fourth year of the Jianshi 建始 reign-period [29 BCE]". It is also recorded, "Wang Shang, the Chancellor, was dismissed from his post on the day *renyin* 壬寅 in the fourth month of the fourth year of the Heping 河平 reign-period [25 BCE]". Since it is mentioned in the biography of Chen Tang in *Hanshu* that Duan Huizong had sent a written message to the emperor, and the Chancellor and others debated the question for several days without reaching a decision, the siege by the Wusun force of Duan Huizong was between 29 and 25 BCE. During this period the Greater *Kunmi* of Wusun was Cilimi 雌栗靡 and the Lesser *Kunmi* was Anri 安日. It is impossible for the *Kunmi* who besieged Duan Huizong to be Cilimi because there was no conflict between Cilimi and Han. And Anri 安日 was originally established by Duan Huizong. According to the biography of Duan Huizong in *Hanshu* (ch. 70), Anri had gone to Qiuci to call on Duan Huizong during Duan's second term as Protector-General because he felt grateful for all Duan had done. Therefore, it seems impossible that the *Kunmi* who besieged Duan Huizong was Anri. The only man who opposed Han at that time was Ri'er. Ri'er probably sent out troops to besiege Duan Huizong because he was resentful that Duan had established Anri as *Kunmi*. As a result of his defeat, Ri'er fled to seek asylum in Kangju. Of course it is also possible that Ri'er first fled to Kangju, and then besieged Duan Huizong with the aid of Kangju. This matter was not recorded in this memoir or the biography of Duan Huizong; it was only mentioned in the characterization of Chen Tang in his biography, because the siege lasted only a few days. In Chen Tang's biography Duan was called "the Protector-General of the Western Regions", which was imprecise, just as Xiao Wangzhi in the second year of the Yuankang 元康 reign-period (64 BCE) was called "the Superintendent of State Visits".

[509] "Han moved the Ji Colonelcy to garrison Gumo": According to the Yan Commentary, "There were two Colonelcies, the Wu Colonel and the Ji Colonel. Only the Ji Colonelcy was moved".

The fact that both the "Ji 己 Colonel" and the "Wu 戊 Colonel" are found in the historical records and the excavated inscribed wooden slips shows that the Wu Colonel and the Ji Colonel were established under the Wuji 戊己 Colonelcy at the latest when Emperor Cheng 成 ascended the throne. It was the Ji Colonel who was moved to Gumo 姑墨 for a time, but the site of the government of the Wuji 戊己 Colonelcy was still located in the town of Jiaohe 交河.[143] The relocation of the Ji Colonelcy occurred in the first year of Heping reign-period of Emperor Cheng (28 BCE). "*Tun*" 屯 here means to be stationed in the agricultural colony.[144]

[510] Lian Bao 廉褒 was the Western Han's eighth Protector-General of the Western Regions, his term running from the third year of the Jianshi reign-period to the second year of the Heping reign-period (30-27 BCE). According to the eulogy in the "Fu, Chang, Gan, Chen, Duan zhuan" 傅常甘陳段傳 of *Hanshu*, "Lian Bao was renowned for his benevolence and trustworthiness".

後安日爲降民所殺[511]，漢立其弟末振將代。時大昆彌雌栗靡健，翖侯皆畏服之，告民牧馬畜無使入牧[512]，國中大安和翁歸靡時[513]。小昆彌末振將恐爲所并，使貴人烏日領詐降刺殺雌栗靡。[514]漢欲以兵討之而未能，遣中郎將段會宗持金幣與都護[515]圖方略，立雌栗靡季父公主孫伊秩靡爲大昆彌。漢沒入小昆彌侍子在京師者。

Later Anri was killed by some of the people who had surrendered,[511] and Han established his younger brother Mozhenjiang 末振將 in his place. At this time Cilimi, the Greater *Kunmi*, was strong and the *Xihou* all submitted to him in fear. He gave notice that people who herded horses or stock animals should not enter the herding lands[512] [under the control of other tribal chiefs], and within the state there was greater peace than there had been in the days of Wengguimi[513]. Mozhenjiang, the Lesser *Kunmi*, was afraid that he would be taken over and sent Wuriling 烏日領, a noblemen, to make a pretence of surrendering, so as to stab Cilimi to death.[514] Han wished to attack him with troops but was unable to do so. So Duan Huizong, Leader of the Gentlemen of the Palace, was sent to take gold and valuables, and to plan tactics with the Protector-General[515]. They established Yizhimi 伊秩靡, grandson of the princess and uncle of Cilimi, as Greater *Kunmi*, and Han took into custody the son of the Lesser *Kunmi* who was in attendance in the capital city [i.e., Chang'an].

[511] The date of Anri's death should be the fourth year of the Hongjia 鴻嘉 reign-period or the first year of the Yongshi 永始 reign-period (17/16 BCE). According to the biography of Duan Huizong in *Hanshu*, Duan "returned to the court after his term as Protector-General had expired. Because he called out the troops under the Wuji Colonel without authorization, he violated the military law called '*faxing* 乏興'. The emperor issued an edict to permit him to mitigate his punishment by paying a ransom and appointed him Administrator of Jincheng 金城 Prefecture, but he was recalled because he became ill. More than one year later, the Lesser *Kunmi* was killed by his own people, and turmoil ensued among the *Xihou*. [The emperor] summoned [Duan] Huizong and, appointing him the Junior Department Head, Leader of the Gentlemen of the Palace, and Counselor of the Palace, sent him to pacify Wusun. Duan Huizong established Mozhenjiang, the elder brother of the Lesser *Kunmi*,[145] as Lesser *Kunmi*, settled the affairs of the state and returned". Duan Huizong's term as Protector-General expired in the third year of Hongjia reign-period (18 BCE), and "over a year later" should be the fourth year of the Hongjia reign-period or the first year of the Yongshi reign-period. The date of Duan Huizong's term as Administrator of Jincheng Prefecture is unknown.

[512] "無使入牧": According to the Yan Commentary, this statement means "not to enter the pasture lands under the control of the *Kunmi*, for fear that they are disturbed". "He gave notice that people who herded horses or stock animals should not enter the herding lands": The "lands" here perhaps refers to the lands or pasture lands designated as theirs. According to the "Xiongnu zhuan (shang)" of *Hanshu*: "They move about in search of water and pasture and have no walled cities or fixed dwellings, nor do they engage in any kind of agriculture. Their lands, however, are divided into regions under the control of various leaders". (Burton Watson, trans., *Records of the Grand Historian of China*, 2:155. The text in the "Xiongnu zhuan" of *Hanshu* quoted here is identical with its counterpart in *Shiji*.) "Their [Wusun] way of life is the same as that of the Xiongnu".[146]

[513] "和翁歸靡時": According to the Yan Commentary, it means "勝於翁歸靡時也" (better than had been in the days of Wengguimi).

[514] According to the biography of Duan Huizong in *Hanshu*, the event occurred in the year following the establishment of Mozhenjiang. The killing of Cilimi and the establishment of Yizhimi by Duan Huizong should have occurred in the second or third year of the Yongshi reign-period (15/14 BCE).

[515] This was Duan Huizong's second mission to the Western Regions. At that time the Protector-General was Guo Shun 郭舜.

久之，大昆彌翎侯難栖殺末振將，末振將兄安日子安犂靡[516]代爲小昆彌。漢恨不自誅末振將，復使段會宗卽斬其太子番丘[517]。還，賜爵關内侯。[518]是歲，元延二年也。

After a long period, Nanqi 難栖, *Xihou* 翎侯 of the Greater *Kunmi*, killed Mozhenjiang, and Anlimi 安犂靡[516], son of Mozhenjiang's older brother Anri, became Lesser *Kunmi* in his place. Han was angry that it had not punished Mozhenjiang itself, and again sent Duan Huizong on a mission. He promptly killed the heir-apparent, Fanqiu 番丘[517], and on his return the rank of Marquis of Guanna 關内 was conferred upon him.[518] This was in the second year of the Yuanyan 元延 reign-period [11 BCE].

[516] According to the biography of Duan Huizong in *Hanshu*, "In the following year Mozhenjiang killed the Greater *Kunmi*. He himself died of illness, and Han resented the fact that he was not brought to justice and executed. During the Yuanyan 元延 reign-period [12-9 BCE], Han again sent [Duan] Huizong to call out the troops under the Wuji Colonel and other forces in the various states in the Western Regions, and killed the crown prince of Mozhenjiang, Fanqiu 番丘". It is recorded in the biography of Duan Huizong that Mozhenjiang died of illness, but this text states that he was killed by Nanqi. This text should be correct. The death of Mozhenjiang and the establishment of Anlimi as the Lesser *Kunmi* should have happened early in the Yuanyan reign-period (12 BCE). Since Duan Huizong killed Fanqiu during the Yuanyan reign-period, Mozhenjiang must have died before the second year of the Yuanyan reign-period (11 BCE).

[517] On Fanqiu's execution, there is a detailed record in the biography of Duan Huizong in *Hanshu*: "[Duan] Huizong was concerned that if the main forces entered Wusun, Fanqiu, frightened, would become a fugitive and elude capture. He thus kept his forces in the land of Dianlou 墊婁,[147] selected thirty of the best trained bowmen, arrived at the camp of the *Kunmi*, and summoned Fanqiu. 'Mozhenjiang has occasioned members of the same family to kill each other, and has murdered the descendants of the Han princess. He died a natural death before suffering execution'. Condemning him for all this, and telling him that the envoy, acting on the imperial edict, was to put him to death, he immediately drew a sword and killed him. [Fanqiu's] official subordinates and those lower in rank were frightened and galloped back. The Lesser *Kunmi*, Wulimi 烏犂靡, who was the son of the older brother of Mozhenjiang, led several thousand cavalry to besiege [Duan] Huizong. [Duan] Huizong told him about the plan to put Fanqiu to death, saying, 'If you now besiege and kill me, it's no more

than taking a single hair out of Han's ox hide. The heads of the king of Dayuan and Zhizhi were hanged on Gao 槀 Street, a fact known to Wusun'. The [Lesser] *Kunmi* and those lower in rank were all convinced. [The *Kunmi*] said, 'Since Mozhenjiang betrayed Han, it was acceptable to put his son to death. But why did you not tell me this and let me give him food and drink [before execution]?' [Duan] Huizong said, 'If I had announced it to the *Kunmi* in advance, and if [Fanqiu] were to escape and hide, it would have been a serious transgression. If you had given him food and drink and then handed him over to me, it would have wounded your feelings of kinship. Therefore I did not announce this to you in advance'. Weeping and wailing, the *Kunmi* and those of lower ranks all dispersed". Wulimi is the same as the Anlimi 安犁靡 in this memoir. This record vividly depicts the situation of Wusun, which had become a dependency of the Western Han.

[518] According to the biography of Duan Huizong in *Hanshu*, "[Duan] Huizong returned and memorialized these matters. The ministers were summoned to discuss these incidents; they thought highly of [Duan] Huizong's decisiveness in expediently seizing the opportunity to lead the light cavalry deep into Wusun and put Fanqiu to death, which has publicly raised the empire's prestige. It would be proper to reward him highly. The Son of Heaven conferred the title of Marquis of Guanna on him, together with a hundred *jin* of gold".

會宗以翖侯難栖殺末振將，雖不指爲漢，合於討賊，奏以爲堅守都尉[519]。責大祿、大吏、大監以雌栗靡見殺狀，奪金印紫綬，更與銅墨云。[520]

[Duan] Huizong took the view that, although the murder of Mozhenjiang by *Xihou* Nanqi had not been intended for the Han cause, the action was tantamount to punishing a criminal. He recommended in a written report that he should be appointed the Commandant of Stout Defence[519]. The *Dalu* 大祿, Supreme Official, and Supreme Inspectors were asked to explain the circumstances in which Cilimi had been killed; their gold seals and purple ribbons were removed from them and replaced by bronze and black [ones].[520]

[519] "The Commandant of Stout Defence" 堅守都尉: One theory is that this office was specially created to reward someone who has served with merit.[148]

[520] The "gold seals and purple ribbons" were carried by nobles, while those with ranks equivalent to between 400 and 2,000 piculs carried bronze and black ones.[149]

末振將弟卑爰疐本共謀殺大昆彌，將衆八萬餘口北附康居，謀欲藉兵兼幷兩昆彌。[521]兩昆彌畏之，親倚都護。[522]

Beiyuanzhi 卑爰疐, younger brother of Mozhenjiang, had originally plotted to kill the Greater *Kunmi*, and, leading a group of over 80,000 persons north, he attached himself to Kangju. He made plans in the hope of borrowing troops in order to annex [the lands of] the two *Kunmi*,[521] who were afraid and so accorded the Protector-General their friendship and trust.[522]

[521] In the "Xiongnu zhuan" (xia) of *Hanshu*, the following is recorded: "In the second year of the Jianping 建平 reign-period of Emperor Ai 哀 (5 BCE), the forces of the *Xihou* Beiyuanzhi 卑援疐, the son of a concubine of Wusun's *Kunmi*, entered the western border area of the Xiongnu, plundered cattle and livestock and killed a considerable number of people. When the *Chanyu* heard of this, he sent Wuyiling 烏夷泠, the Grand *Danghu* 當戶 of the Left, to lead 5,000 cavalry to attack Wusun. Wuyiling killed several hundred men, and looted the property of more than a thousand, taking their cattle and livestock away. Beiyuanzhi was afraid and sent his son, Qulu 趨逯, as a hostage to the Xiongnu. The *Chanyu* acquiesced, and sent a message to the Han emperor reporting this development. Han sent Ding Yelin 丁野林, Leader of the Gentlemen of the Palace, and Gongsheng Yin 公乘音, a Deputy Colonel, as envoys to the Xiongnu, and they berated the *Chanyu* and ordered him to return the hostage. The *Chanyu* accepted the demand and sent him back to Wusun". It is possible that "Beiyuanzhi 卑援疐, the son of a concubine of Wusun's *Kunmi*" here was the Beiyuanzhi 卑爰疐, the younger brother of Mozhenjiang, who "attached himself to Kangju in the north". The Han court ordered the *Chanyu* of the Xiongnu to return the hostage, not because Han was partial toward Beiyuanzhi 卑援疐, but because it was concerned that the *Chanyu* was colluding with Beiyuanzhi. Moreover, according to the view of the Western Han, since the Xiongnu and Wusun were both subject to Han, the *Chanyu* normally should not accept a hostage from Beiyuanzhi 卑援疐. In the biography of Xifu Gong 息夫躬 in *Hanshu*, the following is recorded: "At the time when the *Chanyu* was scheduled to appear at the court, he sent an envoy instead, saying that he was ill and wished to come the next year. Concerning this, [Xifu] Gong submitted a memorial: The *Chanyu* should have passed the Barrier in the eleventh month; later, he excused his absence by saying that he was ill. [Xifu Gong] suspected that he had other intentions. Both *Kunmi* were now weak, but Beiyuanzhi 卑爰疐 was powerful, occupying the land of Qianghuang 強煌[150] and possessing 100,000 troops. He united with the *Chanyu* in the east and

sent his son to attend at their court. If Beiyuanzhi 卑爰疐 sent out troops to press southwards, relying on his long-established prestige and power and advancing along the course of Wujiutu, the momentum would be gained to swallow up Wusun. If Wusun was annexed, the Xiongnu would become powerful and the Western Regions would be in danger". From this, we see that Beiyuanzhi 卑爰疐, had become a triumvir along with both of the *Kunmi* at that time. Han truly needed to guard against him.

[522] According to the biography of Duan Huizong in *Hanshu*, "At this time, possessing a large force, Beiyuanzhi 卑爰疐 , the Lesser *Kunmi*'s uncle, wished to kill the *Kunmi*, and Han again sent [Duan] Huizong to resolve the matter, working in coordination with Sun Jian 孫建, the Protector-General. In the following year, [Duan] Huizong died of illness in Wusun at the age of seventy-five. The states with walled towns mourned him and erected temples [to offer sacrifices to him]". From this, we know that Duan Huizong was again sent as an envoy to the Western Regions after he had killed Fanqiu, which must have been before the fourth year of the Yuanyan reign-period (9 BCE), when Sun Jian's term as Protector-General was to expire. Sun Jian assumed the office of Protector-General during the Yuanyan reign-period. If a term consisted of three years, his term should be from the first year to the fourth year of the Yuanyan reign-period. He was the fourteenth Protector-General. According to the eulogy in the "Fu, Chang, Gan, Chen, Duan zhuan" of *Hanshu*, "Sun Jian was renowned for his dignity and seriousness".

哀帝元壽二年，大昆彌伊秩靡與單于並入朝，漢以爲榮。[523] 至元始中，卑爰疐殺烏日領以自效，漢封爲歸義侯。兩昆彌皆弱，卑爰疐侵陵，都護孫建襲殺之。[524] 自烏孫分立兩昆彌後，漢用憂勞，且無寧歲。[525]

In the second year of the Yuanshou 元壽 reign-period of Emperor Ai 哀 [1 BCE], Yizhimi 伊秩靡, the Greater *Kunmi*, paid a visit to the court together with the *Chanyu*, and Han felt that this was a magnificent [achievement].[523] In the Yuanshi 元始 reign-period [1-5 CE], Beiyuanzhi 卑爰疐 killed Wuriling 烏日領 as a means of self-assertion, and Han invested him with the title of Marquis of Guiyi 歸義 (Allegiance to Righteousness). The two *Kunmi* were both weak, and Beiyuanzhi harrassed them; Sun Jian, the Protector-General, killed him in a surprise attack.[524] From the time when the Wusun separately established the two *Kunmi*, Han suffered sorrows and troubles, and enjoyed no years of peace.[525]

[523] According to the "Aidi ji" 哀帝紀 in *Hanshu*, "In the first month in the spring of the second year of the Yuanshou 元壽 reign-period, the *Chanyu* of the Xiongnu and the *Kunmi* of Wusun visited to pay their respects at the court".

[524] According to the "Baiguan gongqing biao" 百官公卿表 in *Hanshu*, in the second year of the Yuanshou reign-period of Emperor Ai (1 BCE), Sun Jian, the Chief Commandant over the Army, was appointed Chamberlain for the Imperial Insignia, and three months later was promoted to the position of General of the Right; two years later [i. e., the second year of the Yuanshi 元始 reign-period of Emperor Ping 平] he became the General of the Left. In the "Waiqi enze hou biao" 外戚恩澤侯表 of *Hanshu*, it is also recorded that Sun Jian, "as the General of Strong Crossbowmen, renowned for his might to repulse [by diplomacy] the attacks of [the enemy]", was invested with the title of Marquis of Chengwu 成武 in the intercalary sixth month of the fifth year of the Yuanshi reign-period. Since there was no one who, as a general, was appointed Protector-General in the Western Han, it is possible that Sun Jian was not the Protector-General for a second term after this. In other words, it may be that Sun Jian killed Beiyuanzhi in a surprise attack, but he was not the Protector-General at the time. He was only referred to by his former official position.[151]

[525] The Greater *Kunmi*'s visit to the Han court was an inevitable result of the relationship between Han and Wusun which developed after the Ganlu 甘露 reign-period of Emperor Xuan 宣 (53-50 BCE). During the Yuanshi reign-period (1-5 CE) when Beiyuanzhi 卑爰疐 killed Wuriling 烏日領 to show his loyalty, his aim was to win the recognition of Han so that he could swallow up both *Kunmi*. When Beiyuanzhi was granted an official title by Han, he hastened his aggression against and harassment of both *Kunmi*, the reason why Han ordered Sun Jian to kill him by surprise. The main aim of Han in establishing the two *Kunmi* was to divide and rule Wusun. This policy can be traced back to the *Kunmo* Liejiaomi 獵驕靡 who appointed the Han princess to be the Lady of the Right, and the Xiongnu princess to be the Lady of the Left. After both *Kunmi* had been established, conflicts between them were constantly emerging, and Han had to intervene on many occasions to mediate their disputes. Thus Han set up an agricultural colony in the town of Chigu, moved the Ji 己 Colonel to garrison Gumo, and rewarded the Wusun noblemen with gold and valuables or granted them seals and ribbons. Duan Huizong alone was sent as an envoy to Wusun on four occasions, and this is why it is stated in the "Xiyu zhuan" that "Han suffered sorrows and troubles". In the fifth year of the Shijianguo 始建國 reign-period (13 CE), according to the biography of Wang Mang 王莽 in *Hanshu*, "The Greater and Lesser *Kunmi* of Wusun sent envoys to offer tribute. The Greater *Kunmi* was a grandson of the Middle Kingdom [the House of Han] on the distaff side. His son by a wife

who was a Hu [Xiongnu] princess had become the Lesser *Kunmi*, to whom the Wusun turned and relied on. [Wang] Mang saw that the Xiongnu were simultaneously invading the various borders, so, to win the affection of the Wusun, he sent a commissioner to lead the envoy from the Lesser *Kunmi* and place him [at the court] in a post above that of the envoy of the Greater *Kunmi*. The Libationer for the Masters and Companions of the Heir-apparent and Guarantor of His Perfection, Man Chang 滿昌, memorialized, impeaching [Wang Mang's] commissioner, saying, 'the barbarians consider that the Middle Kingdom has [knowledge of] what is right and proper, hence they submit and are obedient to [the Middle Kingdom]. The Greater *Kunmi* is the monarch [and the Lesser *Kunmi* is his subject]. Now, to rank the envoy of a subject above the envoy of his monarch is not the way to hold [the affection of] the barbarians. The commissioner was seriously disrespectful'. [Wang] Mang became angry and dismissed [Man] Chang from his office". (Homer H. Dubs, trans., *The History of the Former Han Dynasty* [Baltimore: Waverly Press, 1955], 3:332.) The first Lesser *Kunmi*, Wujiutu, was the son of Wengguimi 翁歸靡 and a Xiongnu princess, and the statement that "His son by a wife who was a Hu [Xiongnu] princess had become the Lesser *Kunmi*" in the text refers to Wujiutu. Man Chang's memorial stated that the relationship between the Greater and Lesser *Kunmi* resembled that between monarch and subject, which was recognized by all who held the position of Lesser *Kunmi* after Wujiutu. Perhaps this was the reason why the Greater *Kunmi*'s names all ended in "*-mi*", and the Lesser *Kunmi*'s names did not. The only exception was Anlimi 安犁靡, the son of Anri 安日. However, it is very possible that the "*-mi*" was a redundancy. Otherwise, it was because the son of Anri was not reconciled to "a lesser title" and so overstepped his authority, calling himself "Anlimi" after he had been established as the Lesser *Kunmi*. If this is true, then it was not only Wang Mang's compromise, but the historical developments unfolding at that time, which led him to ranking the envoy of a subject above his monarch. Wang Mang sought "to obtain the affection of the Wusun" because "the Xiongnu were simultaneously invading various borders". The relationship between the Xin 新 Dynasty of Wang Mang and Wusun resembled that between the Western Han in the time of Emperor Wu and Wusun. Wang Mang's response to the situation, however, was the elevation of the Lesser *Kunmi* at the expense of the Greater *Kunmi*. He seems to have barely realized that one of the reasons why the affections of the majority of the Wusun lay with the Lesser *Kunmi* was that the Lesser *Kunmi* was "the son of a Hu [Xiongnu] princess" and thus could rely on the power of his mother's family.

姑墨國，王治南城[526]，去長安八千一百五十里[527]。戶三千五百，口二萬四千五百，勝兵四千五百人。姑墨侯、輔國侯、都尉、左右將、左右騎君各一

人，譯長二人。東至都護治所一千二十一里[528]，南至于闐馬行十五日[529]，北與烏孫接。出銅、鐵、雌黃[530]。東通龜兹六百七十里[531]。王莽時，姑墨王丞殺溫宿[532]王，并其國。

The state of Gumo 姑墨 : The seat of the king's government is in the town of Nan 南[526], and it is 8,150 *li*[527] from Chang'an. There are 3,500 households, 24,500 individuals including 4,500 persons able to bear arms. [There are the following officials:] the Marquis of Gumo, the Marquis of Support of the State, the Commandant, the Leaders of the Left and the Right, the Masters of Cavalry of the Left and the Right, and two Interpreters-in-Chief. It is a distance of 1,021 *li*[528] to the seat of the Protector-General in the east and fifteen days' journey[529] on horseback to Yutian 于闐 in the south. It adjoins Wusun in the north. [The land] produces copper, iron, and orpiment[530]. To the east it is in communication with Qiuci 龜兹 which is 670 *li*[531] away. In the time of Wang Mang 王莽, Cheng 丞, king of Gumo, killed the king of Wensu 溫宿[532] and annexed his state.

[526] The site of the town of Nan 南 was perhaps in the vicinity of present-day Aksu.[152] "*Nan*" 南 could be a corruption of "*Gumo*" 姑墨. It is possible that the seat of the king's government of Gumo was the town of Gumo.

[527] "8,150 *li*" (Distance 36.1): The distance from the town of Nan to Chang'an via the seat of the king's government of Qiuci; i.e., the aggregate of 670 *li*, the distance between the town of Nan and the seat of the king's government of Qiuci, and 7,480 *li*, the distance between the latter and Chang'an.

[528] "1,021 *li*" (Distance 36.2): The distance from the town of Nan to Wulei 烏壘 via the seat of the king's government of Qiuci, i.e., the aggregate of 670 *li*, the distance between the town of Nan and the seat of the king's government of Qiuci, and 350 *li*, the distance between the latter and Wulei. The punctuated text reads "2,021 *li*", which is not correct. The "350 *li*", the distance between the seat of the king's government of Qiuci and Wulei, is an error for "351 *li*".

[529] "Fifteen days' journey on horseback" (Distance 36.3): The distance between the town of Nan and the seat of the king's government of Yutian.

[530] *Cihuang* 雌黃 is a kind of mineral, i.e., auripigmentum.

[531] "670 *li*" (Distance 36.4): The distance between the town of Nan and the seat of the king's government of Qiuci.

[532] Wensu 溫宿 was an oasis state on the Northern Route. "Wensu" [uən-siəuk] can be seen as a transcription of Asii.

溫宿國，王治溫宿城[533]，去長安八千三百五十里[534]。戶二千二百，口八千四百，勝兵千五百人。輔國侯、左右將、左右都尉、左右騎君、譯長各二人。東至都護治所二千三百八十里[535]，西至尉頭三百里[536]，北至烏孫赤谷六百一十里[537]。土地物類所有與鄯善諸國同。[538]東通姑墨二百七十里[539]。

The state of Wensu 溫宿: The seat of the king's government is in the town of Wensu 溫宿[533], and it is 8,350 *li*[534] from Chang'an. There are 2,200 households, 8,400 individuals including 1,500 persons able to bear arms. [There are the following officials]: the Marquis of Support of the State, the Leaders of the Left and the Right, the Commandants of the Left and the Right, the Masters of Cavalry of the Left and the Right, and two Interpreters-in-Chief. It is a distance of 2,380 *li*[535] to the seat of the Protector-General in the east, 300 *li*[536] to Weitou 尉頭 in the west and 610 *li*[537] to Chigu and Wusun in the north. The land and kinds of goods are the same as those found in Shanshan[538] and the other various states. To the east it is in communication with Gumo which is 270 *li*[539] away.

[533] The town of Wensu is generally regarded as located in the vicinity of present-day Ush.

[534] "8,350 *li*" (Distance 37.1): The distance from Wensu to Chang'an via the seat of the king's government of Gumo; i.e., the aggregate of 200 *li*, equivalent to two days' journey, the distance between the town of Wensu and the seat of the king's government of Gumo, and 8,150 *li*, the distance between the latter and Chang'an.

[535] "2,380 *li*" (Distance 37.2): It should be the distance from the town of Wensu to Wulei 烏壘 via the seat of the king's government of Gumo. The figure here is wrong. Wensu is to the north of Weitou 尉頭, and its distance to Wulei should not be greater than that of Weitou by more than 700 *li*.

[536] "300 *li*" (Distance 37.3): The distance between the town of Wensu and the seat of the king's government of Weitou.

[537] "610 *li*" (Distance 37.4): The distance from Wensu to the seat of the king's government of Wusun.

[538] Since "the land and kinds of goods are the same as those found in Shanshan", this state's economy is mainly animal husbandry.

[539] "270 *li*" (Distance 37.5): The distance from Wensu eastwards to the seat of the king's government of Gumo. The figure here is different from the distance between Wensu and the seat of the king's government of Gumo deduced from Distance 37.1, indicating that they are based on different references.

龜茲國，王治延城[540]，去長安七千四百八十里[541]。戶六千九百七十，口八萬一千三百一十七，勝兵二萬一千七十六人。大都尉丞、輔國侯、安國侯、擊胡侯、卻胡都尉、擊車師都尉、左右將、左右都尉、左右騎君、左右力輔君各一人，東西南北部千長各二人，卻胡君三人，譯長四人。南與精絕、東南與且末、西南與杅彌[542]、北與烏孫、西與姑墨接。能鑄冶，有鉛。東至都護治所烏壘城三百五十里[543]。

The state of Qiuci 龜茲: The seat of the king's government is in the town of Yan 延[540], and is 7,480 *li* [541] from Chang'an. There are 6,970 households, 81,317 individuals including 21,076 persons able to bear arms. [There are the following officials]: the Assistant of the Supreme Commandant, the Marquis of Support of the State, the Marquis of Peace of the State, the Marquis of Assault on the Hu, the Commandant of Resistance to the Hu, the Commandant of Assault on Jushi 車師, the Leaders of the Left and the Right, the Commandants of the Left and the Right, the Masters of Cavalry of the Left and the Right, the Masters of Strong Support of the Left and the Right, two Chiefs of Thousands respectively for the divisions of the east, west, south, and north, three masters of Resistance to Hu, and four Interpreters-in-Chief. It adjoins Jingjue 精絕 in the south, Qiemo 且末 in the south-east, Wumi 扜彌 [542] in the south-west, Wusun in the north, and Gumo in the west. [The people] are capable of casting iron, and there is lead. To the east it is a distance of 350 *li* [543] to the seat of the Protector-General in the town of Wulei 烏壘.

[540] The town of Yan 延城 is generally regarded as having been located in the ruins of Pilang 皮郎 in the eastern suburbs of present-day Kuche 庫車 County. The section of "Guoyi (er)" 國邑二 in the part of "Waichen bu" 外臣部 of *Cefu yuangui* 冊府元龜 reads "the town of Juyan" 居延城. "Qiuci" 龜茲 [khiuə-tziə] and "Juyan" 居延 [kia-jian] can both be regarded as transcriptions of Gasiani.[153]

[541] "7,480 *li*" (Distance 38.1): The distance from the town of Yan to Chang'an via Quli 渠犂.

[542] Wumi 杅彌 is the same as the Wumi 扜彌 above.

[543] "350 *li*" (Distance 38.2): The distance between the town of Yan and Wulei. As is stated above, the figure "350" 三百五十 is a corruption of "351" 三百五十一.

烏壘[544]，戶百一十，口千二百，勝兵三百人。城都尉、譯長各一人。與都護同治。[545] 其南三百三十里[546] 至渠犂[547]。

Wulei 烏壘[544]: There are 110 households, 1,200 individuals including 300 persons able to bear arms. There is a Commandant of the Town and an Interpreter-in-Chief. The seat of government is the same as that of the Protector-General.[545] To the south one reaches Quli 渠犂[547] at a distance of 330 *li*[546].

[544] The site of the town of Wulei 烏壘城 is generally considered as located in the vicinity of Kiqiəxmə 小野雲溝, i.e., north-east of present-day Luntai 輪臺 County.

[545] In the biography of Zheng Ji 鄭吉 in *Hanshu*, "[Zheng] Ji thus established his general headquarters at the center of the Western Regions, with the town of Wulei 烏壘 as the seat of his office". The Commandant of the Town would have been a Han officer.

[546] "330 *li*" (Distance 39): The distance from Wulei to Quli 渠犂.

[547] The site of the town of Quli was at a location approximately west of Korla and east of the Konche Darya. Another theory is that it was in present-day Charchi, i.e., Qarqi.[154]

渠犂，城都尉[548]一人，戶百三十，口千四百八十，勝兵百五十人。東北與尉犂、東南與且末、南與精絕接。西有河，至龜茲五百八十里[549]。

Quli 渠犂: There is one Commandant of the Town[548]. There are 130 households, 1,480 individuals including 150 persons able to bear arms. It adjoins Weili 尉犂 in the north-east, Qiemo 且末 in the south-east, and Jingjue 精絕 in the south. In the west there is a river; it is a distance of 580 *li*[549] to Qiuci 龜茲.

[548] The Commandant of the Town was probably appointed by the Han office.

[549] "580 *li*" (Distance 40.1): The distance between Quli and the seat of the king's government of Qiuci.

自武帝初通西域，置校尉，屯田渠犂。[550] 是時軍旅連出，師行三十二年 [551]，海內虛耗。征和中，貳師將軍李廣利以軍降匈奴。[552] 上旣悔遠征伐，而搜粟都尉桑弘羊與丞相御史奏言：[553]

From the time when Emperor Wu first opened up communications with the Western Regions, a Colonelcy was established to found a military colony at Quli.[550] At this time military expeditions were setting out one after another and armies were on the move for 32 years[551]. [The resources] within the Four Seas were spent and wasted; and in the Zhenghe 征和 reign-period [92-89 BCE] the Ershi General Li Guangli surrendered to the Xiongnu with his army.[552] The emperor had already come to regret the policy of fighting punitive campaigns at remote distances, when Sang Hongyang 桑弘羊, the Commandant for the Collection of Grain, together with the Chancellor and the Imperial Counsellor, made a written recommendation in the following terms: [553]

[550] According to the biography of Zheng Ji in *Hanshu*, "After Zhang Qian had established communications with the states in the Western Regions, and Li Guangli had launched an expedition against [Dayuan], Han for the first time appointed a Colonel to set up an agricultural colony at Quli".

[551] "32 years": The 32 years from the second year of the Yuanguang reign-period (133 BCE), when Han attempted to entrap the *Chanyu* and terminated the policy of marrying a princess to the Xiongnu to secure peace, to the third year of the Taichu reign-period (102 BCE), when states in the Western Regions sent tribute missions to the Han court.[155]

[552] According to the biographies of Zhang Qian and Li Guangli in *Hanshu*, "In the third year of the Zhenghe reign-period [90 BCE], the Ershi General, commanding 70,000 cavalry, again set out from Wuyuan 五原 [prefecture] for an assault on the Xiongnu across the Zhiju 郅居 River. With his army defeated, he surrendered to the Xiongnu".

[553] This event occurred in the fourth year of the Zhenghe reign-period (89 BCE); at that time the Chancellor was Tian Qianqiu 田千秋 and the Imperial Counsellor was Shang Qiucheng 商丘成.[156]

"故輪臺東捷枝 [554]、渠犂皆故國 [555]，地廣，饒水草，有漑田五千頃以上，處溫和，田美，可益通溝渠，種五穀，與中國同時孰。[556] 其旁國少錐刀，貴黃金采繒，可以易穀食，宜給足不乏。[557] 臣愚以爲可遣屯田卒詣故輪臺以東，置校尉三人分護，各舉圖地形，通利溝渠，務使以時益種五穀。張掖、酒泉遣騎假

司馬爲斥候，屬校尉，事有便宜，因騎置[558]以聞。田一歲，有積穀，募民壯健有累重[559]敢徙者詣田所，就畜積爲本業，益墾溉田，稍築列亭，連城而西，以威西國，輔烏孫，爲便。臣謹遣徵事臣昌分部行邊，嚴敕太守都尉明㷭火，選士馬，謹斥候，蓄茭草。願陛下遣使使西國，以安其意。臣昧死請。”[560]

“To the east of old Luntai 輪臺 there are Jiezhi 捷枝[554] and Quli which are both ancient states[555]. The land is extensive and rich in water and pasture, and there are over 5,000 *qing* 頃 of irrigated, arable land. The place enjoys a warm and temperate climate; the land is fine and it is possible to dig more ditches and canals and to sow the five field crops, which will ripen at the same time as they do in the Middle Kingdom.[556] The neighboring states rarely use minted money and value gold and silk. If it were possible to exchange these goods for corn, food supplies would be adequate for our needs and there would be no deficiency.[557] We humbly suggest that conscripts detailed for work in agricultural colonies should be sent to old Luntai and the area east and that a complement of three colonels be established with divided responsibilities for the supervision of the area. Each one should survey the topography and build and exploit water-courses, with their efforts bent on increasing the yield of the five field crops according to the season. Zhangye and Jiuquan [Prefectures] should despatch Acting Majors of Cavalry to form patrols to be placed under the command of the Colonels; and when the situation permits, mounted couriers may be used as a means of conveying information[558]. When the fields have been worked for a year there will be an accumulation of corn. A call may then be made to able-bodied and fit members of the [Han] population who have family responsibilities[559] and who are ready to emigrate, suggesting that they should proceed to the sites of the farms and make the collection of the harvest their main occupation. More and more land may be reclaimed and irrigated, and gradually a line of posts may be constructed, leading to the west and connected by a wall; these may be used to advantage as a means of overawing the states of the west and supporting Wusun. We are respectfully sending your servant the Consultant Chang 昌 on a tour to the various divisions of the borders. He is to issue a stern order to the Administrators and Commandants to maintain a clear system of flags and fire signals, to select soldiers' horses, to pay careful attention to patrols, and to collect stores of fodder. We suggest that Your Majesty should send envoys to the states of the west in order to

set their minds at rest. In all humility we make this request."[560]

[554] Jiezhi 捷枝 was an oasis state, the specific location of which is unknown. One theory is that Jiezhi should be the Jili 積梨 mentioned in the "Heshui" 河水 chapter of *Shuijing zhu* 水經注, located north-east of present-day Kuche 庫車.[157] "Jiezhi" 捷枝 [dziap-tjie] might well be regarded as a transcription of Gasiani.

[555] Both Jiezhi and Quli are referred to as "ancient states", indicating that these oasis states still retained their independence at least toward the time of Emperor Wu.

[556] Sang Hongyang states that there were "over 5,000 *qing* 頃 of irrigated, arable land" in Jiezhi and Quli, and proposed a policy "to dig more ditches and canals" and to claim and irrigate more land, indicating that the irrigation projects in the Western Regions were of considerable scale.[158]

[557] "The neighboring states…": According to the Yan Commentary, "It means that if coins, gold, and silks were used in exchange for corn, food supplies would be adequate for the conscripts working there". This is evidence of the underdeveloped state of the commodity economy in this area. According to one theory, 錐刀 in the text should have been 錢刀.[159]

[558] "Mounted couriers may be used as a means of conveying information": For 騎置, the Yan Commentary explains, "They were a system of mounted couriers". According to the same Commentary on the "Wendi ji" 文帝紀 in *Hanshu*, "*Zhi* 置 (establish)" means to establish the post stations of mounted couriers; hence *zhi*."

[559] *Leizhong* 累重, according to the Yan Commentary, means "wife and children, and other members of the family" — hence family responsibilities.

[560] During the Taichu (104-101 BCE) and Tianhan 天漢 (100-97 BCE) reign-periods, farming establishments were set up at Luntai and Quli, but in both areas there were complements of only several hundred agricultural conscripts. The scale was too small to satisfy the steadily growing needs of communications between East and West. Sang Hangyang thus advanced the above advice. The advice, i.e., "to set up farming establishments at a great distance away, at Luntai" 遠田輪臺, as described in the Emperor Wu's edict, was in fact to set up farming establishments to the east of Luntai, in order to expand the scale of farming and to have "over 5,000 *qing* of irrigated, arable land" from Luntai to Quli under cultivation. The statement that "gradually a line of posts may be constructed, leading to the west and connected by a wall" refers to the line of posts from Quli to Luntai that was constructed.[160] Sang's recommendation was not adopted because Emperor Wu wanted to change his policy at that time.[161]

上乃下詔，深陳既往之悔，曰：“前有司奏，欲益民賦三十助邊用[561]，是重困老弱孤獨也。而今又請遣卒田輪臺。輪臺西於車師千餘里[562]，前開陵侯[563]擊車師時，危須、尉犂、樓蘭六國子弟在京師者皆先歸，發畜食迎漢軍，又自發兵，凡數萬人，王各自將，共圍車師，降其王。諸國兵便罷，力不能復至道上食漢軍。漢軍破城，食至多，然士自載不足以竟師[564]，彊者盡食畜産，羸者道死數千人。朕發酒泉驢槖駝負食，出玉門迎軍。吏卒起吏卒起張掖，不甚遠，然尚廝留甚衆。[565]

The emperor thereupon issued an edict expressing his deep regret for past actions in the following terms: "On earlier occasions officials recommended an increase of thirty [coins] in the rate of the poll-tax, to help meet the expenses incurred on the borders.[561] Such measures would bring grievous suffering to the old and the weak, the orphans and those who are solitary; and now there is a further request to send conscript servicemen to set up farms at Luntai. Luntai lies over a thousand *li* [562] to the west of Jushi 車師. Previously when the Marquis of Kailing 開陵 [563] attacked Jushi, the sons or younger brothers of [the kings of] the six states of Weixu 危須, Weili 尉犂, Loulan 樓蘭, and others who were present in the capital city all returned to their homelands before [the expedition], to arrange for supplies of food to be brought out to meet the Han forces. In addition they themselves put forces in the field which were several myriads strong, with the kings taking personal command in each case. Working together, [these forces] laid siege to Jushi and forced its king to surrender. The forces of the various states were then disbanded, and the strength [of these six states] was insufficient to reach the route again and bring up supplies for the Han armies. When the Han armies had conquered the town, the food supplies were very abundant; nevertheless the rations which the men personally carried were not sufficient to last until the end of the campaign[564]. Those who were strong consumed the stock animals and those who were weak died on the roads – as many as several thousands of men. We had asses and camels sent out from Jiuquan [Prefecture] to carry supplies, and they emerged from the Yumen Barrier to meet the troops. The officers and conscripts who left from Zhangye [Prefecture] did not march for a very long distance; none the less there were very large numbers of stragglers.[565]

[561] " 益民賦三十 ": According to the Yan Commentary, "To increase the poll-tax of every [tax paying] individual by 30 [coins]".

[562] "Over a thousand *li*" (Distance 40.2): The distance between the seat of the king's government of Nearer Jushi and Luntai.

[563] "The Marquis of Kailing" 開陵侯: The Yan Commentary quotes Jin Zhuo 晉灼: "The Jiehe 介和 King of the Xiongnu who surrendered to Han". According to the "Jing, Wu, Zhao, Xuan, Yuan, Cheng gongchen biao" of *Hanshu*, "Chengwan 成娩, the Marquis of Kailing, the former Jiehe King of the Xiongnu, led the expedition against Jushi. The date of his ennoblement is unknown".

[564] "The rations which the men personally carried were not sufficient to last until the end of the campaign": According to the Yan Commentary, "Although the troops carried food supplies themselves, they were consumed on the way. On the way back, they suffered from a shortage of food. Thus, the rations which the men personally carried were not sufficient to last until the end of the campaign".

[565] To manage the Western Regions, the Western Han needed to station troops in garrisons and send envoys. It was absolutely necessary to set up agricultural colonies and to store grain crops. The edict included in this section in the fourth year of the Zhenghe reign-period (89 BCE) cites the logistic difficulties in the management of the Western Regions, which provide the background for the establishment of agricultural colonies in the Western Regions.

"曩者，朕之不明，以軍候弘上書言'匈奴縛馬前後足，置城[566]下，馳言"秦人[567]，我匄若馬"'；又漢使久留不還[568]，故興遣貳師將軍，欲以爲使者威重也。

"In earlier days, in our ineptitude we took note of a report submitted by Hong 弘, Captain of the Army. He said that the Xiongnu were tethering the fore and hind hooves of their horses, setting them down beside the walls[566], and galloping up to say 'A present of horses for you, men of Qin 秦[567]'. For this reason, and because there were also Han envoys who had been long detained without returning home,[568] we raised forces and despatched the Ershi General, with the intention that our prestige should be enhanced for the benefit of our envoys.

[566] "The walls" here refers to the Great Wall.

[567] "Men of Qin", according to the Yan Commentary, "refers to the men of the Middle Kingdom, an old mode of expression".

[568] "There were also Han envoys who had been long detained without returning home": This refers to the detention of Su Wu 蘇武 and other Han envoys. For details about this incident, see the "Li Guang, Su Jian zhuan" 李廣蘇建傳 in *Hanshu*.

"古者卿大夫與謀，參以蓍龜[569]，不吉不行，乃者以縛馬書徧視丞相御史二千石諸大夫郎爲文學者，乃至郡屬國都尉[570]成忠、趙破奴等，皆以'虜自縛其馬，不祥甚哉'！或以爲'欲以見彊，夫不足者視人有餘'。《易》之，卦得"大過"，爻在九五，匈奴困敗。[571]公車方士、太史治星望氣，及太卜龜蓍，皆以爲吉，匈奴必破，時不可再得也。又曰'北伐行將，於鬴山[572]必克'。卦諸將，貳師最吉。故朕親發貳師下鬴山[573]，詔之必毋深入。

"In times gone by, when ministers and counsellors consulted together they heeded the omens of the milfoil and the tortoise [shell][569], and if these were unpropitious, they did not initiate an action. On this occasion we showed the report [that the Xiongnu] were tethering their horses to the Chancellor, the Imperial Counsellor, the officials of prime rank, the Counsellors, the Gentlemen who were learned in literature, and even to [the administrators of] the prefectures and the commandants of the dependent states[570], such as Cheng Zhong 成忠 and Zhao Ponu 趙破奴, and to others. And they all took the view that 'it was highly inauspicious that the savages should themselves be tethering their horses'. Some believed that 'they were wishing to make a display of strength, insofar as those who have insufficient make a show to others of having a surplus'. We had the *Book of Changes* consulted, and in its symbols we obtained *Daguo* 大過, with the moving line, a nine, being situated at the fifth line; and [this was interpreted to mean] that the Xiongnu would be discomfited and defeated.[571] The sorcerers in attendance, the watchers of the stars, the observers of the vapors, who come under the director of astrology, as well as the experts in tortoise and milfoil who come under the director of divination, all regarded this as auspicious; and they thought that an opportunity when the Xiongnu would be bound to be defeated would not be found a second time. It was further said that 'if, in the campaign in the north, a leader of the army were to operate in the Fu 鬴 hills[572], he would be certain to win'. The oracle was consulted [so as to make

a choice among] the various generals, and the Ershi General [was pronounced to be] the one most subject to good fortune. We therefore personally sent out the Ershi General on an expedition to the Fu Hills[573], and commanded him to not penetrate deeply on any account.

[569] "They heeded the omens of the milfoil and the tortoise [shell]": According to the Yan Commentary, "When [the emperor], after consulting with his ministers and counselors, was still unable to reach a conclusion, he may also heed the omens of milfoil and the tortoise [shell]".

[570] " 郡屬國都尉 " here refers to the administrators of prefectures and the commandants of the prefectures and dependent states.[162]

[571] "We had the *Book of Changes* consulted, and in its symbols we obtained *Daguo* 大過, with the moving line, a nine, being situated at the fifth line; and [this was interpreted to mean] that the Xiongnu would be discomfited and defeated": The Yan Commentary quotes Meng Kang 孟康: "The explanation of the line reads, 'A withered poplar puts forth flowers'. The explanation of the image states, 'A withered poplar that flowers exhausts its energies thereby and only hastens its end'. [The result of this consultation of the *Changes* means that] the Xiongnu could be defeated soon". According to some scholars, in " 卦得 ' 大過 ', 爻在九五, 匈奴困敗", the character *yue* 曰 should precede 'Xiongnu' 匈奴.[163] (The translations of the explanations of the line and image are from *The I Ching, or, Book of Changes*, The Richard Wilhelm Translation rendered into English by Cary F. Baynes [Princeton University Press, 1967], pp. 113-114.)

[572] Fu Hills 鬴山 should have been beyond the defence lines in Wuyuan 五原, which was in Xiongnu territory.[164]

[573] According to the "Xiongnu zhuan (shang)" in *Hanshu*, "Han ordered: the Ershi General to set out from Shuofang 朔方 with a force of 60,000 cavalrymen and 70,000 infantrymen; Lu Bode 路博德, the Commandant of the Strong Bowmen 强弩都尉, to rendezvous with the Ershi General with a force of over 10,000 troops; and [Han] Yue 韓說, the General of the Roving Task Force 遊擊將軍, to set out from Wuyuan with a force of 30,000 infantrymen".

"今計謀卦兆皆反繆。重合侯[574]得虜候者，言'聞漢軍當來，匈奴使巫埋羊牛[575]所出諸道及水上以詛軍；單于遺天子馬裘，常使巫祝之；縛馬者，詛軍事也'。

"And now the strategists and the prognosticators have all been gainsaid and confounded. Enemy patrols taken by the Marquis of Chonghe 重合 [574] inform us that when the Xiongnu hear of the approach of Han forces they have their sorcerers bury sheep or cattle[575] on the roads [that the Han forces] are taking and by the water sources, in order to place a curse upon our armies. When the *Chanyu* sends a present of horses or fur garments to the Son of Heaven, he regularly has his sorcerers lay a spell upon them, and the tethering of horses is [also] a curse placed upon our military undertakings.

[574] According to the "Wudi benji" in *Hanshu*, in the fourth year of the Zhenghe reign-period (89 BCE), Han "sent Ma Tong 馬通, the Marquis of Chonghe 重合, to set out from Jiuquan [prefecture] with a force of 40,000 horsemen", to launch an assault on the Xiongnu.

[575] "They have their sorcerers bury sheep or cattle": This is a reference to Xiongnu sorcery. The Yan Commentary: "Sheep and cattle are buried on the roads [that the Han forces] are taking and by the water [sources]".

"又卜'漢軍一將不吉'。匈奴常言'漢極大，然不能飢渴，失一狼，走千羊'[576]。

"In addition, [the Xiongnu] have consulted the omens about the fortunes of the Han armies [and have learnt that] 'one general would meet with an inauspicious fate'. The Xiongnu always said, 'the Han [empire] was extremely great, but [its people were] incapable of withstanding hunger and thirst; and once the single wolf was lost, the thousand sheep would be put to flight'[576].

[576] "Once the single wolf was lost, the thousand sheep would be put to flight": The wolf stands for the general, while the sheep, the individual soldiers. When the wolf was lost, the thousand sheep would be unable to survive on their own.[165]

"乃者貳師敗，軍士死略離散，悲痛常在朕心。今請遠田輪臺，欲起亭隧，是擾勞天下，非所以優民也。今朕不忍聞。大鴻臚[577]等又議，欲募囚徒送匈奴使者，[……] 明封侯之賞以報忿，五伯所弗能爲也[578]。

"Recently the Ershi General was defeated; his troops lay dead, or they were captured or scattered; and our heart has constantly been filled with sorrow. Now we are asked to set up farming establishments a great distance away, at Luntai; and it is desired that we should establish posts and beacon stations. Such measures would bring anguish and toil to the world and are no way of treating its people with generosity; we cannot at present bring ourselves to accept such advice. The Superintendent of State Visits[577] and others are in addition advising that incarcerated convicts should be recruited to escort the envoys of the Xiongnu, [...] to make clear the reward attendant on investiture with the rank of Marquis in order to requite feelings of hatred, conduct of which even the Five Leaders were incapable.[578]

[577] According to the "Baiguan gongqing biao" in *Hanshu*, in the fourth year of the Zhenghe reign-period (89 BCE), the Administrator of Huaiyang, Tian Guangming, became the Superintendent of State Visits 大鴻臚.[166]

[578] "五伯" is the same as "五霸" (the Five Leaders). According to the Yan Commentary, "The Five Leaders would not do such a thing for shame, let alone the present Great Han". For "弗能爲", the "Hanji" 漢紀 in *Zizhi tongjian* 資治通鑒 reads: "五伯所弗爲也".

"且匈奴得漢降者，常提掖搜索，問以所聞[579]。[豈得行其計乎？]

"In addition, when the Xiongnu obtain Han persons who surrender, they usually have them raise their arms and search them, interrogating them about what they have heard.[579] [How could this plan ever be carried out?]

[579] Following "問以所聞", "Hanji" in *Zizhi tongjian* has six more characters: "豈得行其計乎" (How could this plan ever be carried out?).[167]

"今邊塞未正，闌出不禁，障候長吏使卒獵獸，以皮肉爲利，卒苦而湊火乏，失亦上集不得[580]，後降者來，若捕生口虜，乃知之[581]。

"At present the defence lines on the frontier are not in order, and unauthorised outward journeys are not stopped. The senior officers of the defence stations have the

conscripts hunt animals and make a profit from their skins and carcasses. The conscripts suffer hardship and the system of flag and smoke [signals] is not maintained effectively; and even when the collected reports are presented, no information is forthcoming [on these points].[580] It is only later, when persons come to surrender or we capture the savages, that we understand [these matters].[581]

[580] "At present the defence lines on the frontier are not in order...": According to the Yan Commentary, these sentences "mean that on the frontier there are those who make unauthorized journeys outwards, but the authorities concerned do not stop them. The senior officers of the defence stations have the conscripts hunt animals and make a profit from their hide and carcasses. Consequently, the system of flag and smoke [signals] is not maintained effectively, and the conscripts suffer hardships, which lead to their desertion. The losses are not stated in the reports submitted". There is another interpretation: "The reports submitted do not include the numbers of those who make unauthorized journeys outwards; it does not mean that the conscripts who oversee the system of flag and smoke [signals] have deserted".[168] "上集" is the same as "上計": "計 means the messengers carrying the books of reports; the prefectures and states send them to the capital every year."[169]

[581] "It is only later, when persons come to surrender or we capture the savages that we understand [these matters]": According to the Yan Commentary, "Since [the matters] are not reported, they are not known. It is only after the deserters come over to surrender, or [Han] captures the savages, or captures the Xiongnu, who mention such matters, that they are known". "生口虜" means those who are captured alive.[170]

"當今務在禁苛暴，止擅賦，力本農，脩馬復[582]令，以補缺，毋乏武備而已。郡國二千石各上進畜馬方略補邊狀，與計對[583]。"

"At the present juncture our duty comprises nothing more than forbidding oppression, preventing arbitrary exactions, increasing the efforts spent in agriculture, and implementing the ordinance which gives exemption from obligations in return for rearing horses[582], our purpose being to supplement deficiencies and to prevent any lack in military preparations. Let the officials of leading rank in the prefectures and kingdoms each forward plans for raising a stock of horses and for repairing [deficiencies at] the borders; and let those who present the periodic reports be ready to answer

questions involved therein[583]."

[582] "馬復", according to the Yan Commentary, means "exemption from obligations in return for rearing horses".

[583] "計對", according to the Yan Commentary, means "the officials who accompany those who present the periodic reports to answer questions involved therein".

由是不復出軍。而封丞相車千秋爲富民侯，以明休息，思富養民也。[584]

From this time armed forces were not sent out again. Che Qianqiu 車千秋, the Chancellor, was invested with the title Marquis of Fumin 富民 ("enrichment of the people"), so as to publicise the emperor's intention of resting and his thoughts on promoting the people's prosperity.[584]

[584] As is recorded in the "Shihuo zhi (shang)" 食貨志上 in *Hanshu*: "Towards the end of Emperor Wu's reign, he regretted the military exertions, and invested the Chancellor with the title of Marquis of Fumin 富民 ["enrichment of the people"]. He issued an edict, saying, 'At the present juncture our duty lies in increasing the effort in agriculture'. Zhao Guo 趙過 was appointed Commandant for the Collection of Grain. He advocated the technique of *daitian* 代田, i.e., in one *mu* 畝, three furrows are made, their positions alternating each year, hence the term *daitian* 代田; it is an ancient technique".

初，貳師將軍李廣利擊大宛，還過杅彌，杅彌遣太子賴丹爲質於龜兹。廣利責龜兹曰："外國皆臣屬於漢，龜兹何以得受杅彌質？"即將賴丹入至京師。[585]昭帝乃用桑弘羊前議，以杅彌太子賴丹爲校尉將軍[586]，田輪臺，輪臺與渠犂地皆相連也[587]。

When on an earlier occasion the Ershi General Li Guangli had attacked Dayuan, he had passed through Wumi 杅彌 on his return. Wumi had sent its heir-apparent, Laidan 賴丹, to be a hostage at Qiuci 龜兹, and [Li] Guangli had upbraided Qiuci, saying: "The outer states are subject to Han; on what authority has Qiuci accepted hostages from Wumi?" He immediately sent Laidan to the capital city [of Chang'an].[585] Emperor Zhao

昭 thereupon adopted the advice previously tendered by Sang Hongyang, and appointed Laidan, heir-apparent of Wumi, as a Colonel to lead a force to work the land at Luntai.[586] The lands of Luntai and Quli are contiguous. [587]

[585] It is possible that Ershi General Li Guangli divided the forces: while he led the main forces to return along the Southern Route, another part of his army advanced along the Northern Route. When Li Guangli reached Wumi and heard that Laidan had been sent to Qiuci to be a hostage, he sent an envoy to upbraid Qiuci. "He immediately sent Laidan to the capital city": This should have occurred in the spring of the fourth year of the Taichu 太初 reign-period (101 BCE).

[586] "Emperor Zhao thereupon … appointed Laidan … as a Colonel to lead a force": One theory is that Laidan was one of the three colonels.[171]

[587] It was during the Shiyuan 始元 reign-period (86-80 BCE) that Laidan was ordered "to work the land at Luntai". Since the text states that Emperor Zhao 昭 "adopted the advice previously tendered by Sang Hongyang", "to work the land at Luntai" refers to the land east of Luntai because, as described in this memoir, "the lands of Luntai and Quli are contiguous". The conscripts should have numbered 1,500, and his mission should have encompassed more than maintaining the former agricultural colonies at Luntai and Quli. The plan was, again, aborted because Laidan was killed. Laidan, former heir-apparent of Wumi, was the first Colonel [for the Assistance of Imperial] Envoys whose name is recorded in history. In the biography of Fu Jiezi 傅介子 in *Hanshu*, Laidan is called "envoy", indicating that his official title was the "Colonel [for the Assistance of Imperial] Envoys". He was referred to as a "general" probably because he was appointed general after he had submitted to Han.

龜茲貴人姑翼謂其王曰："賴丹本臣屬吾國，今佩漢印綬來，迫吾國而田，必爲害。"王卽殺賴丹，而上書謝漢，漢未能征。[588]

Guyi 姑翼, a nobleman of Qiuci, spoke to the king, saying: "Laidan was originally subject to our state; but now he comes here wearing a Han seal and ribbon on his belt; and he is going to work the land adjacent to our own state. This is bound to cause harm." The king immediately put Laidan to death and forwarded a written statement of explanation to Han, which was unable to take corrective action.[588]

[588] According to the biography of Fu Jiezi 傅介子 in *Hanshu*, "Qiuci and Loulan had killed

Han's envoys.... During the Yuanfeng 元鳳 reign-period (80-75 BCE), [Fu] Jiezi, the Superintendent of Fine Horses [Stables], asked to be sent on a diplomatic mission to Dayuan, and upbraid the states of Loulan and Qiuci with an imperial edict.... [Fu] Jiezi arrived at Qiuci and upbraided the king, who admitted his guilt. When [Fu] Jiezi returned to Qiuci from Dayuan, Qiuci's king told him that the envoys of the Xiongnu, who had returned from Wusun, were there. [Fu] Jiezi, then, leading his officers and others, executed the Xiongnu envoys". This shows that Qiuci was unwilling to alienate either party until the Yuanfeng reign-period (80-75 BCE); as is stated in the same biography, it "changed sides many times". The Han envoy that Qiuci had killed undoubtedly refers to Laidan, the heir-apparent of the state of Wumi. Laidan was from the state of Wumi, but was no different from a Han envoy because he had been sent by Han. Han had to execute all those who killed its envoys. Therefore [Fu] Jiezi spoke to the Supreme General Huo Guang: "If they are not killed, justice is not done". The life of the king of Qiuci was spared at that time because Huo Guang, eager to conquer Loulan, was too busy to consider executing him then.

宣帝時，長羅侯常惠使烏孫還，便宜發諸國兵[589]。合五萬人攻龜兹，責以前殺校尉賴丹。龜兹王謝曰："乃我先王時爲貴人姑翼所誤，我無罪。"執姑翼詣惠，惠斬之。[590]

In the time of Emperor Xuan 宣, Chang Hui 常惠, Marquis of Changluo 長羅, was sent on a mission to Wusun. On his way back he found a suitable opportunity to call out forces from the various states[589], amounting altogether to 50,000 men, and to attack Qiuci. He blamed them for having formerly killed Colonel Laidan, and the king excused himself by saying: "at that time my predecessor had been deceived by Guyi, a nobleman. I am therefore guiltless." He arrested Guyi and sent him to [Chang] Hui, who had him beheaded.[590]

[589] "He found a suitable opportunity to call out forces from the various states": According to the Yan Commentary, he "called out forces from various states on his own, acting according to circumstances".

[590] According to the biography of Chang Hui 常惠 in *Hanshu*, in the fourth year of the Benshi 本始 reign-period (70 BCE), Emperor Xuan 宣 "again sent [Chang] Hui with gold and valuables as presents for the Wusun noblemen who had served with merit. Chang Hui, therefore, submitted a

memorial, stating that, since [the king of] the state of Qiuci had killed Colonel Laidan but had not received the punishment he deserved, he requested permission to attack the king on his way. Emperor Xuan did not give his consent to this, but the Supreme General Huo Guang hinted that [Chang] Hui could act according to circumstances. Chang Hui arrived in Wusun with 500 officers and soldiers, and on his way back, he mobilized a force of 20,000 men from the states to the west of Qiuci. Then he ordered his deputy envoy to call out a force of 20,000 men from the states to the east of Qiuci and a force of 7,000 men from Wusun: all were to launch an attack on Qiuci from three directions. With the troops not yet assembled, he first sent a man to rebuke the king for the killing of the Han envoy. The king excused himself by saying that at that time his predecessor had been deceived by Guyi 姑翼, a nobleman, and that he himself was innocent. Chang Hui said, 'If this is so, tie Guyi up and bring him with you! I'll then excuse you'. The king arrested Guyi and sent him to [Chang] Hui, who had him beheaded and returned". Qiuci was a large state on the Northern Route. If Qiuci did not submit to Han, the Northern Route would be blocked, and Han would find it difficult to communicate with Wusun. Moreover, Laidan had been killed earlier, and Han had despatched troops with a just cause. The king of Qiuci had no choice but to surrender. Only when Guyi was beheaded was the case of Laidan closed. According to some, it was in the first year of the Dijie 地節 reign-period (69 BCE) that Chang Hui killed Guyi on his return journey.[172]

時烏孫公主遣女來至京師學鼓琴，漢遣侍郎樂奉送主女，過龜茲。龜茲前遣人至烏孫求公主女，未還。會女過龜茲，龜茲王留不遣，復使使報公主，主許之。後公主上書，願令女比宗室入朝，而龜茲王絳賓亦愛其夫人，上書言得尚漢外孫爲昆弟，願與公主女俱入朝。元康元年，遂來朝賀。[591] 王及夫人皆賜印綬。夫人號稱公主，賜以車騎旗鼓，歌吹數十人，綺繡雜繒琦珍凡數千萬。留且一年，厚贈送之。

At this time the princess of Wusun had sent her daughter to the capital city to study lute-playing. Han sent Le Feng 樂奉, a Gentleman in Attendance, to escort her back, and they passed through Qiuci. Qiuci had previously sent men to Wusun to request the hand of the daughter of the princess, but they had not yet returned. It so happened that the princess' daughter was then passing through Qiuci, and the king detained her without sending her on. He sent a further messenger to report matters to the princess who gave her consent. Later the princess sent a written message expressing her wish that her

daughter should be treated like a member of the imperial household and admitted to court. For his part, Jiangbin 絳賓, king of Qiuci, loved his wife, and he wrote that, having obtained the hand of a granddaughter of the Han [imperial family], he had become a brother [of the Han house]; and he would like to pay a visit to the court in company with the princess' daughter. In the first year of the Yuankang 元康 reign-period [65 BCE], they thereupon came to court to offer their congratulations.[591] The king and his consort each had seals and ribbons bestowed upon them. His consort was granted the style and title of princess, and given carriages and a complement of riders, banner-carriers, drummers, singers, and flautists numbered by tens, together with patterned silks, embroideries, variegated silks, and precious gems corresponding altogether in value to tens of millions [of cash]. After remaining for a visit of almost a year, they were given generous gifts and sent on their way.

[591] "In the first year of the Yuankang 元康 reign-period [65 BCE], they thereupon came to court to offer their congratulations": This does not appear in "Xuandi benji".

後數來朝賀，樂漢衣服制度，歸其國，治宮室，作徼道周衛，出入傳呼，撞鐘鼓，如漢家儀。外國胡人皆曰："驢非驢，馬非馬，若龜茲王，所謂贏也。"絳賓死，其子丞德自謂漢外孫，成、哀帝時往來尤數，漢遇之亦甚親密。[592]

Later they paid several visits to the court to present their congratulations. They delighted in the Han style of dress and institutions; on returning to their own state they built residences, with an outside road running round the perimeter; they arranged a relay system of calls to announce their arrival or departure with the beating of bells and drums; and their protocol was like that of the house of Han. The outer states and the Hu people all said: "An ass that is no ass; a horse that is no horse; it's like the king of Qiuci, whom we call a mule." On the death of Jiangbin, his son Chengde 丞德 styled himself grandson of the Han house in the female line of descent. In the time of Emperors Cheng 成 and Ai 哀, the king undertook the journey to and from [Chang'an] very frequently, and Han likewise engaged with him in a very close friendship.[592]

[592] The king of Qiuci was close to Han because he married the daughter of the princess of

Wusun. This was a by-product of Han's alliance with Wusun, and Han probably did not expect it. In fact, it was not accidental for a personage like Jiangbin 絳賓 to appear at that time. Down to the Benshi reign-period (73-70 BCE), Han culture had already found its way into the Western Regions, *especially the various states to the east of the Cong Mountains (Pamirs). Wusun readily assimilated* Han culture since it had formed a matrimonial alliance with Han. Since Qiuci was a close neighbor of Wusun, and was situated on the only road by which Han communicated with Wusun, there was needless to say an influx of Han culture on a large scale. From the fact that Jiangbin "had previously sent men to Wusun to request the hand of the daughter of the princess" and later "loved his wife", one can see the admiration for Han culture. The fact that "they delighted in the Han style of dress and institutions" did not simply start from their extending their congratulations in the first year of the Yuankang 元康 reign-period (65 BCE). After Qiuci submitted to Han, according to the biography of Zheng Ji in *Hanshu*, Zheng Ji called out the troops from the state of Qiuci when he received the Rizhu 日逐 King, who had surrendered to Han. The advanced Han culture had been one of the reasons for the admiration of the dynasty in the Central Plains on the part of various states in the Western Regions.

東通尉犁六百五十里[593]。

To the east there is communication with Weili 尉犁 over a distance of 650 *li*[593].

[593] "650 *li*" (Distance 40.3): The distance between Quli and the seat of the king's government of Weili.

尉犁國，王治尉犁城[594]，去長安六千七百五十里[595]。戶千二百，口九千六百，勝兵二千人。尉犁侯、安世侯、左右將、左右都尉、擊胡君各一人，譯長二人。西至都護治所三百里[596]，南與鄯善、且末接。

The state of Weili 尉犁: The seat of the king's government is in the town of Weili[594], and it is 6,750 *li*[595] from Chang'an. There are 1,200 households, 9,600 individuals including 2,000 persons able to bear arms. [There are the following officials:] the Marquis of Weili, the Marquis of Peace of the Age, the Leaders of the Left and the Right, the Commandants of the Left and the Right, the Masters of Assault on the Hu, and two Interpreters-in-Chief. To the west it is a distance of 300 *li*[596] to the seat of the

Protector-General. To the south it adjoins Shanshan and Qiemo.

[594] The site of the town of Weili 尉犂 is probably located in the ancient town of Shah Qalandar, about 6 kilometers south of present-day Korla.[173]

[595] "6,750 *li*" (Distance 41.1): The distance from the town of Weili to Chang'an via the present-day ruins of Loulan and the surrounding area to the north-west of the Salt Marsh.

[596] "300 *li*" (Distance 41.2): The distance between the town of Weili and Wulei 烏壘.

危須國，王治危須城[597]，去長安七千二百九十里[598]。戶七百，口四千九百，勝兵二千人。擊胡侯、擊胡都尉、左右將、左右都尉、左右騎君、擊胡君、譯長各一人。西至都護治所五百里[599]。至焉耆百里[600]。

The state of Weixu 危須: The seat of the king's government is in the town of Weixu[597], and it is 7,290 *li*[598] from Chang'an. There are 700 households, 4,900 individuals including 2,000 persons able to bear arms. [There are the following officials:] the Marquis of Assault on the Hu, the Commandant of Assault on the Hu, the Leaders of the Left and the Right, the Commandants of the Left and the Right, the Masters of Cavalry of the Left and the Right, the Masters of Assault on the Hu, and one Interpreter-in-Chief. To the west it is a distance of 500 *li*[599] to the seat of the Protector-General. It is 100 *li*[600] to Yanqi.

[597] The site of the town of Weixu 危須 is probably located in the ancient town of Quhui 曲惠. Weixu was located to the west of the state of Shan; it should, therefore, have been situated to the east of Yanqi.[174]

[598] "7,290 *li*" (Distance 42.1): This is probably the distance from the town of Weixu to Chang'an via the seat of the king's government of the state of Shan.

[599] "500 *li*" (Distance 42.2): The distance from Weixu to Wulei 烏壘 via the seat of the king's government of Yanqi; i.e., the aggregate of 100 *li*, the distance between the town of Weixu and the seat of the king's government of Yanqi, and 400 *li*, the distance between the latter and Wulei.

[600] "100 *li*" (Distance 42.3): The distance between the town of Weixu and the seat of the king's government of Yanqi.

焉耆國，王治員渠城[601]，去長安七千三百里[602]。戶四千，口三萬二千一百，勝兵六千人。擊胡侯、卻胡侯、輔國侯、左右將、左右都尉、擊胡左右君、擊車師君、歸義車師君[603]各一人，擊胡都尉、擊胡君各二人，譯長三人。西南至都護治所四百里[604]，南至尉犂百里[605]，北與烏孫接。近海[606]水多魚。

The state of Yanqi 焉耆: The seat of the king's government is in the town of Yuanqu 員渠[601], and it is 7,300 *li* [602] from Chang'an. There are 4,000 households, 32,100 individuals including 6,000 persons able to bear arms. [There are the following officials:] the Marquis of Assault on the Hu, the Marquis of Resistance to the Hu, the Marquis of Support of the State, the Leaders of the Left and the Right, the Commandants of the Left and the Right, the Masters of Assault on the Hu of the Left and the Right, the Master of Assault on Jushi, the Master of Jushi who Maintains Allegiance to the Right[603], two Commandants of Assault on the Hu, and three Interpreters-in-Chief. To the south-west it is a distance of 400 *li* [604] to the seat of the Protector-General, and to the south it is 100 *li* [605] to Weili. It adjoins Wusun on the north. It is close to the waters of the sea[606] and there is an abundance of fish.

[601] The site of the town of Yuanqu 員渠 is generally believed to be at Bogda Qin (i.e., Dənzil kona xəhiri 四十里城, 12 kilometers south-west of the seat of the king's government of Yanqi). "Yuanqu" 員渠 [hiuən-gia] can be seen as a transcription of Asii.

[602] "7,300 *li*" (Distance 43.1): The distance from Yuanqu to Chang'an via the seat of the king's government of the state of Shan; i.e., the aggregate of 160 *li*, the distance between Yuanqu and the seat of the king's government of the state of Shan, and 7,170 *li*, the distance between the latter and Chang'an. The figure "7,300" 七千三百 would be a corruption of "7,330" 七千三百三十.

[603] "Master of Jushi who Maintains Allegiance to the Right" 歸義車師君: Han had been categorically opposed to its dependencies' accepting hostages and surrenders from each other, apprehensive of their colluding with each other in ways that would be detrimental to itself. However, "the Master of Jushi who Maintains Allegiance to the Righteous" had been established before Yanqi's submission to Han, and probably became nominal after Yanqi had submitted to Han. As the matter was a thing of the past, even if it would play a role, it would simply discourage collusion between the two states. Since it was not an issue of concern, there was no harm in leaving it alone.

[604] "400 *li*" (Distance 43.2): The distance from the town of Yuanqu to Wulei 烏壘 via the seat

of the king's government of Weili; i.e., the aggregate of 100 *li*, the distance between Yuanqu and the seat of the king's government of Weili, and 300 *li*, the distance between the latter and Wulei.

[605] "100 *li*" (Distance 43.3): The distance between the town of Yuanqu and the seat of the king's government of Weili.

[606] The "sea" here refers to the Bagrash kul.

烏貪訾離國，王治于婁谷[607]，去長安萬三百三十里[608]。戶四十一，口二百三十一，勝兵五十七人。輔國侯、左右都尉各一人。東與單桓[609]、南與且彌[610]、西與烏孫接。

The state of Wutanzili 烏貪訾離: The seat of the king's government is in the Yulou 于婁 valley[607], and it is 10,330 *li* [608] from Chang'an. There are 41 households, and 231 individuals including 57 persons able to bear arms. [There are the following officials:] the Marquis of Support of the State, and the Commandants of the Left and the Right. It adjoins Danhuan 單桓 [609] on the east, Qiemi 且彌 [610] on the south, and Wusun on the west.

[607] The Yulou valley 于婁谷 should be located near Manas. It adjoins Wusun, with the Khorgoss River as the borderline. "Yulou" 于婁 [hiua-lo] is an abbreviated transcription of Wu[tanzi]li.

[608] "10,330 *li*" (Distance 44): This is probably the distance from the Yulou valley to Chang'an via the seat of the king's government of Danhuan 單桓. According to this text, the state of Wutanzili "adjoins Danhuan on the east".

[609] The state of Danhuan 單桓 is an oasis state north of the Tianshan Mountains. "Danhuan" 單桓 [tan-huan] can be seen as a transcription of Tochari.

[610] The Qiemi 且彌 that adjoins Wutanzili should be the Western Qiemi. "Qiemi" 且彌 [tzia-miai], like "Qiemo" 且末 and "Gumo" 姑墨, might be seen as a variation in the transcription of the same name; all were established by the Comari or Comedie who had entered the Tarim Basin.

卑陸國[611]，王治天山[612]東乾當國[613]，去長安八千六百八十里[614]。戶二百二十七，口千三百八十七，勝兵四百二十二人。輔國侯、左右將、左右都尉、左右譯長各一人。西南至都護治所千二百八十七里[615]。

The state of Beilu 卑陸[611]: The seat of the king's government is in the Qiandang

乾當 valley[613] east of the Tianshan Mountains[612], and it is 8,680 *li* [614] from Chang'an. There are 227 households, 1,487 individuals including 422 persons able to bear arms. [There are the following officials:] the Marquis of Support of the State, the Leaders of the Left and the Right, the Commandants of the Left and the Right, and the Interpreters-in-Chief of the Left and the Right. To the south-west it is a distance of 1,287 *li* [615] to the seat of the Protector-General.

[611] The state of Beilu 卑陸 was an oasis state north of the Tianshan Mountains, one of the so-called "six other states north of the mountains" in this memoir; it was a state divided from Gushi 姑師. "Beilu" 卑陸 [pie-liuk] probably originated from the Byltae mentioned in the *Geography* of Ptolemy (VI, 13).

[612] Concerning the identity of "the Tianshan Mountains" here, there are two arguments: The first is that the toponym refers to winding ranges from the Borotou Hill north of Yanqi to the east of the Bogdo Ola,[175] and the second, specifically to the Qara-usen or the Döss Megen Ola.[176]

[613] "Qiandang guo" 乾當國 should be a corruption of "Qiandang gu" 乾當谷 (Qiandang valley). Its location remains to be determined. "Qiandang" 乾當 [gian-tang], along with "Yandun" 衍敦 [jian-tuən], the seat of the king's government of Juandu, and "Jiandu" 鞬都 [kian-ta], the seat of the king's government of Qule 渠勒, can be seen as variant transcriptions of the same name.

[614] "8,680 *li*" (45.1): It is probably the distance from Qiandang valley to Chang'an via the state of Nearer Jushi.

[615] "1,287 *li*" (Distance 45.2): The distance from Gandang valley to Wulei 烏壘 via the seat of the king's government of Nearer Jushi; i.e., the aggregate of 200 *li*, equivalent to two days' journey, the distance between Qiandang valley and the seat of the king's government of Nearer Jushi, and 1,087 *li*, the distance between Nearer Jushi and Wulei. For the distance between Qiandang valley and the seat of the king's government of Nearer Jushi, if we deduce from Distance 45.1 and Distance 45.2, we arrive at different figures, indicating that the two are based on different references.

卑陸後國，王治番渠類谷[616]，去長安八千七百一十里[617]。戶四百六十二，口千一百三十七，勝兵三百五十人。輔國侯、都尉、譯長各一人，將二人。東與郁立師[618]、北與匈奴、西與劫國、南與車師接。

The state of Further Beilu 卑陸: The seat of the king's government is in the Fanqulei

番渠類 Valley[616], and it is 8,710 *li* [617] from Chang'an. There are 462 households, 1,137 individuals including 350 persons able to bear arms. [There are the following officials:] the Marquis of Support of the State, the Commandant, the Interpreter-in-Chief, and two Leaders. It adjoins Yulishi 郁立師 [618] in the east, the Xiongnu in the north, the state of Jie 劫 in the west, and Jushi in the south.

[616] The location of the Fanqulei valley remains to be determined. Some scholars believe that it would have been in the vicinity of Fukang 阜康 and the surrounding area.[177] It is suspected that in "Fanqulei" 番渠類, "*qu*" 渠 is mistakenly inserted. "Fanlei" 番類 [phiuan-liuət], "Pulei" 蒲類, and "Beilu" 卑陸 can be seen as variations in the transcription of the same name.

[617] "8,710 *li*" (Distance 46): This is the distance from Fanqulei valley to Chang'an via the seat of the king's government of Beilu.

[618] The state of Yulishi 郁立師國 was an oasis state north of the Tianshan Mountains. "Yulishi" 郁立師 [iuət-liəp-shiei] probably shares the same origin as Aristenses mentioned in the *Geography* of Ptolemy (VI, 12).

郁立師國，王治內咄谷[619]，去長安八千八百三十里[620]。戶百九十，口千四百四十五，勝兵三百三十一人。輔國侯、左右都尉、譯長各一人。東與車師後城長、西與卑陸、北與匈奴接。

The state of Yulishi 郁立師: The seat of the king's government is in the Neiduo 內咄 Valley[619], and it is 8,830 *li* [620] from Chang'an. There are 190 households, 1,445 individuals including 331 persons able to bear arms. [There are the following officials:] the Marquis of Support of the State, the Commandants of the Left and the Right, and the Interpreter-in-Chief. It adjoins [the state] of the Chief of the Further Town of Jushi 車師 in the east, Beilu in the west, and the Xiongnu in the north.

[619] Neiduo valley 內咄谷, some scholars argue, is located in the valleys of the rivers near Santai 三臺.[178] "Neiduo" 內咄 [nuət-tuət] shares the same name as the founding father of Wusun, Nandoumi 難兜靡. The name should be related to the Asii.

[620] "8,830 *li*" (Distance 47): This is probably the distance from the Neiduo valley to Chang'an via the seat of the king's government of Beilu.

單桓國，王治單桓城[621]，去長安八千八百七十里[622]。戶二十七，口百九十四，勝兵四十五人。輔國侯、將、左右都尉、譯長各一人。[623]

The state of Danhuan 單桓: The seat of the king's government is in the town of Danhuan 單桓[621], and it is 8,870 *li* [622] from Chang'an. There are 27 households, 194 individuals including 45 persons able to bear arms. [There are the following officials:] the Marquis of Support of the State, the Leader, the Commandants of the Left and the Right, and the Interpreter-in-Chief.[623]

[621] The town of Danhuan 單桓 is generally believed to have been located in the vicinity of Kutukbai 呼圖壁 or Changji 昌吉.

[622] "8,870 *li*" (Distance 48): This is probably the distance from the town of Danhuan to Chang'an via the seat of the king's government of the state of Jie 劫.

[623] As is recorded in the "Xiongnu zhuan" in *Shiji*, in the summer of the second year of the Yuanshou 元狩 reign-period (121 BCE), "The Piaoqi 驃騎 General [Huo Qubing], with the Marquis of Heqi 合騎, set out from Longxi 隴西 and Beidi 北地 [prefectures], rode 2,000 *li* and attacked the Xiongnu. They crossed the Juyan 居延 [Marsh] and fought in the Qilian Mountains. The number of Hu [i.e., the Xiongnu] killed or captured exceeded 3,000, including over 70 who were chiefs of dependencies, petty chiefs, or officers of lesser rank". The so-called "Qilian Mountains" here should refer to the present-day Tianshan Mountains. In the biographies of Wei Qing and Huo Qubing in *Hanshu*, an edict that Emperor Wu issued in the same year is included: "The General of Piaoqi waded across the Junqi 鈞耆 [River], crossed the Juyan [Marsh], reached the Xiao Yuezhi 小月氏 [the Little Yuezhi] territory, and fought in the Qilian Mountains, parading military prowess at Luode 鱳得, and capturing the Danhuan 單桓 King as well as the Qiutu 酋涂 King of the *Chanyu*".[179] This shows that Danhuan was a small state north of the Tianshan Mountains, and the "King of Danhuan of the *Chanyu*" captured by Huo Qubing may have been a lesser king in the state of Danhuan established by the Xiongnu. The so-called "Xiao Yuezhi" must have been the remnants of the Da Yuezhi 大月氏 at the eastern end of the Tianshan Mountains when the latter moved west. It is not known whether the location of the "Danhuan" mentioned above is the same as the one in this memoir.

蒲類國[624]，王治天山西疏榆谷[625]，去長安八千三百六十里[626]。戶三百二十五，口二千三十二，勝兵七百九十九人。輔國侯、左右將、左右都尉各

一人。西南至都護治所千三百八十七里[627]。

The state of Pulei 蒲類[624]:The seat of the king's government is in the Shuyu 疏榆 Valley[625], west of the Tianshan Mountains, and it is 8,360 *li* [626] from Chang'an. There are 325 households, 2,032 individuals including 799 persons able to bear arms. [There are the following officials:] the Marquis of Support of the State, the Leaders of the Left and the Right, and the Commandants of the Left and the Right. To the south-west it is a distance of 1,387 *li* [627] to the seat of the Protector-General.

[624] The state of Pulei 蒲類 was an oasis state at the eastern end of the Tianshan Mountains, one of the so-called "six other states north of the mountains" 山北六國 in this memoir. It is separated from Gushi 姑師. "Pulei" 蒲類 [bua-liuət] and "Beilu" can be seen as variations in the transcription of the same name; it probably originated from the "Byltae" mentioned in the *Geography* of Ptolemy (VI, 13).

[625] It is generally believed that the site of the Shuyu Valley 疏榆谷 was located near Barkol nur 巴里坤淖爾. "Shuyu" 疏榆 [shia-jiuo] and "Xiye" 西夜 in this memoir can be seen as variations in the transcription of the same name.

[626] "8,360 *li*" (Distance 49.1): This is perhaps the distance from the Shuyu valley to Chang'an via the seat of the king's government of Nearer Jushi.

[627] "1,387 *li*" (Distance 49.2): The distance from the Shuyu valley to Wulei 烏壘 via the seat of the king's government of the state of Nearer Jushi; i.e., the aggregate of 300 *li*, equivalent to three days' journey, the distance between the Shuyu valley and the seat of the king's government of the state of Nearer Jushi, and 1,087 *li*, the distance between the latter and Wulei. For the distance between the Shuyu valley and the seat of the king's government of Nearer Jushi, if we deduce from Distance 49.1 and Distance 49.2, we arrive at different figures, indicating that the two are based on different references.

蒲類後國，王[628]去長安八千六百三十里[629]。戶百，口千七十，勝兵三百三十四人。輔國侯、將、左右都尉、譯長各一人。[630]

The state of Further Pulei 蒲類: The seat of the king's government[628] is 8,630 *li* [629] from Chang'an. There are 100 households, 1,070 individuals including 334 persons able

to bear arms. [There are the following officials:] the Marquis of Support of the State, the Leader, the Commandants of the Left and the Right, and the Interpreter-in-Chief.[630]

[628] Following the character *wang* 王 (king), the character *zhi* 治 (seat of government) as well as the name of the seat of the king's government is missing.[180] In light of its distance from Chang'an, this state should be 270 *li* further to the west of the previous state; it was most probably situated in the vicinity of the Da Shitou 大石頭 Oasis.[181]

[629] "8,630 *li*" (Distance 50): The distance from the seat of the king's government of the state of Further Pulei to Chang'an via the seat of the king's government of the state of Pulei.

[630] The states of Pulei and Further Pulei are situated in the Barkul area. It is possible that the lake was subsequently also named the "Pulei Marsh". This area had been under the control of the Xiongnu after the *Chanyu* Modu drove out the Yuezhi in 177/176 BCE, and it was the territory of the Hunxie 渾邪 King to the west of the Xiongnu for a time. As early as the second year of the Yuanshou 元狩 reign-period of Emperor Wu (121 BCE), the influence of the Western Han reached this area, a result of its endeavors to resist the Xiongnu. By 71 BCE at the latest, the state of Pulei was established in the Barkul area. It is possible that the state of Pulei was divided into the states of Nearer and Further Pulei shortly after. The states of Nearer and Further Pulei were small states which relied upon the Xiongnu for protection as did the states of Eastern and Western Qiemi 且彌, as well as the states of Nearer and Further Beilu 卑陸. During the Benshi 本始 reign-period (73-70 BCE) of Emperor Xuan 宣 , Han also sent Zhao Chongguo 趙充國, the General of the Pulei, to attack the Xiongnu on the Pulei Marsh. The Han army prevailed and captured the envoy of the *Chanyu*, the Puyin 蒲陰 King , but Han was unable to garrison the area and remain there. By the time Han set up agricultural colonies at the royal court of Nearer Jushi, according to this memoir, "Zilizhi 茲力支, the king of East Pulei of the Xiongnu, led more than 1,000 of his people to submit to the Protector-General". It is possible that the states of Nearer and Further Pulei were subject to Han from then on.[182]

西且彌國，王治天山東于大谷[631]，去長安八千六百七十里[632]。戶三百三十二，口千九百二十六，勝兵七百三十八人。西且彌侯、左右將、左右騎君各一人。西南至都護治所千四百八十七里[633]。

The state of Western Qiemi 且彌: The seat of the king's government is in the Yuda 于大 Valley[631] east of the Tianshan Mountains, and it is 8,670 *li* [632] from Chang'an. There

are 332 households, 1,926 individuals including 738 persons able to bear arms. [There are the following officials:] the Marquis of Western Qiemi 且彌, the Leaders of the Left and the Right, and the Masters of Cavalry of the Left and the Right. To the south-west it is a distance of 1,487 *li* [633] to the seat of the Protector-General.

[631] It is generally believed that the site of the Yuda Valley 于大谷 was most probably located in the valley on the southern outskirts of present-day Manas. "Yuda 于大 Valley" could be a mistake for "Dayu 大于 Valley". "Dayu" 大于 [dat-hiua] could be seen as a transcription of Tochari.

[632] "8,670 *li*" (Distance 51.1): The distance from the Yuda Valley to Chang'an via the seat of the king's government of Qiemi.

[633] "1,487 *li*" (Distance 51.2): The distance from the Yuda Valley to Wulei 烏壘 via the seat of the king's government of the state of Eastern Qiemi; i.e., the aggregate of 100 *li*, equivalent to one day's journey, the distance between Yuda Valley and the seat of the king's government of Eastern Qiemi, and 1,487 *li*, the distance between the latter and Wulei. The figure of "1,487" is an error for "1,587". For the distance between Yuda Valley and the seat of the king's government of Eastern Qiemo, if we deduce from Distance 51.1 and Distance 51.2, we arrive at different figures, indicating that they are based on different references.

東且彌國，王治天山東兑虛谷[634]，去長安八千二百五十里[635]。戶百九十一，口千九百四十八，勝兵五百七十二人。東且彌侯、左右都尉各一人。西南至都護治所千五百八十七里[636]。

The state of Eastern Qiemi 且彌: The seat of the king's government is in the Duixu 兑虛 Valley[634], east of the Tianshan Mountains, and it is 8,250 *li* [635] from Chang'an. There are 191 households, 1,948 individuals including 572 persons able to bear arms. [There are the following officials:] the Marquis of Eastern Qiemi, and the Commandants of the Left and the Right. To the south-west it is a distance of 1,587 *li* [636] to the seat of the Protector-General.

[634] The site of the Duixu Valley 兑虛谷 was probably located in the area of Shuixigou 水西溝 on the southern outskirts of present-day Urumqi. "Duixu" 兑虛 [duat-khia] can be seen as a transcription of Tochari.

[635] "8,250 *li*" (Distance 52.1): The distance from the Duixu Valley to Chang'an via the seat of the king's government of the state of Nearer Jushi.

[636] "1,587 *li*" (Distance 52.2): The distance from the Duixu Valley to Wulei 烏壘 via the seat of the king's government of Nearer Jushi; i.e., the aggregate of 400 *li*, equivalent to four days' journey from the Duixu Valley to the seat of the king's government of Nearer Jushi, and 1,087 *li*, the distance between the seat of the king's government of Nearer Jushi and Wulei. The figure "1,587" should be an error for "1,487". For the distance between the Duixu Valley and the seat of the king's government of Nearer Jushi, if we deduce from Distance 52.1 and Distance 52.2, we arrive at different figures, indicating that they are based on different references.

劫國[637]，王治天山東丹渠谷[638]，去長安八千五百七十里[639]。戶九十九，口五百，勝兵百一十五人。輔國侯、都尉、譯長各一人。西南至都護治所千四百八十七里[640]。

The state of Jie 劫[637]: The seat of the king's government is in the Danqu 丹渠 Valley[638], east of the Tianshan Mountains, and it is 8,570 *li* [639] from Chang'an. There are 99 households, 500 individuals including 115 persons able to bear arms. [There are the following officials:] the Marquis of Support of the State, the Commandant, and the Interpreter-in-Chief. To the south-west it is a distance of 1,487 *li* [640] to the seat of the Protector-General.

[637] The state of Jie 劫國 was an oasis state north of the Tianshan Mountians. "Jie" 劫 [kiap] is perhaps an abbreviated transcription of Sakā.

[638] The site of the Danqu Valley 丹渠谷, according to some scholars, was south-west to present-day Urumqi.[183] "Danqu" 丹渠 [tan-gia] can be seen as a transcription of Tochari.

[639] "8,570 *li*" (Distance 53.1): The distance from the Danqu Valley to Chang'an via the seat of the king's government of Nearer Jushi.

[640] "1,487 *li*" (Distance 53.2): The distance from the Danqu Valley to Wulei 烏壘 via the seat of the king's government of Nearer Jushi; i.e., the aggregate of 400 *li*, equivalent to four days' journey, the distance between the Danqu Valley and the seat of the king's government of Nearer Jushi, and 1,087 *li*, the distance between the seat of the king's government of Nearer Jushi and Wulei. For the distance between the Danqu Valley and the seat of the king's government of Nearer Jushi, if we deduce from

Distance 53.1 and Distance 53.2, we arrive at different figures. The calculation based on the latter is an approximate figure, while the calculation based on the former is closer to reality.

狐胡國[641]，王治車師柳谷[642]，去長安八千二百里[643]。戶五十五，口二百六十四，勝兵四十五人。輔國侯、左右都尉各一人。西至都護治所千一百四十七里[644]，至焉耆七百七十里[645]。

The state of Huhu 狐胡[641]: The seat of the king's government is in the Jushiliu 車師柳 Valley[642], east of the Tianshan Mountains, and it is 8,200 *li* [643] from Chang'an. There are 55 households, 264 individuals including 45 persons able to bear arms. [There are the following officials:] the Marquis of Support of the State, and the Commandants of the Left and the Right. To the west, it is a distance of 1,147 *li* [644] to the seat of the Protector-General. It is a distance of 770 *li* [645] to Yanqi.

[641] The state of Huhu 狐胡 was an oasis state at the eastern end of the Tianshan Mountains. "Huhu" 狐胡 [ha-ha] and "Hujian" 呼犍 [xa-kian], the seat of the king's government of Zihe 子合, are probably variant transcriptions of the same name, i.e., the "Argippaei" in the *History* of Herodotus (IV, 23).

[642] Jushiliu Valley 車師柳谷 was approximately located to the west of Yār-Khoto, north-east of Toksun, and situated on the traffic line from Turfan to Urumqi, i.e., on the road of Baishuijian 白水澗 mentioned in the fragment of "Xizhou tujing" 西州圖經殘卷.[184] "Jushiliu" 車師柳 [kia-shiei-liəu] can be seen as a complete transcription of Gasiani. Or the seat of the king's government was lined with willows (*liu* 柳), hence the character in the name, *liu*.

[643] "8,200 *li*" (Distance 54.1): The distance from the Jushiliu Valley to Chang'an via the seat of the king's government of Nearer Jushi; i.e., the aggregate of 50 *li*, equivalent to half a day's journey from Jushiliu to the seat of the king's government of Nearer Jushi, and 8,150 *li*, the distance between the seat of the king's government of Nearer Jushi and Chang'an.

[644] "1,147 *li*" (Distance 54.2): The distance from the Jushiliu Valley to Wulei 烏壘 via the seat of the king's government of Nearer Jushi. For the distance between the Jushiliu Valley and the seat of the king's government of Nearer Jushi, if we deduce from Distance 54.1 and Distance 54.2, we arrive at different figures. The calculation based on the former is an approximate figure, while the calculation based on the latter (60 *li*) is closer to reality.

[645] "770 *li*" (Distance 54.3): The distance between the Jushiliu Valley and the seat of the king's government of Yanqi.

山國，王 [646] 去長安七千一百七十里 [647]。戶四百五十，口五千，勝兵千人。輔國侯、左右將、左右都尉、譯長各一人。西至尉犂二百四十里 [648]，西北至焉耆百六十里 [649]，西至危須二百六十里 [650]，東南與鄯善、且末接。山 [651] 出鐵，民山居，寄田糴穀於焉耆、危須。[652]

The state of Shan 山: The seat of the king's government[646] is 7,170 *li* [647] from Chang'an. There are 450 households, 5,000 individuals including 1,000 persons able to bear arms. [There are the following officials:] the Marquis of Support of the State, the Leaders of the Left and the Right, the Commandants of the Left and the Right, and the Interpreter-in-Chief. It is a distance of 240 *li* [648] to Weili 尉犂 in the west, 160 *li* [649] to Yanqi in the north-west and 260 *li* [650] to Weixu 危須 in the west. It adjoins Shanshan 鄯善 and Qiemo 且末 in the south-east. The mountains[651] produce iron and the people live in the hills, relying on field produce and buying corn from Yanqi and Weixu.[652]

[646] Following the character *wang* 王 (king), the character *zhi* 治 (seat) as well as the name of the the seat of the king's government (possibly the town of Moshan 墨山) are missing.[185] The seat of the king's government of the state of Shan was probably located at Kizil-sangir or Singer, the critical traffic hub on the road linking the ruins of Loulan 樓蘭 and Jiaohe 交河.

[647] "7,170 *li*" (Distance 55.1): The distance from the seat of the king's government of the state of Shan to Chang'an via the ruins of Loulan to the north-west of Lop Nur.

[648] "240 *li*" (Distance 55.2): The distance between the seat of the king's government of the state of Shan and that of the state of Weili.

[649] "160 *li*" (Distance 55.3): The distance between the seat of the king's government of the state of Shan and that of Yanqi.

[650] "260 *li*" (Distance 55.4): The distance from the seat of the king's government of the state of Shan and that of Weixu. This is different from the figure deduced from Distance 42.1, indicating that the two are based on different references.

[651] The "mountains" here refer to the Kuruk tagh.

[652] This indicates that both Yanqi and Weixu had their own agriculture.

車師前國，王治交河城[653]。河水分流繞城下，故號交河。去長安八千一百五十里[654]。戶七百，口六千五十，勝兵千八百六十五人。輔國侯、安國侯、左右將、都尉、歸漢都尉、車師君、通善君、鄉善君各一人，譯長二人。西南至都護治所千八百七里[655]，至焉耆八百三十五里[656]。

The state of Nearer Jushi: The seat of the king's government is in the town of Jiaohe 交河[653]. The river divides and flows round the walls, and the town is therefore named Jiaohe. It is 8,150 *li* [654] from Chang'an. There are 700 households, 6,050 individuals including 1,865 persons able to bear arms. [There are the following officials:] the Marquis of Support of the State, the Marquis of Peace of the State, the Leaders of the Left and the Right, the Commandant, the Commandant of Allegiance to Han, the Master of Jushi, the Master of Contact with Excellence, the Master Directed to Excellence, and two Interpreters-in-Chief. To the south-west it is a distance of 1,807 *li* [655] to the seat of the Protector-General and 835 *li* [656] to Yanqi.

[653] It is generally believed that the site of the town of Jiaohe 交河 is in Yār-Khoto (雅爾湖, also known as 雅爾和圖 or 招哈和屯). "Jiaohe," in light of the statement in this memoir, "the river divides and flows round the walls," should be the name given by the Han people; the natives should have an indigenous toponym. Jushi was the site of major routes to the north and south of the Tianshan Mountains. It had been an important fortified stronghold since 177/176 BCE, when the *Chanyu* Modu drove the Yuezhi out. After Emperor Wu's involvement with the Western Regions, the Western Han repeatedly pitted its strength against the Xiongnu at Jushi and the surrounding areas. During the Dijie 地節 and Yuankang 元康 reign-periods, Han also set up an agricultural colony in the town of Jiaohe, and moved a section of the agricultural colony at Quli to Northern Xujian 胥鞬 north of the Bogdo Ola after its occupation of Jushi in the second year of the Shenjue 神爵 reign-period. Han also divided the state of Jushi into the state of Nearer Jushi and the state of Further Jushi in order to control it. These actions all indicate that the Western Han gave priority to the area of Jushi, and the states of Nearer and Further Jushi gradually became important fortified strongholds of the Western Han in the Western Regions. In the first year of the Chuyuan 初元 reign-period of Emperor Yuan 元, the Western Han established the Wuji 戊己 Colonel and set up an agricultural colony at the royal court of Nearer Jushi. From then on the agricultural colony at Quli was no longer mentioned in the histories, and it is possible that it was abolished. This very clearly shows how important the town of Jiaohe was

on the routes along which the Western Han communicated with the Western Regions. All agricultural colonies in the Western Regions were, without exception, located at hubs along these routes in the Western Han.

[654] "8,150 *li*" (Distance 56.1): The distance from Jiaohe to Chang'an via the seat of the king's government of Yanqi; i.e., the aggregate of 850 *li*, equivalent to eight and a half days' journey, the distance between Jiaohe and the seat of the king's government of Yanqi, and 7,330 *li*, the distance between the latter and Chang'an. Both figures here are estimations.

[655] "1,807 *li*" (Distance 56.2): The distance from Jiaohe to Wulei 烏壘 via the seat of the king's government of Yanqi. The figure "1,807" should be an error for "1,817".

[656] "835 *li*" (Distance 56.3): The distance between Jiaohe and the seat of the king's government of Yanqi. The figure here is different from that deduced from Distance 56.2, indicating that the two are based on different references.

車師後國，王治務塗谷[657]，去長安八千九百五十里[658]。戶五百九十五，口四千七百七十四，勝兵千八百九十人。擊胡侯、左右將、左右都尉、道民君、譯長各一人。西南至都護治所千二百三十七里[659]。

The state of Further Jushi: The seat of the king's government is in the valley of Wutu 務塗[657], and it is 8,950 *li* [658] from Chang'an. There are 595 households, 4,774 individuals including 1,890 persons able to bear arms. [There are the following officials:] the Marquis of Assault on the Hu, the Leaders of the Left and the Right, the Commandants of the Left and the Right, the Master of Guidance of the People, and the Interpreter-in-Chief. To the south-west it is a distance of 1,237 *li* [659] to the seat of the Protector-General.

[657] The valley of Wutu 務塗, it is generally believed, was located in the valley on the southern outskirts of Jimsar. Others believe that it refers to the town of Kakhan Futu 可汗浮圖 of the Western Türks in later generations, as "Wutu" 務塗 [miuo-da] is the same as "Futu" (浮屠 or 浮圖), a transcription of Buddha.[186] In the period of the Western Han, or even earlier, the people of Jushi had some knowledge, though vague, of Buddhism; it is not unlikely that they named the seat of the king's government of their state "Futu".

[658] "8,950 *li*" (Distance 57.1): This is probably the distance from Wutu valley to Chang'an via

the seat of the king's government of Yulishi 郁立師.

[659] "1,237 *li*" (Distance 57.2): The distance from the Wutu valley to Wulei 烏壘 via the seat of the king's government of Nearer Jushi; i.e., the aggregate of 500 *li*, equivalent to five days' journey, the distance between the Wutu valley and the seat of the king's government of Nearer Jushi, and 1,087 *li*, the distance between the latter and Wulei. The figure "1,237" 千二百三十七 should be an error for "1,587" 千五百八十七.

車師都尉[660]國，戶四十，口三百三十三，勝兵八十四人。

The state of the Commandant[660] of Jushi: There are 40 households, 333 individuals including 84 persons able to bear arms.

[660] The Commandant here should refer to the Commandant of the State of Further Jushi, which was not an office established by Han. The "Commandant" was one of the offices in the various states in the Western Regions.

車師後城長[661]國，戶百五十四，口九百六十，勝兵二百六十人。[662]

The state of the Chief of the Further Town of Jushi[661]: There are 154 households, 960 individuals including 260 persons able to bear arms.[662]

[661] "*Houchengzhang*" 後城長 should refer to the "Chief of the Town" in the State of Further Jushi.

[662] This memoir lists the state of the Commandant of Jushi and the state of the Chief of the Further Town of Jushi after the state of Further Jushi, indicating, in light of its conventions, that both states were to the west of Further Jushi, and the state of the Chief of the Further Town of Jushi was to the west of the state of the Commandant of Jushi. There were "commandants" and the "chiefs of the town" in some states of the Western Regions. The possibility also exists that both states were divided from the state of Jushi.

武帝天漢二年，以匈奴降者介和王爲開陵侯，將樓蘭國兵始擊車師[663]，匈奴遣右賢王將數萬騎救之，漢兵不利，引去。征和四年[664]，遣重合侯馬通將四

萬騎擊匈奴，道過車師北，復遣開陵侯將樓蘭、尉犂、危須凡六國兵別擊車師，勿令得遮重合侯。諸國兵共圍車師，車師王降服，臣屬漢。[665]

In the second year of the Tianhan 天漢 reign-period [99 BCE], Emperor Wu appointed the king of Jiehe 介和 , who had surrendered from the Xiongnu, to be Marquis of Kailing 開陵. Taking command of a force from the state of Loulan 樓蘭, he was the first to attack Jushi,[663] and the Xiongnu sent the Xian 賢 King of the Right, with a force of cavalry several myriads strong, to its relief. The Han forces were unsuccessful and withdrew, and in the fourth year of the Zhenghe 征和 reign-period [89 BCE][664], Han sent Ma Tong 馬通, Marquis of Chonghe 重合, with a force of 40,000 horse to attack the Xiongnu and his route passed north of Jushi. In addition [Han] sent the Marquis of Kailing to take command of troops from a total of six states, including Loulan, Weili 尉犂, and Weixu 危須, to make a separate attack on Jushi, and to prevent it blocking the way of the Marquis of Chonghe. The forces of the various states together laid siege to Jushi, whose king surrendered and submitted to Han.[665]

[663] After Gushi 姑師, the predecessor of Jushi, had been destroyed in the third year of the Yuanfeng reign-period (108 BCE), with its king captured, the survivors crossed the Kuruk tagh Mountains and went to the Xiongnu for shelter. Subsequently, the state of Gushi that occupied the land south and north of the Bogdo Range was referred to as "Jushi" in historical works.[187] "Jushi" and "Gushi" are in fact different transcriptions of the same name. In order to open up the Northern Route through the Western Regions and carry out the strategy of severing the Xiongnu's right arm, The Wester Han repeatedly fought against the Xiongnu for Jushi. The battle in the second year of the Tianhan reign-period (99 BCE) was the Western Han's first attack upon Jushi, located north of the Bogdo Range, and it is therefore noted as "the first to attack Jushi". Its main objective was to coordinate with the activities of the Han army, which was campaigning against the Xiongnu at the eastern end of the Tianshan Mountains. It was perhaps in this year that Li Guangli was ordered to set out from Jiuquan Prefecture to launch an assault on the Xian King of the Right. The Han forces returned without accomplishing their objective because the Xiongnu sent reinforcements in time.

[664] The "fourth year" should have been the "third year". On the basis of the "Wudi benji" in *Hanshu*, "In the third month [of the third year of the Zhenghe reign-period (90 BCE)], [the Emperor] ordered the Ershi General, [Li] Guangli, with a force of 70,000 men, to set out from Wuyuan 五原

[prefecture]; the Imperial Counsellor, Shangqiu Cheng 商丘成, with 20,000 men, to set out from Xihe 西河 [prefecture]; and the Marquis of Chonghe, Ma Tong 馬通, with 40,000 cavalry, to set out from Jiuquan 酒泉 [prefecture]. [Shangqiu] Cheng reached Mount Junji 浚稽, and battled with the savages [i.e., the Xiongnu], killing many. [Ma] Tong reached the Tianshan Mountains and, with the savages withdrawing, forced Jushi to surrender. They both led their forces back [to Han]. [Li] Guangli, with his army defeated, surrendered to the Xiongnu". The objective of this attack was the same as the first one, i.e., to coordinate with Han's campaigns against the Xiongnu at the eastern end of the Tianshan Mountains. The surrender of Jushi might have been a surprise for Han.

[665] According to the "Xiongnu zhuan (shang)" in *Hanshu*, "When the army commanded by the Marquis of Chonghe reached the Tianshan Mountains, the Xiongnu sent the General of Yanqu 偃渠 and the Huzhi 呼知 Kings of the Left and Right, with 20,000 cavalrymen to intercept the Han army. Seeing the strength of the Han army, they retreated. Thus, neither did the Marquis of Chonghe gain, nor lose, anything. At that time, Han, afraid that the forces of Jushi would block the way of the Marquis of Chonghe, sent the Marquis of Kailing 闓陵 [188] to lead separate forces to besiege Jushi. The latter captured its king and its masses and returned". This shows that the Han forces did not remain in Jushi after taking it. The land of Jushi must have reverted to the control of the Xiongnu after the Han army left.[189]

昭帝時，匈奴復使四千騎田車師。宣帝卽位，遣五將將兵擊匈奴，車師田者驚去，車師復通於漢。[666] 匈奴怒，召其太子軍宿，欲以爲質。軍宿，焉耆外孫，不欲質匈奴，亡走焉耆。車師王更立子烏貴爲太子。及烏貴立爲王，與匈奴結婚姻，教匈奴遮漢道通烏孫者。[667]

In the time of Emperor Zhao 昭 the Xiongnu took the further step of sending 4,000 cavalrymen to work the land at Jushi, and after his accession Emperor Xuan 宣 despatched five leaders with troops to attack the Xiongnu. Those who were working the land at Jushi fled in alarm, and Jushi resumed relations with Han.[666] In some anger, the Xiongnu summoned Junsu 軍宿, heir-apparent [of Jushi], wishing to make him a hostage. Junsu, who was a grandson of Yanqi in the female line of descent, had no wish to serve as a hostage with the Xiongnu, and fled to Yanqi. In his place the king of Jushi established his son Wugui 烏貴 as heir-apparent. On his accession as king, Wugui contracted a matrimonial alliance with the Xiongnu, and persuaded them to block the

road that connected Han and Wusun.[667]

[666] "Jushi resumed relations with Han": This occurred in the second year of the Benshi reign-period (72 BCE).

[667] Since Loulan had submitted to Han during the Yuanfeng 元鳳 reign-period of Emperor Zhao 昭 (80-75 BCE), Jushi became more important to the Xiongnu, and it was imperative for them to fight for it. Wugui was established as king because he had undoubtedly gained the support of the Xiongnu. In fact, Han had again lost Jushi, due to Wugui's closeness to the Xiongnu.

地節二年，漢遣侍郎鄭吉、校尉司馬憙將免刑罪人[668]田渠犂，積穀，欲以攻車師[669]。至秋收穀，吉、憙發城郭諸國兵萬餘人，自與所將田士千五百人共擊車師，攻交河城，破之。王尚在其北石城[670]中，未得，會軍食盡，吉等且罷兵、歸渠犂田。收秋畢，復發兵攻車師王於石城。王聞漢兵且至，北走匈奴求救，匈奴未爲發兵。王來還，與貴人蘇猶議欲降漢，恐不見信。蘇猶教王擊匈奴邊國小蒲類，斬首，略其人民，以降吉。車師旁小金附國[671]隨漢軍後盜車師，車師王復自請擊破金附。[672]

In the second year of the Dijie 地節 reign-period [68 BCE], Han sent the Gentleman-in-Attendance, Zheng Ji 鄭吉, and Colonel Sima Xi 司馬憙 to take a force of convicts who had been exempted from punishment[668] to work the land at Quli 渠犂 and gather the harvest, with the intention of attacking Jushi.[669] When the autumn came the corn was gathered in, and [Zheng] Ji and [Sima] Xi called out a force of over ten thousand men from the various states of the walled cities and, together with the 1,500 agriculturalists who were under their own command, took concerted action against Jushi. They attacked and took the town of Jiaohe; but the king, who was still in the stone fortress[670] to the north, was not taken. At this juncture military supplies were exhausted; and [Zheng] Ji and his colleagues temporarily disbanded their forces and returned to work the land at Quli. On completion of the autumn harvest, they again sent out a force to attack the king of Jushi in the stone fortress. When he heard of the imminent approach of Han forces, the king fled north to the Xiongnu to seek help; but before the Xiongnu had sent forces for him, he came back to take counsel with his nobleman Suyou 蘇猶. He wished to surrender to Han but was afraid that he would not be trusted. Suyou persuaded him

to attack Lesser Pulei 蒲類, a state neighboring the Xiongnu; and having executed or imprisoned some of its people, he went over to [Zheng] Ji. The small state of Jinfu 金附[671], neighboring Jushi, had followed the Han army to loot Jushi, whose king responded by making a personal request to attack and conquer Jinfu.[672]

[668] "Convicts who had been exempted from punishment" 免刑罪人: The convicts were pardoned, so that they could work in the agricultural colonies.

[669] From the text below, which states that "one thousand and five hundred agriculturalists" worked at Quli, and that "the three colonels were set to work at the military colonies", among other statements, we can see that the scale of the agricultural colony at Quli during the Dijie 地節 reign-period (69-66 BCE) was the same as that suggested in "the advice previously tendered by Sang Hongyang". Therefore, "to work the land at Quli" was in fact "to work the land to the west of Quli", i.e., to dig up the irrigated arable land to the west of Quli and as far as Luntai 輪臺. As for the agricultural colony on a smaller scale at Luntai and Quli, which was established from between the Taichu 太初 (104-101 BCE) and Tianhan 天漢 (100-97 BCE) reign-periods, we do not know whether or not it continued into the beginning of the Dijie reign-period.

[670] The specific location of "the stone fortress" 石城 is unknown.

[671] The site of "the small state of Jinfu" 小金附國 is probably at the present-day ruins of the East Dalungku south of Jimsar.[190] "Jinfu" 金附 [kiəm-bio] is probably a transcription of "Hippophagi". In the *Geography* of Ptolemy, the Scythian Hippophagi inhabited "Scythia beyond the Imaus Mountains" (VI, 15).

[672] "On completion of the autumn harvest...": The events after this occurred in the third year of the Dijie reign-period (67 BCE).[191] Han regained Jushi once the king of Jushi, Wugui, had surrendered to Han.

匈奴聞車師降漢，發兵攻車師，吉、熹引兵北逢之，匈奴不敢前。吉、熹即留一候與卒二十人留守王，吉等引兵歸渠犂。車師王恐匈奴兵復至而見殺也，乃輕騎奔烏孫，吉即迎其妻子置渠犂。[673]東奏事，至酒泉，有詔還田渠犂及車師，益積穀以安西國[674]，侵匈奴。

When the Xiongnu heard that Jushi had surrendered to Han, they sent out forces to attack Jushi, and [Zheng] Ji and [Sima] Xi took their forces north to meet them. The

Xiongnu did not dare to advance; so [Zheng] Ji and [Sima] Xi immediately despatched a captain with twenty conscripts to stay and guard the king, and [Zheng] Ji and his colleagues led their forces back to Quli. Being afraid that Xiongnu forces would re-appear and that he would be killed, the king of Jushi fled forthwith to Wusun, riding light. [Zheng] Ji had his wife and children met and established in Quli,[673] and then travelled east to report what had occurred. When he reached Jiuquan [prefecture, he was met by] an imperial edict ordering him to return to work the land at Quli and Jushi; he was to lay in store large stocks of grain, in order to reassure the western states[674] and [prepare] for an invasion of the Xiongnu.

[673] According to the "Xiongnu zhuan (shang)" in *Hanshu*, "In the following year the various states of the walled towns in the Western Regions took concerted action against the Xiongnu and conquered the state of Jushi, captured its king and people, and returned. The *Chanyu* again established the younger brother of the king of Jushi, Doumo 兜莫, as the king, and moved the remaining inhabitants to the east. Han sent a further force of agriculturalists to work the land at Jushi in different areas and fill [the vacuum]". On the basis of related records in the same memoir, "the following year" should be the third year of the Dijie reign-period (67 BCE). However, it must have been in the second to the third year of the Dijie reign-period (69-66 BCE) that "the various states of the walled towns in the Western Regions took concerted action against the Xiongnu". To capture "its king and people" in fact was to capture "its king's wives and children". Its king, Wugui, had fled to Wusun at that time. "Han sent a further force of agriculturalists to work the land at Jushi in different areas" in the fourth year of the Dijie reign-period (66 BCE). Therefore, where the "Xiongnu zhuan" supplements this memoir is that, in the third year of the Dijie reign-period (67 BCE), the Xiongnu established Doumo as the king of Jushi, removed the remaining inhabitants east, and in the next year Zheng Ji sent officers and soldiers to fill the vacuum.[192]

[674] "In order to reassure the western states" 安西國: This action was intended to placate Shanshan 鄯善 and various states on the Southern Route to its west. According to the biography of Zheng Ji in *Hanshu*, "In the reign of Emperor Xuan 宣, [Zheng] Ji, the Gentleman-in-Attendance, set up an agricultural colony at Quli and accumulated a store of field crops. He had mobilized the troops of the various states, then launched an assault on Jushi and prevailed. He was promoted to the position of Guards' Major and was sent on a commission to protect Shanshan and the states on the Southern Route to its west".[193]

吉還，傳送車師王妻子詣長安，賞賜甚厚，每朝會四夷，常尊顯以示之。於是吉始使吏卒三百人別田車師。[675]得降者言：單于大臣皆曰："車師地肥美，近匈奴，使漢得之，多田積穀，必害人國，不可不爭也。"果遣騎來擊田者，吉乃與校尉盡將渠犂田士千五百人往田，匈奴復益遣騎來，漢田卒少不能當，保車師城[676]中，匈奴將卽其城下謂吉曰："單于必爭此地，不可田也。"圍城數日乃解。[677]後常數千騎往來守車師。

On his return, [Zheng] Ji had the king of Jushi and his family conveyed by relay service to Chang'an, where they were rewarded very handsomely. Whenever barbarians were assembled at court, they were always honored conspicuously, in order that they serve as an example. Thereupon [Zheng] Ji for the first time had 300 officers and conscripts set up separate farming establishments at Jushi.[675] He learned from persons who had surrendered that the senior servants of the *Chanyu* all said: "The lands of Jushi are fertile and fine, and they lie close to the Xiongnu. If Han were to acquire them and accumulate stocks of corn from a large number of land workings, the [Xiongnu] people and state would without doubt suffer loss. [The lands] must not be left uncontested." [The Xiongnu] duly sent cavalry to come [to Jushi] and attack the field workers, so [Zheng] Ji and the colonel took the entire force of 1,500 agriculturalists from Quli to proceed to the fields [of Jushi]. In return, the Xiongnu despatched reinforcements of cavalry. The Han conscripts detailed for agricultural work were few in number, and, being unable to confront [the enemy], sought protection in the town of Jushi[676]. The leaders of the Xiongnu drew up close to the walls and said to [Zheng] Ji: "The *Chanyu* will be certain to contest these lands; they are not to be colonized." After surrounding the town for several days, [the Xiongnu] gave up the siege.[677] Later, several thousand cavalrymen constantly rode back and forth to guard Jushi.

[675] It was in the fourth year of the Dijie reign-period (66 BCE) that Zheng Ji had the king of Jushi and his family conveyed to Chang'an, and had farming establishments set up at Jushi. The rest can be considered to have taken place after the autumn of the third year of the Dijie reign-period (67 BCE). The farming establishments reveal Han's determination to occupy Jushi.

[676] "The town of Jushi" 車師城 is the town of Jiaohe 交河城.[194] The agricultural work near Jiaohe was not resumed until the reign of Emperor Yuan 元 .

[677] "After surrounding the town for several days [the Xiongnu] gave up the siege": A record in the "Xiongnu zhuan (shang)" in *Hanshu* corroborates this account: "Two years later, the Xiongnu sent the Aojian 奧鞬 [Kings] of the Left and Right, each with 6,000 cavalrymen, along with General of the Left, to attack the Han colonies at Jushi, but they were unable to take them". Combining relevant records concerning Feng Fengshi's 馮奉世 quelling of the rebellion of Suoju 莎車 in this memoir and his biography in *Hanshu* (chs. 96 and 79), one can see that the attack by the Aojian [Kings] of the Left and Right and General of the Left upon the Han colonies at Jushi took place in the first year of the Yuankang 元康 reign-period (65 BCE).

吉上書言："車師去渠犂千餘里[678]，間以河山，北近匈奴，漢兵在渠犂者勢不能相救，願益田卒。"公卿議以爲道遠煩費，可且罷車師田者。[679]詔遣長羅侯將張掖、酒泉騎出車師北千餘里，揚威武車師旁。胡騎引去，吉乃得出，歸渠犂[680]，凡三校尉屯田。[681]

During the defence of Jushi, [Zheng] Ji sent up a written report, saying, "Jushi lies at a distance of over a thousand *li* [678] from Quli, separated by rivers and hills. The northern [parts] are close to the Xiongnu and the situation of the Han forces at Quli was such that they were unable to come to each other's relief. I would therefore like to increase the establishment of conscripts detailed for agricultural work". The senior ministers considered [this proposal] and concluded that the distance was long, irksome, and involved waste; and it would be right to disband the colonies at Jushi.[679] It was ordered that the Marquis of Changluo should be put in command of a force of cavalry from Zhangye and Jiuquan [Prefectures]. He advanced over a thousand *li* north of Jushi to make a demonstration of military power, and the Hu cavalry in the vicinty of Jushi withdrew. [Zheng] Ji was then able to emerge and return to Quli,[680] and all [forces] under the three colonels were set to work at the military colonies.[681]

[678] "Over a thousand *li*" (Distance 58): The distance between the seat of the king's government of Nearer Jushi and Quli.

[679] "The senior ministers" refer to Wei Xiang 魏相 and others.[195] Wei Xiang's remonstration against the agricultural work at Jushi can be seen in the "Wei Xiang zhuan" of *Hanshu*, quoted below.

[680] The events in the section from "Later several thousands of cavalrymen used constantly to

ride to and fro to guard Jushi" to "[Zheng] Ji was then able to emerge and return to Quli", in light of the accounts in the "Xiongnu zhuan (shang)" quoted above ("Two years later, the Xiongnu sent the Aojian 奧鞬 [Kings] of the Left and Right ..."), occurred in the first and second years of the Yuankang 元康 reign-period (65-64 BCE). Zheng Ji sent a written report to the emperor in the first year. This memoir states that the Greater *Kunmi* of Wusun, Yuanguimi 元歸靡, sent a letter to the emperor via Chang Hui in the second year of the Yuankang reign-period. We can thus infer that the Marquis of Changluo made a demonstration of military power in the same year. In this year Han disbanded the colony at Jushi.

[681] It is quite possible that Colonel Sima Xi 司馬熹 was in charge of the agricultural colonies at the time. Sima Xi himself was one of the three colonels, with the other two taking orders from him. The colonelcy that Sima Xi then held can be regarded as a precursor of the Wuji 戊己 Colonel established by Emperor Yuan 元. The other two colonels were the precursors of the Wu 戊 Colonel and Ji 己 Colonel. The system in which three colonels were in charge of the agricultural colonies did not begin in the reign of Emperor Xuan 宣. According to this memoir, at the end of the reign of Emperor Wu, Sang Hongyang had already suggested that "conscripts detailed for work in agricultural colonies should be sent to old Luntai 輪臺 and the area east and that a complement of three colonels should be established with divided responsibilities for the supervision of the area". Emperor Zhao 昭 "thereupon adopted the advice previously tendered by Sang Hongyang, and appointed Laidan 賴丹, heir-apparent of Wumi 扜彌, as a colonel to lead a force to work the land at Luntai". Since the emperor adopted the advice previously tendered by Sang Hongyang, there must have been three colonels to work the land at Luntai, with two of them taking orders from Laidan. During the Dijie reign-period of Emperor Xuan, Han sent the Gentleman-in-Attendance Zheng Ji and the Colonel Sima Xi to be stationed in the Western Regions to set up agricultural colonies first at Quli, and then at Jushi, with "three colonels working at the agricultural colonies". The numbers of the officials and soldiers who set up the agricultural colonies when Emperor Yuan established the Wuji Colonel in the first year of the Chuyuan 初元 reign-period (48 BCE) were identical with those when "three colonels work[ed] at the agricultural colonies" in the reign of Emperor Xuan. There were also three colonels in the reign of Emperor Yuan. The Yan Commentary on the "Baiguan gongqing biao" in *Hanshu* states: "There was the Wu Colonel and there was the Ji Colonel", which does not seem to be accurate. This memoir also mentions the event whereby Chen Liang 陳良 and others mutinied and killed Diao Hu 刀護: "They forced over 2,000 officers, men and women [who had been in the charge] of the Wuji Colonel to make their way to the Xiongnu". The "2,000 officers" should have included all the personnel. The soldiers

who worked the land should have numbered 1,500 men, equal to the number of the soldiers under the three colonels. This organizational structure seems to have been preserved until the end of the Western Han.[196]

車師王之走烏孫也，烏孫留不遣，遣使上書，願留車師王，備國有急，可從西道[682]以擊匈奴。漢許之。於是漢召故車師太子軍宿在焉耆者，立以爲王，盡徙車師國民令居渠犂，遂以車師故地與匈奴。車師王得近漢田官，與匈奴絕，亦安樂親漢。

When the king of Jushi fled to Wusun, Wusun detained him and did not send him away. Wusun sent envoys with a written message saying that it would like to retain the king of Jushi as a precautionary measure so that, should any emergency arise, it would be possible to proceed via the western route[682] to attack the Xiongnu. Han gave its consent, and, summoning Junsu, the former heir-apparent of Jushi who was present in Yanqi, established him as king. The population of the state of Jushi was removed completely and ordered to live in Quli, and the former lands of Jushi were then made over to the Xiongnu. The king of Jushi was able to be close to the Han office of agriculture, and, breaking with the Xiongnu, he enjoyed friendly relations with Han in peace.

[682] “The western route” 西道 was in the right (western) territory of the Xiongnu. As is recorded in the “Xiongnu liezhuan (shang)” of *Hanshu*, “the Xiongnu had a grudge against the various states that took concerted action to attack Jushi and sent the Generals of the Left and Right, each with over 10,000 cavalrymen to set up an agricultural colony in the territory on the right, to build pressure on Wusun and the Western Regions”.

後漢使侍郎殷廣德責烏孫，求車師王烏貴，將詣闕，賜第與其妻子居。是歲，元康四年也。[683]

Later Han sent Yin Guangde 殷廣德, a Gentleman-in-Attendance, to reproach Wusun and to seek delivery of Wugui, king of Jushi, to the palace. He was presented with a residence and lived there with his wife and children. This was in the fourth year of the Yuankang 元康 reign-period [62 BCE].[683]

[683] Han established Junsu 軍宿 as king and ordered him to live in Quli, just as the Xiongnu had established Doumo as king and removed the people of Jushi in the third year of the Dijie reign-period (67 BCE), both actions resulting from a lack of means to realize their ambitions. In fact, the Xiongnu, who regained "the former lands of Jushi", were exhausted. The situation of both Han and the Xiongnu at that time is described in the biography of Wei Xiang 魏相 in *Hanshu*: "During the Yuankang reign-period [65-61 BCE] the Xiongnu sent forces to attack the Han colony at Jushi but was unable to take it. The Emperor and the General of the Rear, Zhao Chongguo 趙充國, discussed the matter and decided to take advantage of the decline of the Xiongnu and attack their right flank so that they would not dare to wreak havoc in the Western Regions anymore". Wei Xiang memorialized the throne and remonstrated, saying, "The Xiongnu have recently expressed good will, and the Han people captured by them have always been respectfully returned. And our borders have not been invaded. Although they contend to set up an agricultural colony at Jushi, it is not worth taking seriously". The "good will" was merely an expression of enervation. The Xiongnu were in dire straits, but Han was also beset with difficulties. In the words of Wei Xiang, "Now the border prefectures are suffering and impoverished. A father and his sons share a dog pelt or sheepskin, eat the seeds of weeds, and the people are afraid they do not have the means of keeping themselves alive. It is thus difficult to send out forces". This was the reason why Han disbanded the colony at Jushi.

其後置戊己校尉屯田，居車師故地。[684]

Afterwards the Wuji 戊己 Colonelcy was established to found military colonies and to settle in the former lands of Jushi.[684]

[684] In the second year of the Yuankang reign-period (64 BCE), the former lands of Jushi were made over to the Xiongnu. Since the Xiongnu had now surrendered, the work on agricultural colonies was resumed.[197]

元始中，車師後王國有新道，出五船[685]北，通玉門關，往來差近，戊己校尉徐普欲開以省道里半[686]，避白龍堆之阸。車師後王姑句以道當爲拄置[687]，心不便也。地又頗與匈奴南將軍地接，普欲分明其界然後奏之，召姑句使證之，不肯，繫之。姑句數以牛羊賕吏，求出不得。

During the Yuanshi 元始 reign-period [1-5 CE] there was a new route in the kingdom *of Further Jushi. This led to the Yumen Barrier from north of Wuchuan 五船*[685]*, and the* journey was comparatively shorter. Xu Pu 徐普, the Wuji Colonel, wanted to open up this route for use, so as to reduce the distance by half[686] and avoid the obstacle of the White Dragon Mounds. Gugou 姑句, king of the state of Further Jushi, realized that because of [the passage of] the road he would be obliged to make provisions available [for Han travelers][687] and in his heart thought that this would not be expedient. In addition, his lands were rather close to those of the southern general of the Xiongnu. [Xu] Pu wished to demarcate the territories clearly and report the matter only after the event. He summoned Gugou to have him certify the action, but he was unwilling to do so and [Xu Pu] had him apprehended. On several occasions Gugou bribed the officials with cattle or sheep in an effort to get out but he was unsuccessful.

[685] Wuchuan 五船 is a place name, its location unknown.

[686] If this is read together with the Han inscribed wooden slips unearthed from Maquanwan 馬圈灣 in Dunhuang, we can see that, in the fourth year of the Tianfeng 天鳳 reign-period (17 CE), Guo Qin 郭欽, the Wuji Colonel, advanced south-west and attacked Yanqi after reaching Jushi along the "new route".[198] This "new route" was the one opened up by Xu Pu 徐普, the Wuji Colonel, during the Yuanshi 元始 reign-period of Emperor Ping 平. The statement "to reduce the distance by half" refers to reducing the days of travel to the royal court of the Nearer Jushi from Dunhuang. It is obvious that the town of Jiaohe 交河 had become an important hub on the Northern Route before Xu Pu opened up "the new route".

[687] " 以道當爲拄置 ": According to the Yan Commentary, "*Zhu* 拄 means to support (支拄). He needed to be the support for the establishments and in his heart thought that this would not be expedient". According to the "Hanji" in *Zizhi tongjian* 資治通鑒, "because of [the passage of] the road he would be obliged to make provisions available [for Han travelers] and in his heart thought that this would not be expedient".

姑句家矛端生火，其妻股紫陬謂姑句曰：“矛端生火，此兵氣也，利以用兵。前車師前王爲都護司馬所殺[688]，今久繫必死，不如降匈奴。”卽馳突出高昌壁[689]，入匈奴[690]。

Flames appeared on the tips of the spears in Gugou's home, and his wife Guzizou 股紫陬 said to him: "Flames have appeared on the tips of the spears; this is a phenomenon that augurs armed action, and advantage will accrue from a resort to arms. Earlier the king of Nearer Jushi was killed by the Major of the Protector-General, [688] and now you have been under detention for a long time and will surely die. The best course is to surrender to the Xiongnu." He immediately broke out on horseback from the fortress of Gaochang 高昌 [689] and made his way to the Xiongnu.[690]

[688] "Earlier the king of Nearer Jushi was killed by the Major of the Protector-General": This refers to the killing of Doumo.

[689] The fortress of Gaochang 高昌壁 is generally believed to have been located at the present site of Gaochang. From this we can know that the seat of the Wuji Colonel had been moved from Jiaohe to the fortress of Gaochang, at the latest when Emperor Ping ascended the throne. "Gaochang" 高昌 [kô-thjiang] is a transcription of Gasiani.

[690] This event occurred in the second year of the Yuanshi 元始 reign-period (2C. E.). Xu Pu wished to open up the new route, but Gugou thought that this would not be expedient. This was for no other reason than the difficulties involved in the assistance with the arrivals and departures of the travelers and the increased corvees when the new route would open, which would be more than the state could bear. This shows that the Western Han's rule in Jushi was unpopular at least at that time. Like the Tangdou 唐兜 incident to be mentioned below, the Gugou incident was also a signal that the Western Han's rule in the Western Regions was disintegrating.

又去胡來王唐兜，國比大種赤水羌 [691]，數相寇，不勝，告急都護。都護但欽 [692] 不以時救助，唐兜困急，怨欽，東守玉門關。玉門關不內，即將妻子人民千餘人亡降匈奴。匈奴受之，而遣使上書言狀。

In addition, Tangdou 唐兜 , the Quhulai king was located close to the Red Water Qiang 羌 [691] of the Great Tribes, and was several times subjected to raids. Finding the situation intolerable, he reported a state of emergency to the Protector-General, but Dan Qin 但欽 [692], the Protector-General, did not bring him relief or help at the right time. Tangdou was in a grave and urgent situation; angry with [Dan] Qin, he went east to seek [the means of] defence from the Yumen Barrier where he was not admitted. He

then took his wife and children and over 1,000 of his people and fled to surrender to the Xiongnu. The Xiongnu received him and sent an envoy [to Han] with a letter describing the state of affairs.

[691] The Red Water Qiang 赤水羌 was a branch of the Qiang. Since the tribe shared a border with Ruo Qiang 婼羌, it probably resided in the west of present-day Qinghai 青海 Province.

[692] Dan Qin 但欽 was the eighteenth Protector-General of the Western Regions, whose term of office started in the first year of the Yuanshi reign-period and ended in the fifth year of the Shijianguo 始建國 reign-period of Wang Mang's 王莽 Xin dynasty (1-13 CE). From Emperor Xuan to Wang Mang, there had been eighteen Protectors-General. Between Han Xuan 韓宣 and Dan Qin's immediate predecessor, their terms were all three years; of them, only Duan Huizong 段會宗 served a second term.

是時，新都侯王莽秉政，遣中郎將王昌等使匈奴，告單于西域內屬，不當得受。單于謝罪，執二王以付使者。莽使中郎[693]王萌待西域惡都奴[694]界上逢受[695]。單于遣使送，因請其罪。使者以聞，莽不聽，詔下會西域諸國王，陳軍斬姑句、唐兜以示之。

At this time Wang Mang 王莽, Marquis of Xindu 新都, was in sole control of the administration. He sent Wang Chang 王昌, Leader of the Gentlemen of the Palace, and others on a mission to the Xiongnu to inform the *Chanyu* that the Western Regions acknowledged allegiance to Han and that he did not have the authority to accept [their fugitives]. The *Chanyu* excused himself for his criminal action, and delivered the two kings to the envoys. [Wang] Mang sent Wang Meng 王萌, a Gentleman of the Palace[693], to wait at Edunu 惡都奴[694], the border of the Western Regions, to receive [the kings].[695] The *Chanyu* sent envoys to escort them and to take the opportunity to ask for [the remission] of his punishment. The envoys reported this, but [Wang] Mang did not agree. He commanded the kings of the various states of the Western Regions to assemble, and at a military parade he had Gugou and Tangdou beheaded as an example.[696]

[693] " 中郎 " (Gentleman of the Palace) here should be " 中郎將 " (Leader of the Gentlemen of the Palace) according to the "Xiongnu zhuan (xia)" in *Hanshu* quoted below.

[694] Edunu 惡都奴, according to the Yan Commentary, which quotes Fu Qian 服虔, "is a valley in the Western Regions". Edunu is probably the "Yiwulu" 伊吾盧 [iei-nga-la] in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hou-Han shu* 後漢書.

[695] "*Feng shou*" 逢受, according to the Yan Commentary, means "to arrive earlier and wait for them, so as to receive them when [he] saw [them]".

[696] Regarding the surrender of Gugou and Tangdou to the Xiongnu, there is a record in the "Xiongnu zhuan (xia)" of *Hanshu*: "The *Chanyu* received them and installed them in the land of the Luli [King] of the Right, and sent an envoy [to Han] with a letter, saying, 'Your vassal has received them with utmost caution'. An edict was issued, sending Han Long 韓隆 and Wang Chang 王昌, Leaders of the Gentlemen of the Palace, Zhen Fu 甄阜, the Lieutenant Colonel, Bo Chang 帛敞, Palace Attendant and Imperial Messenger, and Wang Xi 王歙, the Colonel of the Chang 長 River, on a mission to the Xiongnu. They told the *Chanyu*, 'The Western Regions had been subordinate [to the Middle Kingdom]; therefore you should not receive them,[199] and must send them back'. The *Chanyu* replied, 'Emperors Xiaoxuan 孝宣 and Xiaoyuan 孝元 took pity on us and made this pact with us: The Son of Heaven possesses the lands south of the Great Wall, while the *Chanyu* possesses the lands north of the Great Wall. If there is unrest in the border areas, we should notify each other. If someone defects to the other side, he should not be accepted. I, as Han's vassal, know that my father, *Chanyu* Huhanxie, received tremendous kindness from Han, and he left this testament at his death, "We should not accept those who defect to us; we should return them to the Han garrisons, to repay the great kindness of the Son of Heaven". These [two kings] are from the outer states, so we may receive them'. The [Han] envoys said, 'The Xiongnu were mired in internal strife, and the state was on the verge of extinction. It was through the great kindness of the Middle Kingdom that the endangered state endured, with the wives and sons in the royal family safe and secure, and the royal line continued for generations. They should do something to repay the great kindness [of Han]'. The *Chanyu* bowed his head to the ground and acknowledged his guilt and had the two fugitives apprehended and delivered to the Han envoys. The Emperor commanded Wang Meng 王萌, the Leader of the Gentlemen of the Palace, to wait at Edunu, the border of the Western Regions, to receive them. The *Chanyu* sent envoys to escort them and to take the opportunity to ask for [the remission] of their punishment. The envoys reported this, which the imperial edict did not heed. The kings of the various states of the Western Regions were assembled, and in front of them Gugou and Tangdou were beheaded. Four regulations were [subsequently] issued: Any individuals of the Middle Kingdom who flee to the Xiongnu, Any individuals of Wusun who flee to surrender to the Xiongnu, Any individuals of the various states in

the Western Regions, with the Middle Kingdom's seals and ribbons on their belts, who surrender to the Xiongnu, and Any individuals of Wuhuan 烏桓 who surrender to the Xiongnu, should not be accepted". This is the only specific record about the relations between the Western Han and the Ruo Qiang 婼羌 under the King of Quhulai. This event occurred in the second year of the Yuanshi reign-period (2 CE).[200] The event concerning Tangdou was an indication that the Western Han's rule in the Western Regions was about to collapse.

至莽簒位，建國二年，以廣新公甄豐爲右伯[697]，當出西域。車師後王須置離聞之，與其右將股鞮、左將尸泥支謀曰："聞甄公爲西域太伯，當出，故事給使者牛羊穀芻茭、導譯，前五威將過，所給使尚未能備。今太伯復出，國益貧，恐不能稱。"

At his usurpation of the throne, in the second year of [Shi]jianguo [始] 建國 [10 CE], Wang Mang appointed Zhen Feng 甄豐, Duke of Guangxin 廣新, to be Count of the Right.[697] He was engaged in setting out for the Western Regions when Xuzhili 須置離, king of Further Jushi, heard of these events and laid a plan with Guti 股鞮, Leader of the Right, and Shinizhi 尸泥支, Leader of the Left. He said: "I have heard that Duke Zhen has been made Supreme Count of the Western Regions and is actually setting out there. According to precedent, envoys are supplied with cattle, sheep, corn, cut fodder, guides, and interpreters. Previously when the Wuwei 五威 General passed through, it was impossible to supply the needs of the envoys; and now, when the Supreme Count is in his turn setting out, the state is poorer and will probably not be able to meet [their requirements]."

[697] "Wang Mang appointed Zhen Feng 甄豐, Duke of Guangxin 廣新, to be Count of the Right": As is recorded in "Wang Mang zhuan" in *Hanshu* concerning the events in the second year of the Shijianguo reign-period (10 CE), "At this time, [Zhen] Xun 甄尋, son [of Zhen Feng], as the Palace Attendant 侍中, the Governor of the Capital 京兆大尹, and the Marquis of Maode 茂德, made up a mandate [from Heaven by means of a] portent, saying that the House of Xin ought to divide [its territory at] Shan 陝 and set up two Chiefs [to govern that territory], making [Zhen] Feng the Western Chief and the Grand Tutor 太傅 , Ping Yan 平晏, the Eastern Chief, as in the former circumstances [was done for the Dukes of] Zhou 周 and of Shao 召. [Wang] Mang thereupon followed this [mandate]

and installed [Zhen] Feng as the Western Chief. [Zhen Feng] was to 'report on his duties' and go out to the west, but had not yet gone, when [Zhen] Xun again made a mandate [from Heaven by means of] a portent, which said that the Empress [Wang] of the former Emperor Ping of Han, the Princess of the Yellow Imperial House 黃皇室主, was [to be] the wife of [Zhen] Xun. [Wang] Mang had been set [on the throne] by fraud, so he suspected in his heart that his great officials would hate and malign him. He wanted to terrify them in order to make his inferiors fear him. Because of these [feelings], he burst out in anger and said, 'The Princess of the Yellow Imperial House is a mother of the empire. What means this [statement] [about her becoming the wife of Zhen Xun]?' He [ordered Zhen] Xun arrested. [Zhen] Xun fled and [Zhen] Feng committed suicide". (Dubs, trans., *The History of the Former Han Dynasty*, 3:309-310; with modifications.) From this we can see that Zhen Feng did not set out for the west.

欲亡入匈奴。戊己校尉刀護聞之，召置離驗問，辭服，乃械致都護但欽在所埒婁城[698]。置離人民知其不還，皆哭而送之。至，欽則斬置離。置離兄輔國侯狐蘭支將置離衆二千餘人，驅畜産，舉國亡降匈奴。

They therefore wished to escape to the Xiongnu. When Diao Hu 刀護, the Wuji Colonel, heard of this he summoned [Xu]zhili and interrogated him to obtain proof. In his statement he made a confession, and he was then bound and delivered to the town of Lielou 埒婁[698] where Dan Qin, the Protector-General, happened to be. [Xu]zhili's people realised that he would not return, and they all accompanied him on his way, lamenting; and on his arrival, [Dan] Qin had him beheaded. His elder brother Hulanzhi 狐蘭支, the Marquis of Support of the State, assumed the leadership over more than 2,000 of [Xu]zhili's people, and driving their stock animals he fled and surrendered to the Xiongnu with the whole state.

[698] The location of the town of Leilou 埒婁城 is unknown. Leilou 埒婁 [liat-lo] and Luntai 輪臺 should be variant transcriptions of the same name.

是時，莽易單于璽，單于恨怒，遂受狐蘭支降，遣兵與共寇擊車師，殺後城長，傷都護司馬，及狐蘭兵復還入匈奴。[699]

At this time [Wang] Mang had the *Chanyu*'s signet altered, and, bitterly angry, the *Chanyu* accepted Hulanzhi's surrender. He sent troops to launch a concerted raid on Jushi, killing the Chief of the Further Town and wounding the Major of the Protector-General, then making their way back to the Xiongnu with Hulan[zhi]'s troops.[699]

[699] According to the "Xiongnu zhuan (xia)" of *Hanshu*, "In the following year [10 CE], Xuzhili 須置離, king of Further Jushi, planned to surrender to the Xiongnu. Dan Qin, the Protector-General, had him beheaded. His elder brother, Hulanzhi 狐蘭支, led more than 2,000 of Xuzhili's people and, driving their stock animals, fled and surrendered to the Xiongnu with the whole state. The *Chanyu* accepted Hulanzhi's surrender. Hulanzhi and the Xiongnu launched a concerted raid on Jushi, killing the Chief of the Further Town and wounding the Major of the Protector-General, and then made their way back to the Xiongnu". The General of Wuwei had just passed through, when the Supreme Count was in his turn sent out: the King of Further Jushi couldn't manage to attend to all of their needs. It appears that the new route that Xu Pu wanted to open up was completed at that time, and it ran from Gaochang 高昌 to the various states north of the mountains. Gugou thought that supplying the envoys with cattle, sheep, corn, cut fodder, guides and interpreters would not be expedient. Dan Qin attempted to frighten [the other states] by means of slaughter; not only was he unable to prevent the people in the Western Regions from defecting to the Xiongnu but, on the contrary, accelerated the collapse of Han rule there. Since Hulanzhi "surrendered to the Xiongnu with the whole state", the Jushi against which the Xiongnu "sent troops to launch a concerted raid", in addition to the state of the Chief of the Further Town of Jushi, refers mainly to the state of Nearer Jushi. The state of Further Jushi was possibly subject to the Xiongnu from then on. The situation of the state of Nearer Jushi was also very precarious because before long the Wuji Colonel Diao Hu 刀護 was killed, and his aides Chen Liang 陳良 and Zhong Dai 終帶 forced more than 2,000 men to make their way to the Xiongnu.

時戊己校尉刀護病，遣史[700]陳良屯桓且谷[701]備匈奴寇，史終帶取糧食，司馬丞韓玄[702]領諸壁，右曲候任商領諸壘，相與謀曰："西域諸國頗背叛，匈奴欲大侵，要死。[703]可殺校尉，將人衆降匈奴。"

At this time, Diao Hu 刀護, the Wuji Colonel, was ill, and he sent his aide[700] Chen Liang 陳良 to camp in the Huanqie 桓且 Valley[701], as a precautionary measure against Xiongnu raids. He sent his aide Zhong Dai 終帶 to collect supplies of food; Han Xuan

韓玄[702], the Major's Assistant, to take command of the fortresses; and Ren Shang 任商, Army Captain of one of the Brigades of the Right, to take command of the fortifications. [These officers] hatched a plot together, saying, "The various states of the Western Regions are inclining towards revolt, and the Xiongnu wish to launch a large-scale raid; so we shall die.[703] We should kill the Colonel and lead the men to surrender to the Xiongnu".

[700] *Shi* 史 was an officer subordinate to the Wuji Colonel, whose rank should be equivalent to 600 piculs.

[701] The Huanqie 桓且 Valley is located in Further Jushi. "Huanqie" 桓且 [huan-tzia] may well be seen as a transcription of Asii.

[702] Han Xuan 韓玄, Major's Assistant, may mean that he was Assistant and Major concurrently.[201]

[703] "要死": The Yan Commentary quotes Ru Chun 如淳, "The Xiongnu are launching a raid, and we all shall die. We can surrender to the Xiongnu instead".

卽將數千騎至校尉府，脅諸亭令燔積薪，分告諸壁曰："匈奴十萬騎來入，吏士皆持兵，後者斬！"得三四百人，去校尉府數里止，晨火爇。校尉開門擊鼓收吏士，良等隨入，遂殺校尉刀護及子男四人、諸昆弟子男，獨遺婦女小兒。止留戊己校尉城[704]，遣人與匈奴南將軍相聞，南將軍以二千騎迎良等，良等盡脅略戊己校尉吏士男女二千餘人入匈奴。單于以良、帶爲烏賁都尉。[705]

They forthwith led several thousand cavalry to the Colonel's headquarters, and threatened all the posts, making them light the emergency signal fires. They sent separate notices to the various fortifications, saying that a hundred thousand Xiongnu cavalry were advancing; all officers and men should take up arms, and the last to do so would be beheaded. Gathering a force of three or four hundred men, they halted at a distance of several *li* from the Colonel's headquarters, The morning fires were alight, and the Colonel had the gates opened and the drums beaten to admit the officers and men. [Chen] Liang and his colleagues followed in, and promptly killed Diao Hu the Colonel, together with his four sons, his brothers and their sons, sparing only his wife, daughters, and infant children. Remaining at the town of the Wuji Colonel[704], they sent men to inform the southern general of the Xiongnu, who had 2,000 cavalry, to meet

[Chen] Liang and his companions. They forced over 2,000 officers, men and women [who had been in the charge or care] of the Wuji Colonel to make their way to the Xiongnu, and the *Chanyu* appointed [Chen] Liang and [Zhong] Dai to be Wuben 烏賁 Commandants.[705]

[704] "The town of the Wuji Colonel" 戊己校尉城: Some believe that the seat of the Wuji Colonel was no longer at Jiaohe.[202] In my opinion, it would be unlikely that Gaochang was only a fortress and not a town.

[705] According to the "Xiongnu zhuan (xia)" of *Hanshu*, "At that time Chen Liang and Zhong Dai, the Wuji Colonel's aides, Han Xuan, Major's Assistant, and Ren Shang, Army Captain of the Right Brigade, witnessed the frequent mutinies among the [states] in the Western Regions. When they heard that the Xiongnu intended to launch a large-scale raid, they feared that they would all be killed together, and plotted among themselves, coercing several hundred troops to kill Diao Hu, the Wuji Colonel, and sending messengers to inform the King of Southern Liwu 南犁汙王 of the Xiongnu, the Southern General. Two thousand cavalrymen of the Southern General advanced to the Western Regions to receive Chen Liang and others, who drove the officers and conscripts of the Wuji Colonel, numbering more than 2,000 men and women, into Xiongnu territory. [Han] Xuan and [Ren] Shang stayed at the headquarters of the Southern General, while Chen Liang and Zhong Dai went straight to the *Chanyu*'s court. The others were sent to [areas] at the Lingwu 零吾 River to work the fields. The *Chanyu* named [Chen] Liang and [Zhong] Dai Generalissimos of Wuhuan 烏桓都將軍.[203] They remained by the *Chanyu*, who summoned them to dine and drink with him on several occasions. The Protector-General of the Western Regions, Dan Qin, sent a written report, saying that the Xiongnu's Southern General, Yizhizi 伊秩訾 of the Right led his forces to raid various states. [Wang] Mang thereupon made fifteen conferments of the title of *Chanyu*". According to the "Wang Mang zhuan (zhong)" of *Hanshu*, in the eleventh month of the second year of the Shijianguo reign-period (10 CE), Sun Jian 孫建, the Liguo General 立國將軍, memorialized the throne, "The General in the Western Regions, [Dan] Qin, reports: On the day *xinsi* 辛巳 of the ninth month, Chen Liang and Zhong Dai, the aides to the Wuji colonel, murdered Diao Hu, the Colonel, and coerced the officers and conscripts to flee to the Xiongnu, calling themselves Supreme Generals of the Usurped Han".

後三歲，單于死[706]，弟烏絫單于咸立，復與莽和親。莽遣使者多齎金幣賂單于，購求陳良、終帶等。單于盡收四人及手殺刀護者芝音妻子以下二十七人，

皆械檻車付使者。到長安，莽皆燒殺之。[707]

Three years later the *Chanyu*[706] died, and his younger brother, the Wulei 烏絫 *Chanyu* [named] Xian 咸 was established [as the *Chanyu*]. Friendly relations were resumed with [Wang] Mang, who sent envoys with ample gifts of gold and valuables as a present for the *Chanyu*, hoping to obtain in exchange Chen Liang, Zhong Dai, and the others. The *Chanyu* arrested all the four men together with twenty-seven others, including Zhi Yin 芝音 , who had personally killed Diao Hu, as well as their wives and children. He had them all fettered, put into a criminals' tumbril, and delivered to the [Han] envoys, and when they reached Chang'an, [Wang] Mang had them put to death by burning.[707]

[706] The *Chanyu* here refers to the *Chanyu* Wuzhuliuruodi 烏珠留若鞮, who died in the fifth year of the Shijianguo reign-period (13 CE).

[707] According to the "Xiongnu zhuan (xia)" of *Hanshu*, in the first year of the Tianfeng 天鳳 reign-period (14 CE), "[Wang] Mang sent [Wang] Xi 王歙 and his younger brother [Wang] Sa 王颯, the Marquis of Zhande 展德 and Commandant of Cavalry, on a mission to the Xiongnu to congratulate the *Chanyu* on his enthronement, with a gift of gold, clothes, and silk. They deceptively told the *Chanyu* that his son, Deng 登, attending at the court, was still there. With a gift of money, they managed to have [the Xiongnu] surrender Chen Liang, Zhong Dai, and others. The *Chanyu* arrested all four men along with twenty-seven others, including Zhi Yin, who had criminally killed Diao Hu the Colonel, as well as their wives and children. He had them all shackled, put into a criminals' tumbril, delivered to the [Han] envoys, and sent Fu 富, the King of Chuweiguxi 廚唯姑夕 and others, numbering forty, to escort [Wang] Xi and [Wang] Sa. [Wang] Mang had them burned to death".

其後莽復欺詐單于，和親遂絕。匈奴大擊北邊，而西域亦瓦解。焉耆國近匈奴，先叛，殺都護但欽，莽不能討。[708]

Later, [Wang] Mang again deceived the *Chanyu* and friendly relations were interrupted. The Xiongnu mounted a large-scale attack on the northern borders, and [the states of] the Western Regions split apart. The state of Yanqi, being near to Xiongnu, was the first to rebel and killed the Protector-General Dan Qin, but [Wang] Mang was unable to take punitive action.[708]

[708] According to the "Wang Mang zhuan (zhong)" of *Hanshu*, in the fifth year of the Shijianguo reign-period (13 CE), "The various states of the Western Regions considered that [Wang] Mang had repeatedly broken [the ties of] grace and faithfulness [binding them to Han]. [The state of] Yanqi revolted first, murdering the Protector-General, Dan Qin". (Dubs, trans., *The History of the Former Han Dynasty*, 3:333; with modifications.)

天鳳三年，乃遣五威將王駿、西域都護李崇[709]將戊己校尉出西域，諸國皆郊迎，送兵穀。焉耆詐降而聚兵自備。駿等將莎車、龜茲兵七千餘人，分爲數部入焉耆，焉耆伏兵要遮駿。及姑墨、尉犂、危須國兵爲反間，還共襲擊駿等，皆殺之。唯戊己校尉郭欽别將兵，後至焉耆。焉耆兵未還，欽擊殺其老弱，引兵還。[710]莽封欽爲剼胡子。李崇收餘士，還保龜茲。[711]數年莽死[712]，崇遂沒，西域因絕。[713]

In the third year of the Tianfeng 天鳳 reign-period [16 CE], Wang Mang despatched Wang Jun 王駿, the Wuwei 五威 General, and Li Chong 李崇[709], Protector-General of the Western Regions, to take command of the [troops of] the Wuji Colonel and to proceed to the Western Regions. The various states all met them with a welcome, and provided them with troops and corn. Yanqi made a pretence at surrendering, but assembled troops in self-defence. [Wang] Jun and his colleagues took a force of over 7,000 men from Suoju and Qiuci, and, dividing them into several units, invaded Yanqi. Yanqi placed troops in ambush to obstruct [Wang] Jun; and when troops of the states of Gumo, Weili, and Weixu, who had acted as spies, returned, they together attacked [Wang] Jun and his colleagues, killing them all, except for Guo Qin 郭欽, the Wuji Colonel, who was in command of a separate force and reached Yanqi later. As the forces of Yanqi had not yet returned, [Guo] Qin killed those [of its inhabitants] who were old or weak, and [led] his troops back [to Han].[710] [Wang] Mang invested him with the title of Baron Extirpator of the Hu. Li Chong collected the remaining troops and sought protection in Qiuci.[711] After some years [Wang] Mang died[712] and [Li] Chong disappeared; and the Western Regions were completely cut off.[713]

[709] The term of the nineteenth Protector-General, Li Chong 李崇, was from the third year of the Tianfeng 天鳳 reign-period to the fourth year of the Dihuang 地皇 reign-period (16-23 CE). From

the fifth year of the Shijianguo reign-period when Dan Qin was killed to the third year of the Tianfeng reign-period, when Li Chong set out for the Western Regions, the office of the Protector-General remained vacant.

[710] On the basis of studies of the inscribed wooden slips that were recently unearthed from the ruins of the beacon towers of the Han era in Maquanwan 馬圈灣, Dunhuang, we know that Wang Jun's official title was "Commandant and lieutenant of the Envoy to the Western Regions and [General] Wuwei" 使西域大使, 五威左率都尉. Wang Jun passed the beacon tower at Qianqiu 千秋 in Yumen 玉門 in the twelfth month of the third year of the Tianfeng reign-period (16 CE), and arrived at the defence post at Da Jiandu 大煎都 in the first month of the following year. He established his general headquarters there, assembled troops, and prepared rations and forage. All the troops under Wang Jun's command were called up from the prefectures in the Hexi 河西 region, and they reached the defence post at Da Jiandu of Dunhuang in three batches, a total of 7,000 men. The Han forces advanced in two divisions. One of them, about 2,000 men led personally by Wang Jun and Li Chong, set out from the west of the defence post at Da Jiandu, reached Weili, and, passing Shanshan, joined the forces from several states of the Western Regions, Suoju, Qiuci, and Weili, among others, numbering 7,000 men, to attack Yanqi in the sixth month of the fourth year of the Tianfeng reign-period (17 CE). In the initial skirmish the Han army cut off heads and captured prisoners, and it asked the imperial court for reward. However, the army was soon ambushed and defeated, so it sent a written message to the emperor to ask for punishment and to call for reinforcements. After Wang Jun had been killed and the whole army had been overwhelmed, Li Chong withdrew to Qiuci and sent a written message to the emperor to ask for punishment. On the other front, according to the "Wang Mang zhuan (zhong)" of *Hanshu*, "[Wang Jun] ordered his Associate Lieutenant, He Feng, and the Wuji Colonel, Guo Qin, to command separate forces". The two generals led a force of 5,000 men, by way of the "New Route", i.e., to attack Yanqi from the south-west via Jushi. After killing those of Yanqi's inhabitants who were old or weak, they withdrew to Jushi. Yanqi mounted a joint attack on Jushi with the Xiongnu. He Feng, Guo Qin, and others fought in isolation and suffered great hardships. In the end they were unable to hold their ground; they withdrew and entered the barrier "with provisions exhausted and the officers and soldiers starving".[204] From this time on the ties with the three states of Yanqi and others, established in the times of the Western Han, were cut.

[711] That Li Chong was able to seek protection in Qiuci has much to do with the fact that Qiuci had been in close contact with Han and absorbed the influences of Han culture from the Benshi 本始 reign-period of Emperor Xuan 宣 (73-70 BCE) onwards. The "Dili zhi 地理志 (xia)" of *Hanshu*

records a Qiuci County in Shang 上 Prefecture. The Yan Commentary states that "the defectors from Qiuci were put up there, and it therefore was named after them". Since Qiuci was in close contact with Han, Yan Shigu's words may not be groundless, since there must have been a large number of Qiuci people who lived there or were naturalized.

[712] Wang Mang died in the fourth year of the Dihuang 地皇 reign-period (23 CE).

[713] According to the "Wang Mang zhuan (zhong)" of *Hanshu*, "In this year, [Wang Mang] sent as the Chief Envoy, the General of the Five Majestic Principles 五威將, Wang Jun 王駿, with the Protector-General of the Western Regions, Li Chong, leading the Wuji Colonel, [Guo Qin], to go out to the Western Regions. All the various states welcomed [the envoys] at their suburbs and offered tribute. The state of Yanqi had previously murdered the Protector-General Dan Qin, so [Wang] Jun wanted to make a surprise attack upon it. He ordered his Associate Lieutenant, He Feng 何封, and the Wuji Colonel, Guo Qin, to separate their commands [from his]. Yanqi made a pretense of surrendering, and ambushed troops, who attacked [Wang] Jun and the others, so that all [his company] died. [Guo] Qin and [He] Feng reached [Yanqi shortly] after [Wang Jun had been killed, before the troops had returned], and made a surprise attack upon its aged and weak [people, massacring them]. They returned by way of Jushi and entered the [Han] barrier. [Wang] Mang installed [Guo] Qin as the General Maintaining Order in Foreign Parts, and conferred upon him the title of the Baron Extirpator of the Hu 剿胡子. He Feng was made the Baron Quieting the Hu 集胡男. From this time on, the Western Regions were cut off [from Han]". (Dubs, trans., *The History of the Former Han Dynasty*, 3:365-366; with modifications.)

最凡國五十[714]，自譯長、城長、君、監、吏、大祿、百長[715]、千長、都尉、且渠、當戶[716]、將、相至侯、王，[717]皆佩漢印綬，凡三百七十六人。[718]而康居、大月氏、安息、罽賓、烏弋之屬，皆以絕遠不在數中，其來貢獻則相與報，不督錄總領也。[719]

In the total number of fifty states[714] there were altogether 376 men[718] who carried on their belts Han seals and ribbons, ranging from Interpreters-in-Chiefs, Chiefs of Towns, Masters, Inspectors, Officials, *Dalu* 大祿, Chiefs of the Hundreds[715], Chiefs of the Thousands, Commandants, *Qiequ* 且渠, *Danghu* 當戶[716] Leaders, and Chancellors to Nobles and Kings[717]; but [those officials] subordinated to Kangju 康居, Da Yuezhi 大月氏, Anxi 安息, Jibin 罽賓, and Wuyi[shanli] 烏弋[山離] are not included in this

figure, as they were removed at a distance. When [those states] sent tribute or gifts, [Han] reciprocated, but [Han] did not exercise supervision or control.[719]

[714] The "fifty states" refer to those subject to the Protector-General.[205] Several states far away from Han, such as Kangju, Da Yuezhi, Anxi, Jibin, and Wuyi, are not included in this number, for the officials in these states did not wear on their belts Han seals and ribbons.

[715] "Chiefs of the Hundreds" 百長: Specific records about this title in the Western Regions are not seen.

[716] The *Danghu* 當戶: This title is also seen among the Xiongnu; see the "Xiongnu zhuan (shang)" of *Hanshu*.

[717] It should be pointed out that most of these office titles were indigenous.[206] Some of them, like the Commandant 都尉, are literal translations of existing titles. Others, however, were probably established after they had submitted to Han, such as the Marquis of Assault on the Hu, the Marquis of Resistance to the Hu, the Commandant of Resistance to the Hu, the Commandant of Assault on the Hu, the Master of Assault on the Hu, among others. "Hu" undoubtedly refers to the Xiongnu. In some states in the Western Regions, there was the title of "Marquis of Support of the State" 輔國侯: "*Guo*" 國 here refers to the state in which the Marquis was and it is impossible for it to refer to Han.

[718] The main manifestation of Western Han's control of barbarians with barbarians in the Western Regions was to confer seals and ribbons upon the kings, nobles, and lesser officers of the various states, and to control the Western Regions through them. Those who were presented with seals and ribbons first were the Greater and Lesser *Kunmi* of Wusun. This took place in the first year of the Ganlu 甘露 reign-period of Emperor Xuan 宣 (53 BCE), an important symbol that Wusun had become a dependency of Han. During the Chuyuan 初元 reign-period of Emperor Yuan 元 (48-44 BCE) the Supreme Official, the *Dalu* 大祿, and the Supreme Inspector of Wusun were presented with gold seals and purple ribbons, to "provide honor and support" for the Greater *Kunmi*, who was established by Han. Not long after this, officials, from kings and nobles to officers of lower ranking, who were subject to the Protector-General, started to wear Han seals and ribbons on their belts. The various states of the Western Regions prized Han wealth and goods and also prized Han seals and ribbons. Before they had been presented with seals and ribbons, the various states frequently purloined the seals and ribbons of Han envoys. In the biography of Fu Jiezi 傅介子 in *Hanshu*, it is recorded that Angui 安歸, the king of Loulan, killed and robbed the Han envoys and purloined their emblems of authority and seals. In the biography of Chang Hui 常惠 in the same chapter, it is recorded that the

people of Wusun purloined Chang Hui's seals, ribbons and emblem of authority. From this, it is not difficult to infer that those who were presented with seals and ribbons must regard it as an honor, and that the seals and ribbons being given or taken back were important forms of reward or punishment. In this memoir, it is recorded that the *Xihou* of Wusun, Nanqi 難栖, killed Mozhengjiang 末振將. Han, consideringthe action the same as bringing a criminal to justice, appointed Nanqi the Commandant of Stout Defence. Meanwhile, since the *Dalu* and others were held responsible for Cilimi's 雌栗靡 death, their gold seals and purple ribbons were removed from them and were replaced by bronze and black ones. These are examples of reward and punishment, which undoubtedly played a positive role in the rule of the Western Han in the Western Regions. Of course, if kings and nobles of the various states and officers of lower ranking were presented with seals and ribbons, they would be under the supervision of the Protector-General of the Western Regions. This system also contributed to the stability of the various states themselves.

[719] The whole memoir can be divided into five sections: the first section, from the first state of Ruo Qiang 婼羌 to the twentieth state, the Da Yuezhi (Daxia); the second section, from the twenty-first state, Kangju, to the twenty-ninth state, Weitou; the third section, from the thirtieth state, Wusun, to the thirty-eighth state, Yanqi; the fourth section, from the thirty-ninth state, Wutanzili, to the forty-eighth state, Jie; the fifth section, from the forty-ninth state, Huhu, to the fifty-fourth, the state of the Chief of the Further Town of Jushi. Actually, the first and second sections can be regarded as of one unit, since, according to the "Dayuan liezhuan" in *Shiji*, "in the north [of Dayuan is] Kangju", and it was not unusual for Dayuan to be followed by the Da Yuezhi. Between the second and third sections there is also no gap, since north of Weitou is Wusun. The third section should have been followed by the fifth, but between them the fourth section is inserted, i.e., the section on the various states north of the Tianshan Mountains. This was perhaps designed to move the writings on Jushi to the end of the memoir to bring it to a close.

贊曰：孝武之世，圖制匈奴，患其兼從西國，結黨南羌，乃表河西，列四郡，開玉門，通西域，以斷匈奴右臂，隔絕南羌、月氏[720]。單于失援，由是遠遁，而幕南無王庭。

Appreciation: In the age of [Emperor] Xiaowu, policy was directed to controlling the Xiongnu, in the realisation of the danger that they might form a union with the western states and an alliance with the Southern Qiang. [The Han] thereupon

demarcated the area [west of] the [Yellow] River; a line of four prefectures was established and Yumen [Barrier] was opened so as to communicate with the Western Regions, and in order to sever the right arm of the Xiongnu and separate them from the Southern Qiang and the Yuezhi[720]. The *Chanyu* lost his support, and thereafter fled afar, and no royal court was held south of the desert.

[720] "隔絕南羌、月氏" (separate them from the Southern Qiang and the Yuezhi): As is recorded in the "Dili zhi (xia)" of *Hanshu*, "The lands west of Wuwei originally belonged to the Kunxie 昆邪 and Xiutu 休屠 kings of the Xiongnu; they were seized during the reign of Emperor Wu. Initially, the emperor established four prefectures there, to reach out to the Western Regions, and separate the Southern Qiang from the Xiongnu". The Yuezhi here should be the Xiongnu. According to the biography of Zhao Chongguo 趙充國 in *Hanshu*, Zhao Chongguo said the following: "I fear that the Xiongnu and Qiang have already colluded with each other to launch a large-scale invasion. I hope [we] can cut off the traffic to the Western Regions from Zhangye and Jiuquan [prefectures], so the troops in the two prefectures should not be called upon [to serve elsewhere]". This indicates that the concerted action between the Xiongnu and Qiang would become a great menace to Han. The biography of Wei Xuancheng 韋玄成 in *Hanshu* records the advice of Wang Shun 王舜 and Liu Xin 劉歆: "[We should] launch an expedition against Dayuan, take control of the thirty-six states, form an alliance with Wusun, and establish the prefectures of Dunhuang, Jiuquan, and Zhangye, to separate them from the Ruo Qiang and to sever the right arm of the Xiongnu in the west". "Ruo Qiang" here indicates the "Southern Qiang". Remnants of the Ruo Qiang could still be found in the present-day Qilian Mountains area. One of the main reasons that Han established the four prefectures in the Hexi 河西 Region was to separate the Xiongnu from the Ruo Qiang in this area.

遭值文、景玄默，養民五世[721]，天下殷富，財力有餘，士馬彊盛。故能睹犀布[722]、瑇瑁則建珠崖七郡[723]，感枸[724]醬、竹杖則開牂柯、越嶲[725]，聞天馬、蒲陶則通大宛、安息。自是之後，明珠、文甲、通犀、翠羽之珍盈於後宮，蒲梢、龍文、魚目、汗血[726]之馬充於黃門，鉅象、師子、猛犬、大雀之羣食於外囿。殊方異物，四面而至。[727]

In the time of Emperors Wen 文 and Jing 景, [the mood] had been one of silent contemplation [rather than of positive action]. For five reigns[721] the people had been

nurtured. The lands beneath the skies were prosperous and rich, and there was wealth and strength in plenty, and military horses in great abundance. It was therefore possible [to accumulate manifold resources]. Having beheld rhinoceros horn, ivory[722], and tortoise shell, [the men of those days] founded seven prefectures, including Zhuya 珠崖[723]; lured by betel-nuts[724] and bamboo staves, they opened up the prefectures of Zangke 牂柯 and Yuexi 越嶲[725]; and, learning of the horses of Heaven and of the grape, they started communicating with Dayuan and Anxi. From then on rarities such as luminous pearls, striped shells, lined rhinoceros horn, and kingfisher feathers [were seen] in plentiful quantities in the empress' palace; the *pushao* 蒲梢, dragon-stripes, fish-eye, and blood-sweating horses[726] filled the Yellow Gate; groups of mighty elephants, lions, ferocious beasts, and ostriches were reared in the outer parks; and wonderful goods of diverse climes were brought from the four quarters of the world.[727]

[721] The "five reigns" 五世 refers to the reigns of the five emperors, i.e., Emperors Gao 高, Hui 惠, Wen 文, Jing 景, and Wu 武.

[722] Following " 故能睹犀布 ", The "Xiaowu huangdi ji" 孝武皇帝紀 in *Hanji* 漢紀 includes three extra characters, 積羣貨 ("to accumulate manifold resources"). The character 布 should be a corruption of 象 (ivory). Rhinoceros horn, ivory, and tortoise shell were all products of Southern Yue 粤.[207]

[723] "Founded seven prefectures, including Zhuya": According to the "Wudi ji" in *Hanshu*, in the sixth year of the Yuanding reign-period (111 BCE), "The land of Yue 越 was pacified, and in that land were established the prefectures of Nanhai 南海 (the seat of government being present-day Guangzhou 廣州), Cangwu 蒼梧 (the seat being present-day Wuzhou 梧州, Guangxi), Yulin 鬱林 (the seat located in the west of present-day Guiping 桂平, Guangxi), Hepu 合浦 (the seat located in the south-west of present-day Pubei 浦北 , Guangxi), Jiaozhi 交阯 (the seat located north-west of present-day Hanoi, Vietnam), Jiuzhen 九真 (the seat located north-west of present-day Thanh Hoa 清化, Vietnam), Rinan 日南 (the seat located in present-day Binh Tri Thien 平治天 Province, Vietnam), Zhuya 珠厓 (the seat located south-west of present-day Qiongshan 瓊山), and Dan'er 儋耳 (the seat located north-west of present-day Danzhou 儋州 , Hainan 海南 Province)". The "seven prefectures" should be "nine prefectures".

[724] "*Ju*" 枸 is generally considered to be "*louye*" 蔞葉 (*Piper betel*).[208]

[725] "They opened up the prefectures of Zangke 牂柯 and Yuexi 越嶲": According to the "Wudi ji" in *Hanshu*, in the sixth year of the Yuanding reign-period (111 BCE), "[The land] of the

South-western Yi 夷 was pacified; on this land were established the prefectures of Wudu 武都 (the seat located south-west of present-day Xihe 西和, Gansu 甘肅 Province), Zangke (the seat located between present-day Huangping 黄平 and Guiding 貴定, Guizhou 貴州 Province), Yuexi 越嶲 (the seat located south-east of present-day Xichang 西昌, Sichuan 四川 Province), Shenli 沈黎 (the seat located north-east of Hanyuan 漢源, Sichuan Province), and Wenshan 文山 (the seat located north of Mao County 茂縣, Sichuan Province)".

[726] "The *pushao* 蒲梢, dragon-stripes, fish-eye, and blood-sweating": "They", according to the Yan Commentary, which quotes Meng Kang 孟康, "are all names of famous steeds". The "Yueshu 樂書" in *Shiji* records: "The expedition against Dayuan brought horses, named *pushao* 蒲梢, that run one thousand *li* [a day]. [Emperor Wu] therefore composed a poem: 'Heavenly horses of the Western Extremity / Come ten thousand *li* to the Virtuous / By Divine strength and prestige the outer states are subjugated / [The forces] traverse the Flowing Sands, and barbarians in the four directions submit'". It is recorded in the "Wudi ji" of *Hanshu* that, "in the fourth year [of the Taichu reign-period (101 BCE)], the Ershi General cut off the head of the king of Dayuan and returned with the blood-sweating horses. [The Emperor] thereupon composed the poem, 'The Heavenly Horses from the Western Extremity'". The Yan Commentary quotes Ying Shao 應劭: "Formerly there were heavenly horses of a particular kind in Dayuan, which leave a mark when they strike the rocks and 'sweat blood'. The sweat, which looks like blood, comes from the point of the shoulder. Such horses are reputed to travel a thousand *li* a day". The Yan Commentary reads, "They leave marks on the rocks they tread, indicating how strong and hard their hooves are".

[727] "Wonderful goods of diverse climes were brought from the four quarters of the world": This is a sign that "imperial power and prestige could be exercised throughout the area within the four seas".

於是廣開上林，穿昆明池[728]，營千門萬戶之宮[729]，立神明、通天之臺[730]，興造甲乙之帳[731]，落以隨珠和璧，天子負黼依[732]，襲翠被，馮玉几，而處其中。設酒池肉林以饗四夷之客[733]，作巴俞[734]都盧[735]、海中碭極[736]、漫衍魚龍[737]、角抵之戲以觀視之。

Thereupon [the emperor] had Shanglin 上林 [Park] enlarged and Kunming 昆明 Lake[728] dug out; he laid out the palace with its thousand gates and myriad doors[729], and erected the [two] eminences, [the one] where the spirits dwell and [the other]

which leads to heaven[730]; he hung aloft the curtains in their different series[731], fastened together with Sui 隨 pearls and He 和 jades. The Son of Heaven took his place within, with his back against a screen figured in black and white[732]; he was decked in a coverlet of kingfisher plumes and reclined on an armrest decorated with jade. Wine was set out [sufficient to fill] a lake, and meats [in plenty like] a forest to entertain the guests of the four barbarian peoples.[733] As a spectacle for them to admire, there were exhibited [the dancers] of Bayu 巴俞[734], [the perch-climbers] of Dulu 都盧[735], the pole springing up from an [artificial] sea[736], with [the ballets] of the Manyan 漫衍 [monster] and of the fishes and dragons[737], and wrestling performances.

[728] "Kunming Lake dug out": According to the "Wudi ji" of *Hanshu*, this occurred in the third year of the Yuanshou reign-period (120 BCE).

[729] "The palace with its thousand gates and myriad doors" refers to the Jianzhang 建章 Palace. According to the "Wudi ji" in *Hanshu*, "in the second month [of the first year of the Taichu reign-period (104 BCE)], the construction of the Jianzhang Palace was completed". According to the Yan Commentary, the Jianzhang Palace was "to the west of the Weiyang 未央 Palace".

[730] "Erected the [two] eminences, [the one] where the spirits dwell and [the other] which leads to heaven": According to "Wudi ji" in *Hanshu*, "in the summer [of the second year of the Yuanfeng 元封 reign-period (109 BCE)] … he had the Tongtian 通天 Terrace built in the the Ganquan 甘泉 Palace". (Dubs, trans., *The History of the Former Han Dynasty*, 2:90.) The Yan Commentary quotes *Han jiu yi* 漢舊儀, "[The terrace] was as high as thirty *zhang*, from which one could see Chang'an". As is recorded in "Jiaosi zhi (xia)" 郊祀志下 in *Hanshu*, "The terrace where the spirits dwell was built 立神明臺". The Yan Commentary quotes *Han gongge shu* 漢宮閣疏, "The terrace where the spirits dwell is as high as fifty *zhang*, with nine halls upon it".

[731] "The curtains in their different series": According to the Yan Commentary, "There are different series, each numbered with the designations of *jia* 甲, *yi* 乙, etc." The biography of Dongfang Shuo 東方朔 in *Hanshu* records his advice to Emperor Wu: "If Your Majesty would follow my advice—to burn the curtains in their different series on the high way, to give up using the race horses—then the achievements of Your Majesty could only be matched by those of Yao 堯 and Shun 舜 in their peaceful and prosperous ages".

[732] The "screen figured in black and white" 黼依: According to the Yan Commentary, "依 is pronounced the same way as 扆. *Yi* 扆 is like a small screen, with drawings on it. The figures in white

and black are called *fu* 黼. It is also decorated with figures of [ceremonial] axes". *Fuyi* 黼依 reads *fufu* 黼黻 in the "Xiaowu huangdi ji" 孝武皇帝紀 of *Hanji* 漢紀.

[733] "Wine was set out [sufficient to fill] a lake, and meats [in plenty like] a forest to entertain the guests of the four barbarian peoples": The following is recorded in the "Zhang Qian, Li Guangli zhuan" of *Hanshu*: "At this time, the emperor was frequently progressing on tours of inspection or visiting the coast, and from now on he was always accompanied by visitors from the outer states. If there were great towns with a large number of inhabitants, he distributed wealth and silks when he passed through, granting generous bounties and providing ample supplies, so as to show off the wealth and plenty of Han. Wrestling matches [were held], strange performers and many types of wonderful goods were brought out, and many persons assembled to watch. There were bestowals of gifts with wine set out [sufficient to fill a] lake and meats [in plenty like] a forest; and the visitors from the outer states were sent round to the stocks accumulated in the famous granaries and stores, so as to demonstrate the great extent of Han and to overawe them with surprise". (A. F. P. Hulsewé and M. A. N. Loewe, *China in Central Asia* [Leiden: Brill, 1979], pp. 224-225.)

[734] Bayu 巴俞 was the name of a kind of dance. "Ba" and "Yu" were originally places in Shu 蜀; the inhabitants there were good at singing and dancing. The "Liyue zhi" 禮樂志 in *Hanshu* mentions "thirty-six drummers of Ba and Yu". The Yan Commentary states: "'Ba' refers to the people of Ba; 'Yu,' to the people of Yu. When Emperor Gaozu 高祖 was formerly the king of Han 漢王, people from Ba and Yu, who were agile and good at fighting, joined him. Along with them, he pacified the lands of Shanxi and destroyed Chu 楚; their martial music was therefore preserved. This is the beginning of the Bayu Music. 'Ba' refers to the present-day Bazhou 巴州; 'Yu', the present-day Yuzhou 渝州: both their original lands".

[735] "Dulu" 都盧 is a pole-climbing performance. "Dulu" 都盧 was originally a state in Southern Seas 南海; the inhabitants there were agile and good at climbing.

[736] "The pole springing up from an [artificial] sea" 海中碭極 is the title of a set of music.

[737] "[The ballets] of the Manyan 漫衍 [monster] and of the fishes and dragons" 漫衍魚龍: This is the name of an acrobatic performance, probably a dance of exotic beasts. The Yan Commentary: "'Manyan' 漫衍 is the 'Manyan' 漫延 in Zhang Heng's 張衡 'Xijing fu' 西京賦 (Rhapsody on the Western Capital): 'A colossal beast, as long as a hundred *xun* 尋, is the *manyan* 漫延'. 'Fish-dragon' is an animal like lynx; it first performs in the middle of the courtyard, then makes water spouts in front of the palace. After this it transforms into the flatfish; it jumps high, takes in water, and makes mists and fog which obscure the sun. Then it transforms into a yellow dragon of eight *zhang*. It jumps

out of the water and plays leisurely in the yard, shining in the sunlight. When [Zhang Heng] wrote in 'Xijing fu' that 'Sea [creatures] with scales transform into dragons', he was describing scenes like this".

及賂遺贈送，萬里相奉，師旅之費，不可勝計。至於用度不足，乃榷酒酤[738]，筦鹽鐵[739]，鑄白金，造皮幣[740]，算至車船[741]，租及六畜，民力屈，財用竭，因之以凶年[742]，寇盜並起，道路不通，直指之使始出，衣繡杖斧[743]，斷斬於郡國，然後勝之。是以末年遂棄輪臺之地，而下哀痛之詔，豈非仁聖之所悔哉！

Then came the further expenses of presents sent as gifts or to accompany escorts; of the courtesies exchanged at a distance of 10,000 *li*; and of the armed forces, too high for calculation. When the means at [the emperor's] disposal were insufficient, a monopoly was imposed on the sale of liquor[738], and the salt and iron workings were brought under official control[739]; coins were cast in white metal and valuables were made in [deer] hide[740]; the scope of the levy was extended to wagons and boats[741], and taxes were even raised on stock animals. The strength of the people was spent, and resources were exhausted; and there followed some years of poor harvests[742], robbers and thieves rose up everywhere, and the roads were impassable. For the first time, commissioners appointed directly by the emperor were sent out, clothed in embroidered silk and bearing axes[743], to exterminate [the bandits] in the prefectures and kingdoms, and only then was [the danger] overcome. For these reasons, in his latter days [Emperor Wu] abandoned the lands of Luntai and proclaimed a decree expressing anguish and sorrow. How could good and saintly [rulers] not regret these things?

[738] "A monopoly was imposed on the sale of liquor" 榷酒酤: According to the "Wudi ji" in *Hanshu*, in the third year of the Tianhan reign-period (98 BCE), "a monopoly was imposed on the sale of liquor". The Yan Commentary: "The trade was monopolized, with all profit going directly to the authorities; the ordinary people had no means to participate in it. [The situation] is like a single-log bridge on the water (榷); hence the term". It also quotes Ying Shao: "County authorities fermented and sold liquor; the ordinary people were not allowed to make wine themselves". It also quotes Wei Shao 韋昭: "People were prohibited from making liquor; only the government could participate in it for profit, like a single-log passageway on the road".

[739] "The salt and iron workings were brought under official control" 筦鹽鐵: According to the "Shihuo zhi (xia)" 食貨志下 of *Hanshu*, in the first year of the Yuanfeng 元封 reign-period (110 BCE), "Sang Hongyang was appointed concurrently to the positions of Commandant for the Control of Grain and Superintendent of Agriculture; he supervised the empire's monopoly in salt and iron goods, replacing [Kong] Jin 孔僅".

[740] "Coins were cast in white metal and valuables were made in [deer] hide": 鑄白金, 造皮幣: According to the "Wudi ji" in *Hanshu,* "in the fourth year [of the Yuanshou 元狩 reign-period (119 BCE)], the concerned ministers reported the relocation of poor people of Guandong 關東 [east of the Hangu Barrier] to Longxi 隴西, Beidi 北地, Xihe 西河, Shang 上, and Kuaiji 會稽 prefectures, numbering 725,000. The officials of the counties assisted them with food and clothing, but their resources were insufficient to cover the expenses. They asked to collect silver and tin to make white metal and have money made in [deer] hide so as to provide for the expenditure". The Yan Commentary quotes Ying Shao, "At that time the state's revenue was not sufficient to cover the nation's expenditure, so valuables were made in the hide of white deer; they were used in lieu of jade articles on the occasions of court meetings. Meanwhile, white metal was made out of silver and tin".

[741] "The scope of the levy was extended to wagons and boats" 算至車船: As is recorded in the "Wudi ji" of *Hanshu,* "In the winter of the sixth year [of the Yuanguang 元光 reign-period (129 BCE)], a levy was first extended to the wagons and boats of merchants". The Yan Commentary quotes Li Qi 李奇 : "A levy was first extended to the wagons and boats of merchants, so as to collect tax".

[742] "Some years of poor harvests" 凶年: As is recorded in the "Shihuo zhi (xia)" of *Hanshu*, "At that time [the second year of the Yuanding 元鼎 reign-period (115 BCE)], Shandong 山東 suffered flooding, and there was no harvest for several years; people sometimes ate each other. This affected two to three thousand square *li*".

[743] As is recorded in the "Wudi ji" of *Hanshu*, in the second year of the Tianhan 天漢 reign-period (99 BCE), "robbers and thieves in Taishan 泰山 and Langye 琅邪, among them Xu Bo 徐敦, blocked the mountain passes and stormed towns and cities, and the roads were made impassable. Pu Shengzhi 暴勝之 and others, as the commissioners appointed directly by the emperor, were sent out, clad in embroidered silk and bearing axes, to exterminate the bandits area by area, pursuing and arresting them".

且通西域，近有龍堆，遠則葱嶺，身熱、頭痛、縣度之阸。淮南[744]、杜欽[745]、揚雄[746]之論，皆以爲此天地所以界别區域，絕外内也。《書》曰"西

戎卽序”[747]，禹既就而序之，非上威服致其貢物也。

Moreover, if one passes through the Western Regions, close at hand lie the Dragon Mounds; and far away are the Cong Mountains and the obstacles formed by the slopes of the Fevers of the Body, the Hills of the Headaches, and the Suspended Crossing. The arguments of [the king of] Huainan 淮南[744], Du Qin 杜欽[745], and Yang Xiong 揚雄[746] alike conclude that these are the means whereby Heaven and Earth have separated the zones and cut asunder the inner and outer regions. In the *Book of Documents* it is written, "The Western Rong 戎 were then reduced to order"[747]. It was simply by virtue of Yu's 禹 arrival that they were reduced to order. Had he not been [a man of] abundant power and prestige, he would have had no means of inducing them to bring tribute.

[744] "The arguments of [the king of] Huainan": His arguments against the expedition on Min 閩 and Yue 越 are recorded in the biography of Yan Zhu 嚴助 in *Hanshu*: "Yue is a land on the periphery; its people cut their hair and tattoo their body. It cannot be administered by the laws and customs of the state where people wear hats and robes. Even during the three dynasties [Xia, Shang, and Zhou], when the [Middle Kingdom] was at the height of its power, Hu and Yue did not accept its administration: it is not that the strength or the prestige of [the Middle Kingdom] was not enough to overcome or control them. It is simply that the land is regarded as uninhabitable and the people as unfit for administration—they are not worthy of the efforts of the Middle Kingdom".

[745] For the arguments of Du Qin, see this memoir (the first half).

[746] Yang Xiong's 揚雄 words, in a memorial to the throne in the fourth year of the Jianping 建平 reign-period (3 BCE), are recorded in the "Xiongnu zhuan (xia)" of *Hanshu*: "Formerly, we acted in the Western Regions, checked the ambition of Jushi, and established the Protector-General for the thirty-six states of the walled towns, and this has required sums counted by the hundred-millions [in cash] per year. Was this because Kangju and Wusun were able to cross the White Dragon Mounds and invade the western border? It was in order to subdue the Xiongnu".

[747] "The Western Rong 戎 were then reduced to order" 西戎卽序: The Yan Commentary: The statement is "from the *Yu gong* 禹貢. *Xu* 序 is the same as *ci* 次".

西域[748]諸國，各有君長，兵衆分弱，無所統一，雖屬匈奴，不相親附。匈

奴能[749]得其馬畜旃罽，而不能統率與之進退。與漢隔絕，道里又遠[750]，得之不爲益，棄[751]之不爲損，盛德在我，無取於彼。

The various states of the Western Regions[748] each have their rulers and their chiefs. Their large bodies of armed men are separated and weak, with no means of united control. Although they may be subject to the Xiongnu, they are not attached to them by ties of friendship. The Xiongnu are [merely] able[749] to acquire their horses, stock animals, felts, and woollens, but are not able to control or lead them, or to act in concert with them. They are cut off from Han and the intervening distance is [very] great[750]; if [Han] takes possession of them they bring no profit; if [Han] abandons[751] them they constitute no loss. With glorious power resting with us, there is nothing to take from them.

[748] The scope of the Western Regions here is the same as at the beginning of this memoir, i.e., the area east of the Cong Mountains and south of the Tianshan Mountains under the control of the Xiongnu at the height of their power.

[749] For 能, the "Xiaowu huangdi ji" in *Hanji* reads 徒能.

[750] For 道里又遠, the "Xiaowu huangdi ji" in *Hanji* reads 道里尤遠.

[751] For 棄, the "Xiaowu huangdi ji" in *Hanji* reads 失.

故自建武以來，西域思漢威德，咸樂內屬。唯其小邑鄯善、車師，界迫匈奴，尚爲所拘。而其大國莎車、于闐之屬，數遣使置質于漢，願請屬都護。聖上[752]遠覽古今，因時之宜，羈縻不絕，辭而未許[753]。雖大禹之序西戎，周公之讓白雉[754]，太宗之卻走馬[755]，義兼之矣，亦何以尚茲！

Hence, since the Jianwu 建武 reign-period [i.e., since 25 CE], the Western Regions have borne in mind the might and power of Han and have all rejoiced to make themselves its subjects. Only small settlements such as Shanshan or Jushi, whose borders lie close to the Xiongnu, are still involved with them; whereas large states such as Suoju or Yutian repeatedly send envoys and lodge hostages with Han, requesting that they be made subject to the Protector-General. Our saintly emperor[752] has surveyed the circumstances of past and present; and in view of the expediency of the times he has declined their requests and withheld permission[753], while the bonds that relate them

have not been severed. He has combined together the moral qualities shown by the Great Yu 禹 when he reduced the Western Rong 戎 to order, of Zhou Gong 周公 when he declined the white pheasants[754], and of Emperor Taizong 太宗 when he refused [the gift of] the fine horses[755]; could any conduct be more noble?

[752] "Our saintly emperor" 聖上 refers to Emperor Guangwu 光武 of the Eastern Han.

[753] "He has declined their requests and withheld permission": See the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hou-Han shu* 後漢書.

[754] "Zhou Gong 周公 when he declined the white pheasants" 周公之讓白雉: According to *Han Shi waizhuan* 韓詩外傳, "After three years, it so happened that a Yuechang 越裳 potentate,[209] whose speech must be successively interpreted, came and presented a white pheasant to Zhou Gong [more commonly, Duke of Zhou], saying, 'The road is long, with treacherous mountains and deep rivers. I am afraid that an envoy is not able to reach you; so I came myself, after my words were translated many times'. Zhou Gong asked, 'Wherefore am I presented with this?' The interpreter said, 'The venerable elders in the state that sent me here said, "For long there has been no heavy rain and strong wind, and no huge waves on the sea. It has been like this for three years now, signifying that there is a sage in the Middle Kingdom; why not go there to pay your respects?" Hence I came'. Zhou Gong respectfully accepted his good will and the present".

[755] "Emperor Taizong when he refused [the gift of] the fine horses" 太宗之卻走馬: According to the biography of Jia Juanzhi 賈捐之 in *Hanshu*, "To the reign of Emperor Xiaowen 孝文…At that time the emperor was presented a horse that could travel a thousand *li* a day. He issued an edict concerning this: 'With the ceremonial flags with figures of the *luan* 鸞 bird in the van and the accompanying carriages in the rear, I can cover 50 *li* a day when everything goes well, and 30 *li* when travelling with armed personnel. If I ride a horse that travels a thousand *li* a day, where should I go, far ahead, all by myself?' he had the horse returned, with travel expenses for the one who brought the present, saying in the edict, 'I will not accept this present, hoping that people everywhere will no longer think about sending presents like this.' At that time, travel for pleasure was abandoned, the presentation of rare goods was stopped, and there were fewer [entertainers] who sang the songs of Zheng 鄭 and Wei 衛. Other times might be characterized by the many ostentatious women in the inner palaces and the seclusion of the good ones, by the people of dubious character in power and the silence of the officials who otherwise would have stood up—but not in the times of Emperor Wen. This is why he received the posthumous title of Xiaowen and the temple name of Taizong 太宗".

NOTES

109 Wusun has the same origin as the Sai tribe, the Asii. The Asii can be traced to the Rong of Yunxing 允姓之戎, who were descended from Shaohao 少昊. As is recorded in history, the people of Shaohao inhabited Qiongsang 窮桑. "Qiongsang" and "Yuyi" 嵎夷 are variant transcriptions of the same name. As is recorded in the "Yaodian" 堯典 chapter of *Shangshu* 尚書, "He [i.e., Yao] separately commanded Xizhong 羲仲 to reside at Yuyi 嵎夷, in what was called Yanggu 暘谷 [Bright Valley]". As stated in the apocryphal *Kong Commentaries* 僞孔傳, "'Yang' 暘 means 'bright.' The sun rises from the valley, illuminating the land under heaven; thus it is called Bright Valley. The Bright Valley and Yuyi refer to the same place". "Yuyi" 嵎夷 is written as "Yuyi" 堣夷 in *Yupian* 玉篇, ch. 2 (under the "Tu" 土 radical); the commentary states, it "is where the sun rises." We can see that "Yuyi" 嵎夷 is a transliteration, whereas "Yanggu" 暘谷 is a literal translation. "Qiongsang" 窮桑 and "Yuyi" 嵎夷 both refer, etymologically, to where the sun rises. Other references include: The "Shi Caibo" 釋采帛 chapter of *Shiming* 釋名: "*Chi* 赤 means red as fire, the color of the Sun"; the "Tianwen xun" 天文訓 chapter of *Huainanzi* 淮南子: "The Year of Chifenruo 赤奮若" (Gao's 高 annotation: "*Chi* 赤 is the color of the sun"); the "Xianzong Xiaoming huangdi" 顯宗孝明皇帝 of *Dongguan Hanji* 東觀漢記 (ch. 2): "On the day *jiashen* 甲申 in the fifth month of the fourth year of the Jianwu 建武 reign-period, Yang 陽, the crown prince, was born. His head, with a plump chin, was pointed, and his face, red as fire, was like that of Yao 堯. The Emperor named him Yang 陽, because his complexion was red as fire." For details, see Yu Taishan, *Guzu xinkao* 古族新考 (Beijing: Zhonghua, 2000), pp. 53-76.

110 See A. F. P. Hulsewé and M. A. N. Loewe, *China in Central Asia, the Early Stage: 125 B.C..-A.D. 23* (Leiden: 1979), p. 144, note 383.

111 Wang Niansun 王念孫, *Dushu zazhi* 讀書雜志, ch. 4, no. 15.

112 Shiratori Kurakichi 白鳥庫吉, "Uson ni tsuite no kō" 烏孫に就いての考 (On the Wusun), in *Shiratori Kurakichi zensyū*, vol. 6: *Seiikishi kenkyū* (jyō) 白鳥庫吉全集·西域史研究上 (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1970), pp. 1-55.

113 Wang Xianqian 王先謙, *Hanshu buzhu* 漢書補注, quoting Liu Chang 劉敞.

114 Huimo 濊貊, name of a tribe of the Eastern Yi. The population was distributed in present-day Jilin 吉林 and the east of Liaoning 遼寧.

115 Xu Song 徐松, *Hanshu Xiyu zhuan buzhu (xia)* 漢書西域傳補注 (下).

116 See Wang Mingzhe 王明哲, Wang Binghua 王炳華, *Wusun yanjiu* 烏孫研究 (Urumqi: Xinjiang

renmin chubanshe, 1983), p. 83.

117 Xihe 西河 was a prefecture; its seat of government was located in the south-west of present-day Dzungaria 準噶爾 Banner, Inner Mongolia.

118 Yunzhong 雲中 is a prefecture; its seat of government was located in the north-east of present-day Togtohu, Inner Mongolia.

119 Wuyuan 五原 was a prefecture; its seat of government was located in the north-west of Baotou 包頭, Inner Mongolia.

120 The Pulei Marsh 蒲類澤 is present-day Barkol nur 巴里坤淖爾.

121 Dingling 丁令 was a tribe to the north of the Xiongnu.

122 Wuhuan 烏桓 was a tribe to the east of the Xiongnu.

123 "*Juci*" 居次: The Yan Commentary on the "Xiongnu zhuan (xia)" of *Hanshu* quotes Li Qi 李奇: "It is a woman's title, equivalent to the Chinese 'princess'."

124 The Yan Commentary: "The loss of the seal, ribbon, and emblem of authority means failure in one's mission".

125 Xu Song, *Hanshu Xiyu zhuan buzhu (xia)*.

126 Xu Song, *Hanshu Xiyu zhuan buzhu (xia)*.

127 Cf. Zhang Defang 張德芳, "*Changluo hou feiyong bu* ji Changluo houyu Wusun guanxi kaolüe" 長羅侯費用簿及長羅侯與烏孫關係考略, in Hu Pingsheng 胡平生, Zhang Defang, *Dunhuang Xuanquan Hanjian shicui* 敦煌懸泉漢簡釋粹 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2001), pp. 230-256.

128 Xu Song, *Hanshu Xiyu zhuan buzhu (xia)*.

129 Wang Niansun, *Dushu zazhi*, ch. 4, no. 15.

130 Zhang Defang, "*Changluo hou feiyong bu* ji qi Changluo houyu Wusun guanxi kaolüe".

131 K. Enoki, "The Location of the Capital of Lou-lan and the Date of Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions". *Memoirs of the Research Department of the Toyo Bunko* (The Oriental Library) 22 (1963): 125-171, esp. 146.

132 See Huang Wenbi 黄文弼, "Luobunao'er Han jian kaoshi" 羅布淖爾漢簡考釋, *Huang Wenbi lishi kaogu lunji* 黄文弼歷史考古論集 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1989), pp. 375-408, esp. 384-387.

133 Xu Song, *Hanshu Xiyuzhuan buzhu (xia)*.

134 *Shao che* 軺車 is the carriage used by imperial envoys.

135 *Xihou* 歙侯 is the same as *xihou* 翖侯 in this memoir.

136 Wujie 烏揭 should be the Hujie 呼揭 mentioned in *Chanyu* Modu's letter to Han as recorded in

the "Xiongnu zhuan (shang)" of *Hanshu*.

137 Wang Niansun, *Dushu zazhi*, ch. 4, no. 15.

138 Duling 杜陵, the tomb of Emperor Xuan. It is to the south-east of the present-day Xi'an 西安, Shanxi Province.

139 Pei Prefecture 沛郡: Its seat of government is located in the north-west of the present-day Suixi 濉溪, Anhui Province.

140 Yanmen 雁門, a prefecture; its seat of government is located in the south of Youyu 右玉, Shanxi 山西 Province.

141 Wang Xianqian, *Hanshu buzhu*, quoting Zhou Shouchang 周壽昌.

142 Xu Song, *Hanshu Xiyu zhuan buzhu (xia)*.

143 On the institution of the Wuji Colonel there are controversies. Some of the inscribed wooden slips excavated in Xuanquan 懸泉 in the 1990s refer to the office of the Colonel, but they are inconclusive.

144 Yu Taishan, *Liang Han Wei Jin Nanbeichao yu Xiyu guanxi shi yanjiu*, pp. 258-270.

145 Here *xiong* 兄 (elder brother) is an error for *di* 弟 (younger brother).

146 Cf. Cai Hongsheng 蔡鴻生, *Tangdai jiuxing yu Tujue wenhua* 唐代九姓胡與突厥文化 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1998), pp. 82-86.

147 Dianlou 墊婁 should be a place in Wusun; its location is unknown.

148 Xu Song, *Hanshu Xiyu zhuan buzhu (xia)*.

149 Xu Song, *Hanshu Xiyu zhuan buzhu (xia)*.

150 "The land of Qianghuang" 彊煌之地: Its location is not known. The Yan Commentrary quotes Chen Zan 臣瓚, "It is the name of the capital of the state".

151 Cf. Zhang Weihua 張維華, "Xi Han duhu tongkao" 西漢都護通考, in *Hanshi lunji* 漢史論集 (Ji'nan: Qi Lu shushe, 1980), pp. 245-308.

152 Chavannes, ed., "Les pays d'occident d'après le *Wei Lio,*" *T'oung-pao* (1905): 519-571. On various opinions concerning the locations of Gumo, see Zhou Liankuan 周連寬, *Da Tang Xiyu ji shidi yanjiu conggao* 大唐西域記史地研究叢稿 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1984), pp. 74-82.

153 According to the Li Commentary on the "Ban Chao zhuan" 班超傳 of *Hou-Han shu* 後漢書, "The capital of the state of Qiuci was the town of Juyan 居延, 7,480 *li* to Chang'an. The state adjoins Jingjue 精絕 to the south, Qiemo 且末 to the east, Wusun to the north, and Gumo to the west". This lends support to the theory. Besides, there is a place named Juyan in Hexi 河西. It is likely that the name derives from Gasiani; Hexi is their former land, which was in turn inhabited by the

Yuezhi, who shared the same origin. All this is not abnormal.

154 Huang Wenbi 黄文弼, *Talimu pendi kaogu ji* 塔里木盆地考古記 (Beijing: Kexue chubanshe, 1958), p. 19.

155 Xu Song, *Hanshu Xiyu zhuan buzhu (xia)*.

156 Xu Song, *Hanshu Xiyu zhuan buzhu (xia)*.

157 Xu Song, *Hanshu Xiyuzhuan Buzhu (xia)*.

158 For the ancient irrigation works in the Tarim Basin and its surrounding areas, cf. Lu Xun 盧勳, Li Genfan 李根蟠, *Minzu yu wuzhi wenhua shi kaolüe* (Beijing: Minzu chubanshe, 1991), pp. 143-147.

159 See Xu Song, *Hanshu Xiyu zhuan buzhu (xia)* and Wang Xianqian, *Hanshu buzhu,* quoting Wu Renjie 吳人傑.

160 Chen Mengjia, "Han Wu biansai kaolüe", pp. 205-219.

161 Tian Yuqing 田餘慶, "Lun Luntai zhao" 論輪臺詔, *Lishi yanjiu* 歷史研究 1984.2: 3-20.

162 Xu Song, *Hanshu Xiyu zhuan buzhu (xia)*.

163 Wang Niansun, *Dushu zazhi*, ch. 4, no. 15.

164 Xu Song, *Hanshu Xiyu zhuan buzhu (xia)*.

165 Xu Song, *Hanshu Xiyu zhuan buzhu (xia)*.

166 Xu Song, *Hanshu Xiyuzhuan buzhu (xia)*.

167 Cf. Hulsewé and Loewe, *China in Central Asia, the Early Stage,* p. 172，note 564.

168 Wang Xianqian, *Hanshu buzhu*, quoting Shen Qinhan 沈欽韓.

169 Xu Song, *Hanshu Xiyu zhuan buzhu (xia)*.

170 Xu Song, *Hanshu Xiyu zhuan buzhu (xia)*.

171 Xu Song, *Hanshu Xiyu zhuan buzhu (xia)*.

172 Xu Song, *Hanshu Xiyu zhuan buzhu (xia)*.

173 Chen Ge 陳戈, "Yanqi, Weili, Weixu ducheng kao" 焉耆尉犁危須都城考, *Xibei shidi* 西北史地 1985.2: 22-31.

174 Quoted in Chen Ge, "Yanqi, Weili, Xuwei ducheng kao".

175 Xu Song, *Hanshu Xiyu zhuan buzhu (xia)*.

176 Matsuda Hisao 松田壽男, *Kodai Tenzan no rekishi-chirigakuteki kenkyū* 古代天山の歴史地理學的研究 (Tokyo: Waseda daigaku shuppansha, 1970), pp. 45-49.

177 Matsuda Hisao, *Kodai Tenzan no rekishi-chirigakuteki kenkyū,* pp. 116-117.

178 Matsuda Hisao, *Kodai Tenzan no rekishi-chirigakuteki kenkyū,* p. 116.

179 "Waded across the Junqi [River], crossed the Juyan [Marsh]" 涉鈞耆，濟居延: The Yan Commentary

quotes Zhang Yan 張晏, "Junqi and Juyan are both rivers". From the text of this decree, "crossed the Junyan", we can infer that "過居延" in the "Xiongnu liezhuan" quoted above means "to cross the Juyan River". It is generally believed that the Juyan River refers to the present-day Ejin River. "Paraded military prowess at Luode" 揚武乎鰈得: According to the Yan Commentary, "This Luode is a place in the territory of the Xiongnu, and a county in the prefecture of Zhangye 張掖 was named after it later". It is likely that there was a county with the name of Luode in the Western Han.

180 Cf. A. F. P. Hulsewé and M. A. N. Loewe, *China in Central Asia, the Early Stage,* p. 181， note 607.

181 Matsuda Hisao, *Kodai Tenzan no rekishi-chirigakuteki kenkyū,* p. 117.

182 Cf. Yu Taishan, *Saizhong shi yanjiu*, pp. 218-219, 280-282.

183 Matsuda Hisao, *Kodai Tenzan no rekishi-chirigakuteki kenkyū,* p. 114.

184 Matsuda Hisao, *Kodai Tenzan no rekishi-chirigakuteki kenkyū,* pp. 77-84.

185 Wang Niansun, *Dushu zazhi*, ch. 4, no. 15.

186 See Cen Zhongmian 岑仲勉, *Hanshu "Xiyu zhuan" dili jiaoshi* 漢書西域傳地里校釋 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1981), pp. 491-493.

187 Yu Taishan, *Saizhong shi yanjiu,* pp. 215-217.

188 The Marquis of Kailing 闓陵 should be the same as the Marquis of Kailing 開陵 in this memoir.

189 Xu Song, *Hanshu Xiyu zhuan buzhu (xia).*

190 Xue Zongzheng 薛宗正, "Wutugu, Jinpu, Shule kao" 務塗谷金蒲疏勒考, *Xinjiang wenwu* 新疆文物 1988.2: 75-84.

191 Cf. Shimazaki Akira 嶋崎昌 , *Zui Tō jidai no Higashi-Torukisutan kenkyū—Kōsyōkokushi kenkyū wo chūshin toshite* 隋唐時代の東トゥルキスタン研究——高昌國史研究を中心として (Tokyo: Tōkyō daigaku shappankai, 1977), pp. 15-17.

192 Shimazaki Akira, *Zui Tō jidai no Higashi-Torukisutan kenkyū.*

193 Xu Song, *Hanshu Xiyu zhuan buzhu (xia).*

194 Cf. Liu Guanghua, *Handai Xibei tuntian yanjiu,* pp. 78-80.

195 Xu Song, *Hanshu Xiyu zhuan buzhu (xia).*

196 Zhang Weihua 張維華, "Xi Han duhu tongkao" 西漢都護通考, in *Hanshi lunji* 漢史論集 (Ji' nan: Qi Lu shushe, 1980), pp. 245-308.

197 Xu Song, *Hanshu Xiyu zhuan buzhu (xia).*

198 Wu Rengxiang 吳礽驤, et al., *Dunhuang Hanjian shiwen* 敦煌漢簡釋文 (Lanzhou: Gansu renmin chubanshe, 1991), pp. 339-345.

199 The Yan Commentary: "Since the state is subject to Han, it may not be subject to the Xiongnu concurrently".

200 The dating is from "Hanji" of *Zizhi tongjian* 資治通鑒 (ch. 35).

201 Xu Song, *Hanshu Xiyu zhuan buzhu (xia)*.

202 Xu Song, *Hanshu Xiyu zhuan buzhu (xia)*.

203 "Wuhuan du jiangjun" 烏桓都將軍 is likely to be the "Wuben Commandants" 烏賁都尉. "Wuhuan" here is an error.

204 Wu Rengxiang, *et al.*, *Dunhuang Hanjian shiwen*, pp. 339-345.

205 As is stated in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hou-Han shu*, "During the reigns of Emperors Ai 哀 and Ping 平, the states [in the Western Regions] carved themselves up into fifty-five states".

206 Zhang Weihua 張維華, "Xi Han duhu tongkao" 西漢都護通考, in *Hanshi lunji* 漢史論集 (Ji'nan: Qi Lu shushe, 1980), pp. 245-308.

207 Wang Niansun, *Dushu zazhi*, ch. 4, no. 15.

208 *Nanfang caomu zhuang (shang)* 南方草木狀上 by Ji Han 稽含: "*Jujiang* 蒟醬 is *biba* 蓽茇. Those that grow in the outer states are big and purple in color, and are called *biba*. Those that grow in Fanyu 番禺 are small and green in color, and are called *ju* 蒟. They are edible, so they are referred to as *jiang* 醬 ("paste-like thick sauce"). Many households in Jiaozhi 交趾 and Jiuzhen 九真 plant them. They are trailing plants".

209 Yuechang 越裳 was the name of a state in the South Seas 南海.

四 《後漢書·西域傳》要注

A CONCISE COMMENTARY ON CHAPTER 88 OF *HOU-HAN SHU*, "THE MEMOIR ON THE WESTERN REGIONS"*

武帝時，西域內屬，有三十六國。[1] 漢爲置使者校尉 [2] 領護之。宣帝改曰都護。[3] 元帝又置戊、己二校尉，[4] 屯田於車師前王庭。[5] 哀平閒，自相分割爲五十五國。[6] 王莽篡位，貶易侯王，[7] 由是西域怨叛，與中國遂絕，並復役屬匈奴。[8] 匈奴斂稅重刻，諸國不堪命，建武中，皆遣使求內屬，願請都護。光武以天下初定，未遑外事，竟不許之。[9]

In the reign of Emperor Wu 武, the Western Regions, in which there had been thirty-six states, became subject to [the Han Empire].[1] Han established a Colonel [for the Assistance of Imperial] Envoys[2] to command and protect them. Emperor Xuan 宣 changed the office into that of the Protector-General.[3] Emperor Yuan 元 also established both the Wu 戊 and Ji 己 Colonels[4] to set up agricultural colonies at the royal court of Nearer Jushi 車師.[5] During the reigns of Emperors Ai 哀 and Ping 平, the states [in the Western Regions] carved themselves up into fifty-five states.[6] After usurping the throne, Wang Mang 王莽 degraded their kings to be marquises.[7] Thereupon the Western Regions complained and revolted, the friendly relations with the Middle Kingdom were interrupted, and all were again subject to the Xiongnu.[8] The Xiongnu extorted heavy taxes [from the Western Regions] and the states could not endure their rule. During the Jianwu 建武 reign-period all sent their envoys to request that they become Han's subjects and Han appoint a Protector-General. Emperor Guangwu 光武 actually refused them because the country was just beginning to regain its stability and had no time for external affairs.[9]

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* The memoir is translated by Yu Taishan and edited ty Victor H. Mair.

[1] "The Western Regions, in which there had been thirty-six states, became subject to [the Han Empire]": It was after the campaign against Dayuan by Li Guangli that the states in the Western Regions became subject to Han. As is recorded in the "Xiyu zhuan (shang)" of *Hanshu*, "After the Ershi General's attack on Dayuan, the Western Regions were shocked and frightened. Most of the states sent envoys to Han to present tributary gifts". The "thirty-six states" is a general term, which does not mean that there are exactly thirty-six states on the oases in the Western Regions.

[2] The "Colonel [for the Assistance of Imperial] Envoys" 使者校尉 first appears in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu*: After Li Guangli's campaign against Dayuan, "Government posts were thereupon established at frequent intervals in a series running westwards from Dunhuang to the Salt Marsh, and a complement of several hundred agricultural conscripts was stationed at both Luntai and Quli 渠犁. A Colonel [for the Assistance of Imperial] Envoys (*Shizhe xiaowei* 使者校尉) was established to protect them and to provide supplies for the Han envoys who were proceeding to the outer states". The colonel established at that time was the precursor of the Protector-General of the Western Regions established by Emperor Xuan.

[3] The "Protector-General" 都護: The full title was "Colonel [for the Assistance of Imperial] Envoys for Protecting the Western Regions" 使西域都護使者校尉. The office was created by Emperor Xuan in the second year of the Shenjue 神爵 reign-period (60 BCE); the holder of this office is the Western Han's supreme executive in the Western Regions.[1]

[4] "Emperor Yuan 元 also established both the Wu and Ji Colonels" 元帝又置戊、己二校尉: This occurred in the first year of the Chuyuan 初元 reign-period (48 BCE). It seems that there were three colonels established by Emperor Yuan: The Wuji Colonel, the Wu Colonel, and the Ji Colonel, with the latter two reporting to the Wuji Colonel.[2]

[5] The "royal court of Nearer Jushi" 車師前王庭 refers to the seat of the king's government of Nearer Jushi, Jiaohe 交河; its site is located in the Yār-Khoto of present-day Turfan County. Nearer Jushi was a state located in an oasis on the Northern Route in the Western Regions.

[6] "During the reigns of Emperors Ai 哀 and Ping 平, the states [in the Western Regions] carved themselves up into fifty-five states": This is based on the record in the "Xiyu zhuan (shang)" of *Hanshu*: "but afterwards these [thirty-six states] were gradually divided into more than fifty". The division that occurred in the various states of the Western Regions did not begin during the reigns of Emperors Ai and Ping; for example, the division of Gushi into Nearer Jushi and Further Jushi and the "six states north of the Mountains" could have occurred as early as the reign of Emperor Xuan. In some circumstances, the states on the oases did not "carve themselves up"; rather, the division was

effected by Han on purpose. "Fifty-five states" refers to the states recorded in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu*.[3]

[7] According to the "Wang Mang zhuan (zhong)" of *Hanshu*, "[Wang] Mang's charter-mandate to them read, 'In the whole world, go to its four extremities and do not leave any place unvisited'.... Those who went out to the west reached the Western Regions and changed all the kings there to be marquises, and [the states in] the Western Regions moreover later finally all revolted because of this [change of titles]". (Homer H. Dubs, trans., *The History of the Former Han Dynasty*, 3: 295-296; with modifications.)

[8] According to the "Wang Mang zhuan" in *Hanshu*, in the fifth year of the Shijianguo 始建國 reign-period (13 CE), "The various states of the Western Regions considered that [Wang] Mang had repeatedly broken [the ties of] grace and faithfulness [binding them to Han]. [The state of] Yanqi 焉耆 revolted first, murdering the Protector-General, Dan Qin 但欽". (Homer H. Dubs, trans., *The History of the Former Han Dynasty*, 3:333; with modifications.) In the third year of the Tianfeng reign-period (16 CE), Wang Mang "sent as the Chief Envoy, the General of the Five Majestic Principles 五威將, Wang Jun 王駿, with the Protector-General of the Western Regions, Li Chong, leading the Wuji Colonel, [Guo Qin], to go out to the Western Regions. All the various states welcomed [the envoys] at their suburbs and offered tribute. The state of Yanqi had previously murdered the Protector-General Dan Qin, so [Wang] Jun wanted to make a surprise attack upon it. He ordered his Associate Lieutenant, He Feng 何封, and the Wuji Colonel, Guo Qin, to separate their commands [from his]. Yanqi made a pretense of surrendering, and ambushed troops, who attacked [Wang] Jun and the others, so that all [his company] died. [Guo] Qin and [He] Feng reached [Yanqi shortly] after [Wang Jun had been killed, before the troops had returned], and made a surprise attack upon its aged and weak [people, massacring them]. They returned by way of Jushi and entered the [Han] barrier. [Wang] Mang installed [Guo] Qin as the General Maintaining Order in Foreign Parts, and conferred upon him the title of the Baron Extirpator of the Hu 剿胡子. He Feng was made the Baron Quieting the Hu 集胡男. From this time on, the Western Regions were cut off [from Han]". (Dubs, trans., *The History of the Former Han Dynasty*, 3:365-366; with modifications.)

[9] As is recorded in the "Guangwudi ji" 光武帝紀 of *Hou-Han shu* 後漢書, in the winter of the twenty-first year of the Jianwu reign-period (45 CE), "the [kings of] sixteen states, consisting of the king of Shanshan 鄯善, the king of Jushi 車師, and others, all sent their sons to attend at the court and presented tribute, and petitioned for [the appointment of] a Protector-General. The Emperor considered that the Middle Kingdom, having only recently recovered from chaos, was not in a

position to be involved in external affairs. Therefore, he had their sons sent back after rewarding them handsomely”.

會匈奴衰弱 [10]，莎車 [11] 王賢誅滅諸國，賢死之後，遂更相攻伐。小宛 [12]、精絕 [13]、戎盧 [14]、且末 [15] 爲鄯善 [16] 所幷。渠勒 [17]、皮山 [18] 爲于窴 [19] 所統，悉有其地。郁立 [20]、單桓 [21]、孤胡 [22]、烏貪訾離 [23] 爲車師 [24] 所滅。後其國並復立。[25]

At that juncture the Xiongnu were weak[10], and Xian 賢, the king of Suoju 莎車 [11], destroyed the various states. After Xian died, they thereupon attacked each other. Xiao Yuan 小宛[12], Jingjue 精絕 [13], Ronglu 戎盧[14], and Qiemo 且末 [15] were annexed by Shanshan 鄯善 [16]. Qule 渠勒 [17] and Pishan 皮山 [18] were controlled by Yutian 于窴[19], and their lands were completely occupied by the latter. Yuli 郁立 [20], Danhuan 單桓[21], Guhu 孤胡[22], and Wutanzili 烏貪訾離 [23] were destroyed by Jushi 車師[24]. Afterwards these states all were established anew. [25]

[10] “The Xiongnu were weak”: This refers to the event that occurred in the twenty-fourth year of the Jianwu reign-period of Emperor Guangwu (48 CE), when the Xiongnu were divided into the Southern and Northern tribes, with the Southern tribe attached to Han. As is recorded in the “Nan Xiongnu zhuan” of *Hou-Han shu*, “In the twenty-eighth year (52 CE) [of the Jianwu reign-period], the Northern Xiongnu sent envoys to the court, with a tributary gift of fur coats and horses, and asked to form a matrimonial alliance. They also intended to acquire musical instruments, and required permission to bring the various Hu who are temporarily staying with them to the court to pay tribute”. This shows how weak the Xiongnu had become.

[11] Suoju 莎車 was an oasis state on the Southern Route of the Western Regions, first seen in the “Xiyu zhuan” of *Hanshu*.

[12] Xiao Yuan 小宛 was an oasis state on the Southern Route of the Western Regions, first seen in the “Xiyu zhuan” of *Hanshu.*

[13] Jingjue 精絕 was an oasis state on the Southern Route of the Western Regions, first seen in the “Xiyu zhuan” of *Hanshu.*

[14] Ronglu 戎盧 was an oasis state on the Southern Route of the Western Regions, first seen in the “Xiyu zhuan” of *Hanshu.*

[15] Qiemo 且末 was an oasis state on the Southern Route of the Western Regions, first seen in the "Xiyu zhuan" of the *Hanshu.*

[16] Shanshan 鄯善 was an oasis state on the Southern Route of the Western Regions, first seen in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu.*

[17] Qule 渠勒 was an oasis state on the Southern Route of the Western Regions, first seen in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu.*

[18] Pishan 皮山 was an oasis state on the Southern Route of the Western Regions, first seen in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu.*

[19] Yutian 于寘 was an oasis state on the Southern Route of the Western Regions, first seen in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu.* "Yutian" 于寘 here should be the same as the "Yutian" 于闐 in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu*.

[20] Yuli 郁立 was an oasis state on the Northern Route of the Western Regions, first seen in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu.* "Yuli" 郁立 seems to be the abbreviation of "Yulishi" 郁立師 in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu*.

[21] Danhuan 單桓 was an oasis state on the Northern Route of the Western Regions, first seen in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu.*

[22] Guhu 孤胡 was an oasis state on the Northern Route of the Western Regions, first seen in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu.* "Guhu" 孤胡 should be a variation of the "Huhu" 狐胡 in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu*.

[23] Wutanzili 烏貪訾離 was an oasis state on the Northern Route of the Western Regions, first seen in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu.*

[24] Jushi 車師 here refers to the Further Jushi 車師後國, an oasis state on the Northern Route of the Western Regions, first seen in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu.*

[25] The alternative or concurrent hegemony of Suoju and the large states on the oases such as Shanshan, Yutian, and Jushi was a result of the geopolitics of the Western Regions. From the end of the Western Han, this phenomenon occurred again and again. This is because the role of the Eastern Han in the management of the Western Regions was not nearly as active as that of the Western Han, and the relationship between the Eastern Han and the Western Regions was sporadic; the contacts "were cut off three times and opened up three times", as the events were summarized in historical works. Whenever the ties between the Eastern Han and the Western Regions were severed, the hegemony by the large states would be resumed; but whenever the ties were strengthened, this phenomenon would disappear; hence the statement in this text: "these states all were established anew".[4]

永平中，北虜乃脅諸國共寇河西郡縣，城門晝閉。[26] 十六年，明帝乃命將帥，北征匈奴，取伊吾盧地[27]，置宜禾都尉[28] 以屯田，遂通西域。[29] 于寘諸國皆遣子入侍。[30] 西域自絕六十五載，乃復通焉。[31] 明年，始置都護、戊己校尉。[32] 及明帝崩，焉耆[33]、龜茲[34] 攻沒都護陳睦，悉覆其衆，[35] 匈奴、車師圍戊己校尉。[36]

During the Yongping 永平 reign-period of Emperor Ming 明, the northern savages [i.e., the Xiongnu] coerced the various states into invading the prefectures and counties in the Hexi 河西 Region together, and the gates of the towns were closed during the daytime.[26] In the 16th year (73 CE), Emperor Ming commanded the generals and the supreme commanders to go north on an expedition against the Xiongnu, occupy the land of Yiwulu 伊吾盧[27], and establish the post of Commandant of Yihe 宜禾[28] to set up agricultural colonies. The Western Regions were thus opened up,[29] and states such as Yutian 于寘 all sent their princes to attend [at the Han court].[30] The Western Regions had been opened up again 65 years after being cut off.[31] In the next year, the Protector-General and Wuji 戊己 Colonel were first established.[32] When Emperor Ming died (75 CE), Yanqi 焉耆[33] and Qiuci 龜茲[34] attacked and killed the Protector-General, Chen Mu 陳睦, and all his troops.[35] The Xiongnu and Jushi besieged the Wuji Colonel.[36]

[26] As is recorded in the "Mingdi ji" 明帝紀 of *Hou-Han shu*, in the eighth year of the Yongping 永平 reign-period (65 CE), "The Northern Xiongnu raided the prefectures west of the [Yellow] River".[5]

[27] As is recorded in the biography of Ban Chao 班超 in *Hou-Han shu*, "in the sixteenth year (73 CE), the Commandant-in-Chief of Chariots, Dou Gu 竇固, launched an attack on the Xiongnu. [Dou Gu] made [Ban] Chao 班超 the Acting Major and ordered him to lead the forces to attack Yiwu 伊吾 separately. Having cut off many heads and taken many prisoners, [Ban] Chao battled on to the Pulei 蒲類 Sea and made his way back. [Dou] Gu thought [Ban Chao] extremely capable, and sent him on a mission to the Western Regions along with the Attendant Official, Guo Xun 郭恂". Yiwu is the same as Yiwulu 伊吾盧, located in the vicinity of present-day Hami 哈密. From this, it can be seen that the attack on and the occupation of Yiwu should be attributed to Ban Chao. Dou Gu ordered Ban Chao to attack Yiwu mainly because the area had already been a hub of east-west communications at that time. That is to say, one could go northwest from the Yumen 玉門 Barrier, reach Yiwu, and then head west. The name of "Yiwulu" 伊吾盧 [iei-nga-la] probably originates from the Sai tribe, the Asii (Asiani). On the Sai, cf. the Commentary on the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu*.

[28] The change of the Commandant of Yihe 宜禾 was analogous to that of the Colonel [for the Assistance of Imperial] Envoys at Luntai 輪臺 or Quli 渠黎, which was established in the Taichu 太初 reign-period of Emperor Wu 武 (104-101 BCE); to that of the Commandant of Yixun 伊循 at Shanshan 鄯善, which was established in the Yuanfeng 元鳳 reign-period of Emperor Zhao 昭 (80-75 BCE); and to that of the Colonel of the Agricultural Colonies at Quli 渠黎 or Jushi 車師, which was established in the Dijie 地節 reign-period of Emperor Xuan 宣 (69-66 BCE). All were established in order to protect agricultural conscripts and to accumulate a store of field-crops, and to provide supplies for the Han envoys who were proceeding to the outer states. The seat of the Commandant of Yihe was located at the Kunlun Barrier 昆侖障 in Guangzhi 廣志 County, Dunhuang Prefecture.[6]

[29] As is recorded in the "Mingdi ji" of *Hou-Han shu*, "In the second month in the spring of the sixteenth year [of the Yongping reign-period (73 CE)], [the emperor] ordered the Superintendent of Transport, Ji Rong 祭肜, to set out from Gaoque 高闕; the Commandant-in-Chief of Chariots, Dou Gu 竇固, to set out from Jiuquan 酒泉; the Commandant-escort, Geng Bing 耿秉, to set out from Juyan 居延;[7] and the Commandant of Cavalry, Lai Miao 來苗, to set out from Pingcheng 平城:[8] to launch an expedition against the Northern Xiongnu. Dou Gu defeated the Huyan 呼衍 King at the Tianshan Mountains, and left behind soldiers to set up an agricultural colony at the town of Yiwulu. Geng Bing, Lai Miao, and Ji Rong returned without any accomplishment".[9] The Eastern Han's management of the Western Regions started with this event, necessitated by the need to fight against the Xiongnu. The establishment of agricultural colonies at Yiwu is only a byproduct. The battle of the Tianshan Mountains fought by Dou Gu and Geng Zhong 耿忠 and the battle of the Qilian 祁連 Mountains fought by Huo Qubing 霍去病 in the second year of the Yuanshou 元狩 reign-period of Emperor Wu (121 BCE) in the Western Han were alike in effect, and the Qilian Mountains, the target of the campaign by Huo Qubing, should be none other than the Tianshan Mountains, the target of the campaign by Dou Gu and Geng Zhong.

[30] According to the biography of Ban Chao in *Hou-Han shu*, in the sixteenth year of the Yongping reign-period of Emperor Ming (73 CE), Dou Xian 竇憲 sent Ban Chao on a mission to the Western Regions. When he reached Yutian 于闐, its king, "Guangde 廣德, had only recently attacked and destroyed Suoju 莎車, and thus held sway over the Southern Route. The Xiongnu sent envoys to watch over the state". While Ban Chao was there, "Guangde received him in an uncivil and rude manner. It was their custom to believe in shamanism. The shaman said, 'The god was angry and asked why you wanted to lean toward Han. The Han envoy has a light-black horse. Ask for it and make it a sacrifice to me quickly!' Guangde then sent an envoy to [Ban] Chao, asking for the horse.

[Ban] Chao had known all this in secret and replied that he consented, ordering the shaman to come for the horse in person. When the shaman arrived after some moments, [Ban] Chao immediately beheaded him and sent the head to Guangde, calling him to account for this. Guangde had heard how [Ban] Chao had killed the savages' envoy in Shanshan and was mortally afraid. He then assaulted and killed the envoys from the Xiongnu and surrendered to [Ban] Chao. [Ban] Chao gave the king and those of ranks a high reward, and thus awed and comforted the state". It was at this time that the king of Yutian sent his son to attend at the Han court.

[31] As is recorded in the "Mingdi ji" of *Hou-Han shu*, in the seventeenth year of the Yongping reign-period (74 CE), "various states in the Western Regions sent their princes to attend at the court". Yutian should be included among the "various states".

[32] According to the "Mingdi ji" of *Hou-Han shu*, "In the eleventh month in the winter [of the seventeenth year of the Yongping reign-period (74 CE)], [the Emperor] ordered the Commandant-in-Chief of Chariots, Dou Gu, the Commandant-escort, Geng Bing, and the Commandant of Cavalry, Liu Zhang 劉張 to set out from the Kunlun Barrier in Dunhuang 敦煌. They attacked and defeated the savages of the White Mountain on the Pulei 蒲類 Sea, and then entered Jushi 車師. For the first time, the Protector-General of the Western Regions and the Wuji 戊己 Colonel were established". The "White Mountain" here refers to the eastern end of the Tianshan Mountains. After the Han forces set up an agricultural colony at Yiwu, the next goal was, of course, Jushi. Han "attacked and defeated the savages of the White Mountain on the Pulei Sea", which not only eliminated the threat of the Xiongnu to Yiwu from the north, but also opened up the route to Jushi.

The two Wuji 戊己 Colonels appointed at this time were in fact the Wu 戊 Colonel and the Ji 己 Colonel. For the statement that "[Geng] Gong 耿恭 was appointed the Wuji Colonel" in the biography of Geng Gong in *Hou-Han shu*, a copy of the *Hou-Han shu* that Liu Ban 劉攽 had seen in the Northern Song times read, "[Geng] Gong was appointed the Wu Colonel"; for the statement that "Guan Chong 關寵 was appointed the Wuji 戊己 Colonel", another copy read, "Guan Chong was appointed the Ji 己 Colonel". In the context of the official positions before the appointment of Geng Gong and Guan Chong as colonels, we know that only the Wu and Ji colonels were established at the time. The institution whereby the three colonels were in charge of the agricultural colonies since Emperor Wu of the Western Han Dynasty had changed by that time.

The biography of Ban Yong 班勇 records his words: "Formerly, at the end of the Yongping reign-period, the communications with the Western Regions were opened up. At first the Zhonglangjiang 中郎將 [Leader of the Gentlemen of the Palace] was stationed at Dunhuang; later a Deputy Colonel

was established at Jushi, to control the Hu barbarians and, at the same time, to keep Han people from harassing them. Therefore, the heart of the barbarians in the outer states was won, and the Xiongnu were awe-stricken". The so-called "Deputy Colonel" should be the deputy to the Protector-General.

[33] Yanqi 焉耆 was an oasis state on the Northern Route in the Western Regions, first seen in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu*.

[34] Qiuci 龜茲 was an oasis state on the Northern Route in the Western Regions, first seen in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu*.

[35] As is recorded in the "Mingdi ji" of *Hou-Han shu*, in the sixth month of the eighteenth year of the Yongping reign-period (75 CE), "Yanqi and Qiuci attacked the Protector-General of the Western Regions, Chen Mu, killing him and all his troops. The Northern Xiongnu and the king of Further Jushi besieged the Wuji Colonel, Geng Gong 耿恭. On the day *renzi* 壬子 of the eighth month in the autumn, the emperor died in the front hall of the Eastern Palace". But according to the biography of Ban Chao in *Hou-Han shu*, "Yanqi attacked and killed the Protector-General, Chen Mu, because there was a state funeral going on in the Middle Kingdom", implying that Yanqi revolted after the death of the emperor. According to the "Mingdi ji" of *Hou-Han shu*, Emperor Ming died in the eighth month. Thus, the records in this memoir and the biography of Ban Chao are inaccurate. The term of Chen Mu as the Protector-General was from the seventeenth year to the eighteenth year of the Yongping reign-period.

[36] As is recorded in the biography of Geng Gong in *Hou-Han shu*, "At that time, Yanqi and Qiuci attacked and killed the Protector-General, Chen Mu. The northern savages [i.e., the Northern Xiongnu] also besieged Guan Chong 關寵 at Liuzhong 柳中. It so happened that Emperor Xianzong 顯宗 [i.e., Emperor Ming] died then, and no reinforcements arrived. Jushi rebelled again and, along with the Xiongnu, attacked [Geng] Gong. [Geng] Gong encouraged his troops, who drove them away. The wife of the king of Further Jushi descended from Han ancestry; she often informed [Geng] Gong of the situation concerning these savages in secret, and supplied him with grains and provisions. After several months, the food supply was exhausted and the troops found themselves in dire conditions. They therefore boiled their armor and bows so as to eat the hide and tendons thereon. [Geng] Gong treated the troops with sincerity, and they were of one mind, determined to share the same fate. One by one they fell, with several tens left. The *Chanyu*, knowing that [Geng] Gong was in dire circumstances, was determined to force him to surrender. He again sent an envoy to persuade [Geng] Gong: 'If you surrender, you will be made the Baiwu 白屋 King, and will be given a consort'. [Geng] Gong lured the envoy to climb up the wall, then stabbed and killed him, and had him broiled on the wall. The officers and subordinates of the enemies saw this from afar, wailed, and left. The

Chanyu was furious, and sent yet more troops to the siege, but they were unable to storm the town. Previously, Guan Chong sent a letter asking for reinforcements. At that time, Emperor Suzong 肅宗 had just ascended the throne…. He thereupon sent the General Conquering the West, Geng Bing 耿秉, to be stationed at Jiuquan 酒泉 and to perform the duties of the Administrator.[10] The Emperor also sent Qin Peng 秦彭, with the Internuncios Wang Meng 王蒙 and Huangfu Yuan 皇甫援, to mobilize more than 7,000 troops from three prefectures of Zhangye 張掖, Jiuquan and Dunhuang and the state of Shanshan 鄯善. In the first month of the first year of the Jianchu 建初 reign-period (76 CE), they rendezvoused at Liuzhong, dealt a blow to Jushi, and attacked the town of Jiaohe, cutting off 3,800 heads and capturing over 3,000 persons alive, in addition to 37,000 camels, asses, horses, cattle, and sheep. Frightened, the northern savages fled, and the state of Jushi again surrendered [to Han].[11] At that time Guan Chong had died. When [Wang] Meng and others heard this, they wanted to lead the troops back. Earlier [Geng] Gong had sent an officer, Fan Qiang 范羌, to Dunhuang for the troops' winter uniforms, so he went beyond the defenses along with Wang Meng's troops. [Fan] Qiang insisted on marching forward to meet with [Geng] Gong, while the various officers hesitated, not daring to advance. They gave [Fan] Qiang 2,000 of their troops, who went along the north of the mountains to rendezvous with [Geng] Gong. They were overtaken by heavy snow, which accumulated as deep as over a *zhang* 丈 . All they could manage to do was to reach [Geng Gong's position]. When [Geng Gong's soldiers] on the wall heard the sound of the horses at night, they thought that the savages had come and were greatly alarmed. [Fan] Qiang called from afar: 'I am Fan Qiang. Han has sent reinforcements to the Colonel'. Those on the wall all shouted, '*Wansui* (Long Life)!' and opened the gate. They embraced and supported each other amidst tears. The next day, [Geng Gong and his troops] embarked on their return journey together [with the reinforcements]. The savages pursued them, and they made their retreat while keeping their enemies at bay. The officers and soldiers were starving and were exhausted. When they left Shule, there were twenty-six of them. With some having perished on the road, when they reached the Yumen Barrier in the third month, only thirteen of them survived—all in tatters, with haggard and emaciated looks". As is recorded in the biography of Zheng Zhong 鄭衆 in *Hou-Han shu*, Emperor Ming "summoned [Zheng] Zhong and appointed him the Army Major and had him attack Jushi, along with the General of the Imperial Guards, Ma Liao 馬廖. When he arrived at Dunhuang, Zheng Zhong was made the Leader of the Gentlemen of the Palace and was to protect the Western Regions. At that time the Xiongnu intimidated Jushi and besieged the Wuji Colonel, and [Zheng] Zhong despatched troops to his rescue", indicating that Han did send out a force to rescue them when Geng Gong and others were besieged. It is very possible that [Zheng] Zhong's troops

withdrew midway when he heard of Emperor Ming's death; thus the biography of Geng Gong states, "no reinforcements arrived". According to the biography of Ma Liao in *Hou-Han shu*, he "received a testamentary edict to be in charge of the palace gates" after the death of Emperor Ming. Therefore, the possibility cannot be ruled out that Ma Liao hurriedly returned to the capital after the death of the Emperor. According to the "Mingdi ji" in *Hou-Han shu*, "The Northern Xiongnu and the king of state of Further Jushi besieged the Wuji Colonel, Geng Gong" in the sixth month of the eighteenth year; Emperor Ming died in the eighth month of the same year.

建初元年春，酒泉太守段彭大破車師於交河城。[37] 章帝不欲疲敝中國以事夷狄，乃迎還戊己校尉，不復遣都護。[38] 二年，復罷屯田伊吾，匈奴因遣兵守伊吾地。[39] 時軍司馬班超 [40] 留于窴，綏集諸國。[41]

In the first year of the Jianchu 建初 reign-period (76 CE), in the spring, the Administrator of Jiuquan 酒泉 Prefecture, Duan Peng 段彭, dealt Jushi a heavy blow at the town of Jiaohe 交河.[37] Emperor Zhang 章 did not wish to exhaust the Middle Kingdom to undertake the task of subduing barbarians, so he welcomed back the Wuji Colonel and no longer sent the Protector-General.[38] In the second year, Han gave up the agricultural colony at Yiwu, and the Xiongnu consequently sent the troops to guard the lands of Yiwu.[39] At that time the Army Major Ban Chao 班超 [40] stayed at Yutian 于窴 to pacify and unite the various states.[41]

[37] As is recorded in the "Zhangdi ji" 章帝紀 of *Hou-Han shu*, in the eleventh month of the eighteenth year of the Yongping reign-period (75 CE), "an imperial edict was issued, ordering the General Conquering the West, Geng Bing, to station himself at Jiuquan, and the Administrator of Jiuquan Prefecture, Duan Peng 段彭, to bring reinforcements to the Wuji 戊己 Colonel, Geng Gong". It is also recorded that in the spring, the first month of the first year of the Jianchu 建初 reign-period (76 CE), "the Administrator of Jiuquan Prefecture, Duan Peng, launched an expedition against Jushi and prevailed over it. The post of Wuji 戊己 Colonel was abolished". This shows that the man who destroyed Jushi in the first year of the Jianchu reign-period (76 CE) was the Administrator of Jiuquan Prefecture, Duan Peng. Since the biography of Geng Gong in *Hou-Han shu* states that Emperor Zhang 章 accepted the suggestion of the Minister over the Masses 司徒 [i.e., Chancellor], Bao Yu 鮑昱, to send Geng Bing to Jiuquan to perform the duties of the Administrator, and to order the Administrators

of Dunhuang and Jiuquan prefectures to set out to attack Jushi, "Qin Peng" 秦彭 in the biography of Geng Gong must have been an error for "Duan Peng" 段彭. The biography of Qin Peng in *Hou-Han shu* states that "[Qin Peng] was promoted to be the Administrator of Shanyang 山陽 Prefecture in the first year of the Jianchu reign-period (76 CE)", but does not record his attack upon Jushi. Of course, the possibility cannot be ruled out that Qin Peng was promoted to the position of the Administrator of Shanyang Prefecture after he had been appointed the Administrator of Jiuquan Prefecture and destroyed Jushi. In other words, there is no harm in considering that there was no Duan Peng, and the "Duan Peng" in the "Zhangdi ji" of *Hou-Han shu* and this memoir is in fact an error for "Qin Peng".

[38] According to the "Yang Zhong liezhuan" 楊終列傳 in *Hou-Han shu*, in the first year of the Jianyuan reign-period (76 CE), Yang Zhong sent a memorial to the emperor, saying, "Since the Yongping reign-period, many serious legal cases have been handled; the authorities concerned have conducted thorough investigations, which have gotten many people implicated. Interrogations under torture have produced false indictments and sentences, and the family members of those involved were exiled to the border areas. In addition to all this, to the north we went on a campaign against the Xiongnu; to the west we opened up the route to the thirty-six states. Enlisting men in military service for many years, transporting them here and there, which is troublesome and expensive, setting up the agricultural colonies in such faraway places as Yiwu, Loulan 樓蘭, and Jushi, and [establishing] the Wuji Colonel—the people are homesick and are filled with resentment at the border towns". It is also recorded, "The memorial was submitted, and Emperor Suzong 肅宗 [i.e., Emperor Zhang] passed it on [to the state ministers]. Diwu Lun 第五倫, the Minister of Works 司空 [i.e., Imperial Counselor], agreed with [Yang] Zhong's opinion. Mou Rong 牟融, the Supreme Commander 太尉, Bao Yu, the Minister over the Masses 司徒 [i.e., Chancellor], Ban Gu 班固, the Gentleman Collator 校書郎, among others, refuted [Diwu] Lun, reasoning that such has been the standard practice for a long time, that a filial son will not change his father's way, and that the establishments of the previous emperor should not be altered". Yang Zhong thereupon sent another memorial: "Qin constructed the Great Wall, which required frequent corvée labor. Huhai 胡亥 did not change course, resulting in the collapse of the empire. Therefore, [Emperor] Xiaoyuan 孝元 abandoned [establishing] the prefecture of Zhuya 珠崖, and [Emperor] Guangwu 光武 severed ties with the states in the Western Regions: this is not to exchange garments and robes for scales and shells. Duke Wen of Lu 魯文公 destroyed the Tower of Quan 泉臺, and the *Spring and Autumn* 春秋 mocked him: 'He destroyed what his ancestors had built; he, however, might as well not reside in it'; this is because the structure did not constitute any harm to the population. Duke Xiang 襄公 established three army divisions, but Duke

Zhao gave them up, and those with moral integrity praised his restoration of the old, thinking that these would have been harmful to the people if not abolished. These days, there are people who perform corvée labor at Yiwu and who are stationed at Loulan; they have been there for a long time without returning, which is not the will of Heaven". According to this record, "The emperor followed his advice, recalling the exiles and giving up all the establishments along the borders".

[39] According to the "Zhangdi ji" in *Hou-Han shu*, in the third month in the spring of the second year of the Jianchu reign-period (77 CE), "on the day *jiachen* 甲辰, the troops stationed at Yiwulu were recalled". Yiwulu then reverted to the control of the Xiongnu.

[40] Ban Chao (32-102 CE) was a native of Anling 安陵 of Fufeng 扶風 (northeast of present-day Xianyang 咸陽, Shanxi Province). For his life and works, see his biography in *Hou-Han shu*.

[41] According to the "Zhangdi ji" in *Hou-Han shu*, in the intercalary month of the third year of the Jianchu 建初 reign-period (78 CE), "Ban Chao, the Acting Major of the Western Regions, attacked Gumo 姑墨, dealing an overwhelming blow to it". As is recorded in the biography of Ban Chao in *Hou-Han shu*, "In the third year of the Jianchu reign-period, [Ban] Chao led 10,000 troops from Shule 疏勒, Kangju 康居, Yutian 于窴 and Jumi 拘彌 to attack the Stone Town of Gumo and dealt an overwhelming blow to it, cutting off 700 heads. Because of this, [Ban] Chao consequently wanted to pacify the various states on the momentum [of his victory], and sent a petition for troops, saying, 'I humbly consider how the previous emperors, intending to open up the Western Regions, attacked the Xiongnu in the north and sent missions to the outer states. As a consequence, Shanshan and Yutian soon submitted. Now Jumi, Suoju 莎車, Shule, Yuezhi 月氏, Wusun 烏孫, and Kangju are again willing to pledge allegiance to us. I wish to join my forces with them and together defeat and destroy Qiuci 龜茲, so as to remove the obstacles on the routes between Han and the [states in] the Western Regions. If Qiuci is taken, then the states in the Western Regions that refuse to submit to us will only constitute one per cent. I humbly consider the following factors: The soldiers and low ranking officers all want to follow someone like Gu Ji 谷吉 [12] and contribute their utmost in a faraway region, perhaps like Zhang Qian 張騫 who spent his life in the wilderness. In the past, Wei Jiang 魏絳, a civil official in the Spring and Autumn period, was able to settle the affairs of various barbarian groups. Could I, Your vassal, who has the prestige of the great Han to rely on, be unable to make one strike, even though his sword is blunt? In the previous generations, those who discussed the matter proposed taking the thirty-six states, which amounts to cutting off the right arm of the Xiongnu. Today, of the states in the Western Regions, from where the sun sets [all the way to the east], all have pledged allegiance; large or small, they, in high spirit, have kept paying tribute. Only Yanqi and Qiuci

have not yet submitted. Previously, I, Your vassal, along with thirty-six subordinate officers, was sent on a mission to remote areas [in the west], and experienced all kinds of hardships. Since I have guarded Shule for five years down to the present, I have considerable knowledge of the barbarians' circumstances. The people of the walled towns, whether of higher rank or lower, all said they could depend on Han in the same way as they depend on Heaven. This showed that communications with [the states of] the Cong Mountains could be opened. Once the communications are established with [the states of] the Cong Mountains, we would be able to attack Qiuci. Now we should install Baiba 白霸, the son of Qiuci's king, who has been attending at the court, as the king and send several hundred infantry and cavalry to escort him back [to Qiuci]. If we united with the troops of the various states, after a short time Qiuci would be subdued. Of all the strategies, fighting barbarians with barbarians is the best. I, Your vassal, have observed the vast expanse of fertile lands and pastures of Suoju and Shule, which is different from the area between Dunhuang and Shanshan. The troops would not need supplies from the Middle Kingdom and could support themselves. Moreover, both the king of Gumo and the king of Wensu 溫宿 had merely been established by Qiuci. The people, not of the same race [as the Qiuci], are suppressed and harassed, which is bound to lead to defection and mutiny. If the two states surrender to us, then Qiuci can be subdued automatically. It is the wish of Your vassal that Your Majesty would pass this memorial on to the state ministers and act on the proposals expediently. Even if the chance [of success] were one to ten thousand, I would have no regret dying for it. I, Your vassal, am just one man, but I am fortunate to be divinely protected, and I humbly hope that I will not die now; rather, I will see with my own eyes the pacification of the Western Regions, so that Your Imperial Majesty will, holding the cup [praying for blessings] of ten thousand years, note your accomplishment in the Ancestral Temple, and proclaim the good tidings to all under Heaven'. The memorial was submitted, and the emperor believed that this could be accomplished, and consulted [with the state ministers] about sending troops. Xu Gan 徐幹, a native of Pingling 平陵, who had the same aspirations as Ban Chao, wrote to the emperor with resolute determination, wishing to assist Ban Chao [in this endeavor]. In the fifth year [of the Jianchu reign-period (80 CE), Emperor Zhang 章] made [Xu] Gan an Acting Major, and ordered him to lead 1,000 men who were exempted from punishment [on condition that they served in the army] and who volunteered to serve[13], to join with [Ban] Chao. Previous to this, Suoju, thinking that Han would not send troops, surrendered to Qiuci. The Commandant of Shule, Fanchen 番辰, also rebelled. It so happened that [Ban] Chao, along with [Xu] Gan who had just joined with him, attacked Fanchen and defeated him. He cut off more than 1,000 heads and captured many alive". From this we can see that although Emperor Zhang approved of

Yang Zhong's memorial and abolished the agricultural establishments in the Western Regions, he was persuaded by Ban Chao's petition and considered dispatching troops to the Western Regions. It is recorded in the "Zhangdi ji" of *Hou-Han shu* that in the fifth year of the Jianchu reign-period (80 CE), "Ban Chao, the Acting Major in the Western Regions, launched a campaign against Shule and triumphed". This refers to the defeat of Fanchen. Ban Chao mentioned in his petition that only Yanqi and Qiuci had not come over to pledge allegiance; this is mainly because they were supported or controlled by the Xiongnu. At that time, the various states in the Western Regions, especially those on the Northern Route, such as Jushi, all submitted to the Xiongnu because Emperor Zhang had abolished the post of Protector-General, and the statement that all the people had "pledged allegiance", etc., is an exaggeration. Ban Chao mentioned in his petition that Jumi and various other states "are again willing to pledge allegiance to us"; this shows that he was confident of his ability to obtain the support of the various states to the west of the Cong Mountains and on the Southern Route. However, the actual state of affairs was far more complex than he had assumed. Both Suoju's surrender to Qiuci and Fanchen's mutiny show that the various states harbored apprehensions regarding Han, and they did not have much faith in Han's power. Fanchen's mutiny was soon put down, but the problem of Suoju remained unresolved for a long time. Installing Baiba as king was only militarily propping up a puppet so that it would enjoy friendly relations with Han—the so-called strategy of "fighting barbarians with barbarians". The estimation that Ban Chao made of the situation was somewhat too optimistic, and in fact Qiuci did not surrender to Han until the beginning of the Yongyuan 永元 reign-period of Emperor He 和.

和帝永元元年，大將軍竇憲大破匈奴。[42] 二年，憲因遣副校尉閻槃將二千餘騎掩擊伊吾，破之。[43] 三年，班超遂定西域。[44] 因以超爲都護 [45]，居龜兹 [46]。復置戊己校尉 [47]，領兵五百人，居車師前部高昌壁 [48]，又置戊部候 [49]，居車師後部候城，相去五百里 [50]。六年，班超復擊破焉耆，於是五十餘國悉納質内屬。[51] 其條支 [52]、安息 [53] 諸國至于海 [54] 瀕四萬里外 [55]，皆重譯貢獻。九年，班超遣掾甘英窮臨西海 [56] 而還。皆前世所不至，《山經》[57] 所未詳，莫不備其風土，傳其珍怪焉。[58] 於是遠國蒙奇 [59]、兜勒 [60] 皆來歸服，遣使貢獻。[61]

In the first year of the Yongyuan 永元 reign-period of Emperor He 和, the Supreme General, Dou Xian 竇憲, inflicted heavy losses on the Xiongnu.[42] In the second year, [Dou] Xian sent the Deputy Colonel, Yan Pan 閻槃, to lead over two thousand

cavalrymen in launching a surprise attack on Yiwu and in routing it.[43] In the third year Ban Chao put down the Western Regions[44] and [Han] consequently appointed [Ban] Chao as Protector-General.[45] He had his residence at Qiuci.[46] The Wuji 戊己 Colonel[47] was again appointed, and the latter led 500 soldiers to be stationed at the fortress of Gaochang 高昌 [48] which belonged to the tribe of Nearer Jushi. The Captain of the Wu 戊 Division also was established[49], stationed at the town of the Captain in the Tribe of Further Jushi. There was a distance of 500 *li* between the two places.[50] In the sixth year, Ban Chao attacked again and defeated Yanqi. Thereupon, more than 50 states all offered hostages and entered [the Han Empire] as subjects.[51] States such as Tiaozhi 條支 [52] and Anxi 安息[53], and those right up to the edge of the sea[54], more than 40,000 *li* distant[55], all presented tribute via multiple interpreters. In the ninth year, Ban Chao dispatched his adjutant Gan Ying 甘英 all the way to the coast of the Western Sea[56] and back. Former generations have never reached any of these places, nor has the *Classic of the Mountains*[57] given any details of them. He made a report on the customs and topography of all these states, and transmitted an account of their precious objects and marvels.[58] Thereupon the distant states Mengqi 蒙奇 [59] and Doule 兜勒 [60] both came to make their submission, sending envoys to present tribute.[61]

[42] According to the "Hedi ji" 和帝紀 in *Hou-Han shu*, this occurred in the "sixth month in the summer" of the first year of the Yongyuan reign-period (89 CE).

[43] According to the "Hedi ji" in *Hou-Han shu*, "on the day *jiwei* 己未 [in the fifth month of the summer in the second year of the Yongyuan reign-period (90 CE)], the Deputy Colonel, Yan Pan 閻槃, was ordered to launch a punitive expedition against the Northern Xiongnu and take the land of Yiwulu". Yiwu reverted to the control of Han, and Han resumed its agricultural colony there.

[44] An edict issued in the tenth month of the third year of the Yongyuan reign-period (91 CE) is included in the "Hedi ji" in *Hou-Han shu*: "The northern barbarians have been defeated; eminent kings frequently surrender. The various states in the Western Regions have sent their princes to the court as hostages and submitted to Han. Isn't all this the majestic accomplishment of our ancestors, who have practiced the sagely way, and whose virtue and wisdom have been passed on from generation to generation?"

[45] As is recorded in the "Hedi ji" in *Hou-Han shu*, "in the twelfth month [of the third year of the Yongyuan reign-period (91 CE)], the offices of the Protector-General of the Western Regions,

the Commandant of Cavalry, and the Wuji Colonel were re-established". According to the biography of Ban Chao in *Hou-Han shu*, "In the following year [the third year of the Yongyuan reign-period], Qiuci, Gumo, and Wensu all surrendered. Han then made [Ban] Chao the Protector-General, and Xu Gan, the Chief Official". According to the same biography, in the twelfth year of the Yongyuan reign-period (100 CE), Ban Chao sent a report to the emperor, petitioning for return. "In the eighth month of the fourteenth year (102 CE) he arrived in Luoyang, and was appointed Colonel of Archers Who Shoot by Sound". From the sixteenth year of the Yongping reign-period (73 CE), when he was sent on a mission to the west, to the fourteenth year of the Yongyuan reign-period, when he returned to the east, Ban Chao had served in the Western Regions for thirty-one years.

[46] As is recorded in the biography of Ban Chao in *Hou-Han shu*, following Ban Chao's memorial in the third year of the Jianchu reign-period (78 CE), the Eastern Han "made Baiba the king of Qiuci and sent the Major, Yao Guang 姚光, to escort him back [to Qiuci]. [Ban] Chao, together with [Yao] Guang, forced the people of Qiuci to dethrone their king, Youliduo 尤利多, and establish Baiba in his place. He sent [Yao] Guang to escort Youliduo to the capital. [Ban] Chao dwelt at the town of Taqian 它乾 in Qiuci, and Xu Gan was stationed in Shule. All the states in the Western Regions were pacified, with the exception of Yanqi, Weixu, and Weili, the states that wavered for their part in the killing of the Protector-General". The Protector-Generals after Chen Mu 陳睦 were successively Ban Chao, Ren Shang 任尚, and Duan Xi 段禧. According to the biography of Ban Chao and the biography of Liang Jin 梁慬 in *Hou-Han shu*, the three Protector-Generals were all headquartered in the town of Taqian in the state of Qiuci. This is because the state of Qiuci had been attached to the Xiongnu from the beginning of the Eastern Han Dynasty, and it constituted the greatest obstacle to Eastern Han's control of the Western Regions. In his memorial to the emperor in the third year of the Jianchu reign-period of Emperor Zhang, Ban Chao even said, "If Qiuci is taken, then the states in the Western Regions that refuse to submit to us will only constitute one per cent" (see the biography of Ban Chao). In the third year of the Yongyuan reign-period of Emperor He, Ban Chao conquered Qiuci and established the seat of the office of the Protector-General at the town of Taqian in the state of Qiuci, in order to deal with, militarily or otherwise, the largest oasis state on the Northern and Southern Routes. In fact, Qiuci's closeness to the Western Han had a direct bearing on the choice of Wulei 烏壘 as the headquarters of the Protector-General. The specific location of Taqian is unknown.

[47] "The Wuji 戊己 Colonel": The character *ji* 己 is erroneously inserted, for at that time only the Wu Colonel was established. The officer only "leads 500 troops", and it is stated subsequently that "the Captain of the Wu 戊 Division was also established, stationed at the town of the Captain in the

Tribe of Further Jushi".[14]

[48] "The fortress of Gaochang" is first mentioned in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu*.

[49] "The Captain of the Wu 戊 Division": If the Wuji Colonel 戊己校尉 above were correct, then "the Captain of the Wu Division" would be "the Captain of the Wuji Division", a representative office of the Wuji Colonel.[15]

[50] "500 *li*" (Distance 1): The distance between the fortress of Gaochang and the town of the Captain in the Tribe of Further Jushi. According to this memoir, "the fortress of Gaochang [is] 500 *li* north of the town of Jinman 金滿 [should be Jinpu 金蒲] in the tribe of Further Jushi". Thus, "the town of the Captain in the Tribe of Further Jushi" is not far away from the town of Jinpu, or it is none other than the town of Jinpu. Since the fortress of Gaochang is to the northwest of Liuzhong 柳中 , the position established in the third year of the Yongyuan reign-period (91 CE) is not much different from that established in the seventeenth year of the Yongping reign-period (74 CE). In this memoir, the distances given are those to Luoyang 洛陽, those to Liuzhong, and those between specific localities. A great number of them are taken from the "Xiyu zhuan" in *Hanshu,* or are calculated from the distances recorded there; they are not the result of surveys conducted in the Eastern Han.[16]

[51] According to the "Hedi ji" in *Hou-Han shu*, in the seventh month of the sixth year of the Yongyuan reign-period (94 CE), "Ban Chao, the Protector-General of the Western Regions, defeated Yanqi and Weili, killing their kings. Since then the Western Regions have been subject to [Han], and over fifty states have sent hostages".

[52] Tiaozhi 條支 is first mentioned in the "Dayuan liezhuan" of *Shiji*, referring to the Syrian kingdom under the Seleucids. Here it refers to the Syrian area of the Syrian kingdom under the Seleucids.[17]

[53] Anxi 安息 refers to the Parthian Empire of Persia, first seen in the "Dayuan liezhuan" of *Shiji*.

[54] "The sea": This refers to the sea by Tiaozhi and Anxi, which is also the "Western Sea" faced by Gan Ying in the subsequent text. It should refer to the Mediterranean Sea.

[55] "More than 40,000 *li* distant": It refers to the distance between Chang'an and the area beyond the Mediterranean Sea.

[56] "The Western Sea" refers to the Mediterranean Sea.

[57] "*The Classic of the Mountains*" (*Shan jing* 山經) refers to the *Classic of Mountains and Seas* (*Shanhai jing* 山海經).

[58] The Eastern Han's management of the Western Regions reached its zenith with the three states of Yanqi and others subdued. Not only did the various states which had been subject to the

Western Han Dynasty all send hostages and become attached to the court, but Tiaozhi, Anxi, and even those states and areas as far as more than 40,000 *li* away presented tribute via multiple interpreters. It was under this situation that Ban Chao sent Gan Ying westwards. The statement, "all the way to the coast of the Western Sea and back", refers to the fact that Gan Ying returned after he had arrived at Tiaozhi beside the Mediterranean. Gan Ying should have started out from Qiuci. He perhaps crossed the Cong Mountains and arrived at the town of Hedu 和櫝, the capital of Anxi, via Dayuan and Da Yuezhi, after going west to Shule from Qiuci. Then he passed by Aman 阿蠻, Sibin 斯賓, and Yuluo 于羅, before reaching Tiaozhi. As is recorded in this memoir, "If one turns to the north and then east, and again goes on horseback for more than 60 days, one reaches Anxi". He returned to the east by way of Mōuru 木鹿 and Tukhārestān.

[59] "Mengqi" 蒙奇 [mong-gia] should be a transcription of Margiana.[18] Margiana was a province on the border of Anxi. It had been in a semi-independent state due to the decline of the Parthian royal house, which was perhaps the reason why it sent envoys to Han. This memoir regards Mengqi as the name of a state, with Mōuru as its capital.

[60] "Doule" 兜勒 [to-lək] should be a variation of the transcription of Thuhāra.[19] Tukhāra is Daxia 大夏, at that time subject to Guishuang 貴霜, and it probably enjoyed a measure of autonomy, for it could send envoys to the Eastern Han.

[61] According to the "Hedi ji" in *Hou-Han shu*, "in the eleventh month [of the twelfth year of the Yongyuan reign-period (100 CE)], the two states of Mengqi and Doule of the Western Regions sent envoys to acknowledge their submission to the court. Their kings were presented with gold seals and purple ribbons". We can infer that these two states could not have come to acknowledge their submission without the mission of Gan Ying, although it was also a result of the increasing influence of the Eastern Han Dynasty. Considering the timing of the two envoys, it is very likely that they came to the east together with Gan Ying.

及孝和晏駕，西域背畔。[62]安帝永初元年，頻攻圍都護任尚[63]、段禧[64]等，朝廷以其險遠，難相應赴，詔罷都護，自此遂弃西域。[65]北匈奴卽復收屬諸國，共爲邊寇十餘歲。敦煌太守曹宗患其暴害，元初六年，乃上遣行長史索班，將千餘人屯伊吾以招撫之，於是車師前王及鄯善王來降。[66]

When the Emperor Xiaohe 孝和 died, the Western Regions rebelled.[62] In the first year of the Yongchu 永初 reign-period of Emperor An 安, they incessantly attacked and

besieged Ren Shang 任尚[63], the Protector-General, and Duan Xi 段禧 [64] and others. The Imperial Court thought that the Western Regions were dangerous, distant, and difficult to reinforce, so an imperial edict abolished the post of Protector-General, and the Western Regions were subsequently abandoned.[65] The Northern Xiongnu at once resumed their sovereignty over the various states, and together they harassed the border for ten years and more. In the sixth year of the Yuanchu 元初 reign-period, because of concerns over their incursions, the Administrator of Dunhuang, Cao Zong 曹宗, sent a written message to the emperor asking permission to dispatch Suo Ban 索班, who was concurrently performing the duty of the Chief Official, to station one thousand men at Yiwu 伊吾 to pacify it. Thereupon the king of the state of Nearer Jushi and the king of Shanshan came over and surrendered.[66]

[62] As is recorded in the "Andi ji" 安帝紀 of *Hou-Han shu*, in the ninth month of the first year of the Yanping 延平 reign-period of Emperor Shang 殤 (106 CE), "the various states in the Western Regions revolted and attacked Ren Shang 任尚, the Protector-General. The Deputy Colonel [of the Western Regions], Liang Jin 梁慬, was sent to bring reinforcements to [Ren] Shang, and [Liang Jin] crushed [the rebels]". According to the biography of Liang Jin in *Hou-Han shu*, "In the first year of the Yanping reign-period, [Liang Jin] was made the Deputy Colonel of the Western Regions. As soon as [Liang] Jin arrived in the Hexi 河西 region, the various states in the Western Regions revolted and attacked the Protector-General, Ren Shang, in Shule. [Ren] Shang sent a written message to the emperor, asking for help. An imperial edict ordered [Liang] Jin to lead 5,000 cavalry, consisting of the Qiang 羌 and Hu 胡 from the four prefectures in the Hexi region, and make speed to him. [Ren] Shang had extricated himself [from the predicament] before [Liang] Jin arrived. Just when [Ren] Shang was recalled to court, the Commandant of Cavalry, Duan Xi 段禧, was appointed the Protector-General, and the Chief Official of the Western Regions, Zhao Bo 趙博, was appointed the Commandant of Cavalry. [Duan] Xi and [Zhao] Bo guarded the town of Taqian. [Liang] Jin considered the town of Taqian too small to defend; he, in a plot, advised the king of Qiuci, Baiba, saying he wanted to enter his town [i.e., the capital] and defend it together with him. Baiba consented. The officers [of Baiba] persistently warned him, but Baiba would not listen. After [Liang] Jin had entered, he speedily sent officers to call [Duan] Xi and [Zhao] Bo and they joined forces, totaling eight or nine thousand persons. The officers and commoners of Qiuci all rebelled against their king and, with several tens of thousands of troops from Wensu and Gumo, besieged the town. [Liang] Jin and others engaged

them in battle and smashed them. After continued hostilities for several months, the Hu forces were defeated and fled. The Han troops pursued them, cutting off more than 10,000 heads and capturing several thousand alive, in addition to camels and other domestic animals numbering several tens of thousands. Qiuci thereupon was subdued". For the revolt of the Western Regions in the first year of the Yanping reign-period (106 CE), Ren Shang should bear the responsibility; namely, he "managed them improperly" as noted in the biography of Ban Yong in *Hou-Han shu*. The various states attacked Ren Shang at Shule because of their resentment against him, indicating that Ren Shang was in Shule together with the Chief Official while the various states rose in rebellion. Qiuci had no hand in the attack on [Ren] Shang by various states, evidently because its king, Baiba, enjoyed friendly relations with Han and there were Han troops stationed in the town of Taqian. However, this does not mean that the men of Qiuci did not resent Han. It can be taken as evidence that the officers in the state of Qiuci set themselves against the Han troops who entered their capital, and that when Baiba did not listen to them, they "all rebelled against their king". Ren Shang "managed [them] improperly", and as a consequence the people of Qiuci were possibly the first to be affected. Although order in Qiuci and other states was restored by Liang Jin and others, Han's base for control over the Western Regions was greatly shaken . One of the important reasons why Emperor An 安 abolished the post of Protector-General, according to the biography of Liang Jin in *Hou-Han shu*, was that "there were several revolts" in the Western Regions. Of course, Qiuci, Wensu, Gumo, and other states again submitted to the Xiongnu because Liang Jin, Duan Xi, and Zhao Bo were ordered to return.

[63] According to the "Ban Chao zhuan" in *Hou-Han shu*, "when [Ban] Chao was ordered to return to court, the Wuji Colonel Ren Shang was appointed the Protector-General to replace him", indicating that Ren Shang started to hold that office in the fourteenth year of the Yongyuan reign-period (102 CE). According to the "Andi ji" and "Liang Jin zhuan" 梁慬傳 quoted earlier, Liang Jin's term lasted until after the ninth month of the first year of the Yanping reign-period (106 CE).

[64] Duan Xi should have been appointed the Protector-General to succeed Ren Shang, after the ninth month of the first year of the Yanping reign-period. It appears that Duan Xi took over in the first year of the Yongchu 永初 reign-period. However, it is also quite possible that only Duan Xi was besieged and attacked in the first year of the Yongchu reign-period (since Ren Shang was mentioned merely in passing).

[65] According to the "Andi ji" 安帝紀 in *Hou-Han shu*, on the day *renxu* 壬戌 in the sixth month of the first year of the Yongchu 永初 reign-period, Emperor An "abolished the post of Protector-General of the Western Regions". According to the "Xi Qiang zhuan" 西羌傳 in *Hou-Han shu*, "In the

summer of the Chuyuan reign-period, the Commandant of Cavalry, Wang Hong 王弘, was ordered to mobilize several hundred to a thousand Qiang cavalrymen of Jincheng 金城, Longxi 隴西, and Hanyang 漢陽 for action in the Western Regions. [Wang] Hong urged them to set out, but the many Qiang troops feared that they might be stationed in a faraway place with no chance to return. When they reached Jiuquan 酒泉, many of them deserted and mutinied. Various prefectures sent out troops to intercept them, with the result that some Qiang settlements and villages were wiped out". This is one of the important reasons why the Western Regions was abandoned. According to the "Ban Yong zhuan" 班勇傳 in *Hou-Han shu*, "In the first year of the Yongchu reign-period, the Western Regions rebelled. [Ban] Yong was made a Major, and he, together with his brother [Ban] Xiong 雄, set out from Dunhuang to receive the Protector-General and the troops from the Western Regions and return with them. The office of the Protector-General was abolished. Later, the ties with the Western Regions were cut off, and there were no Han officers there for over a decade". Ban Yong's words were recorded in his biography: "Recently [we] experienced the revolt of the Qiang and the ties with the Western Regions were cut off again. The Northern savages [the Xiongnu] then imposed heavy levies on the various states, took precautions to prevent any evasion of their exactions, raised the amount due, and were strict in regard to prompt payment. Shanshan and Jushi are now both filled with resentment, and wanted to serve Han instead, but they were helpless. True, there had been several revolts previously, but they were only the result of improper administration, which did more harm than good". According to the "Liang Jin zhuan" 梁慬傳 in *Hou-Han shu*, although Liang Jin had stabilized the situation in Qiuci, "the roads were still blocked, and the government communications could not be relayed. After more than a year, the Court grew very concerned about the situation. The state ministers who considered the matter thought that the Western Regions was remote, the roads were blocked, and there had been several revolts. Moreover, it incurred endless expenditure for officers and troops to be stationed in the agricultural colonies. In the first year of the Yongchu reign-period, the office of the Protector-General was abolished, and the Commandant of Cavalry, Wang Hong, was sent to call out the troops from Guanzhong 關中 to receive [Liang] Jin, [Duan] Xi, [Zhao] Bo and the officers and troops stationed in the agricultural colonies in Yiwulu and Liuzhong 柳中". The reason that the Eastern Han cut off communications with the Western Regions was mainly the unpopularity of the Protector-General Ren Shang, who was appointed after Ban Chao, leading to the revolt of the various states. Another reason was the Eastern Han's enlistment, for a western expedition, of the Qiang people, who did not obey orders and deserted on the way, leading to disaster. The Qiang people were called for service in the summer of the first year of the Yongchu reign-period (107 CE), and

Emperor An abolished the office of the Protector-General in the sixth month of that year.

[66] The various states had been ruthlessly exploited by the Xiongnu. Once Suo Ban extended his hand, they came to pledge allegiance to Han, one by one.

數月，北匈奴復率車師後部王共攻沒班等，遂擊走其前王。[67] 鄯善逼急，求救於曹宗，宗因此請出兵擊匈奴，報索班之恥，復欲進取西域。[68] 鄧太后不許，但令置護西域副校尉 [69]，居敦煌，復部營兵三百人，羈縻而已。

Several months later, the Northern Xiongnu also led the king of the tribe of Further Jushi to attack and kill Suo Ban and others, thus driving the king of the tribe of Nearer Jushi away.[67] Shanshan was in imminent danger and asked for help from [the Administrator of Dunhuang] Cao Zong 曹宗. [Cao] Zong thus begged to dispatch troops to attack the Xiongnu and avenge the insult to Suo Ban, and wanted to advance and control the Western Regions.[68] However, the Empress Dowager Deng 鄧 would not allow it, and merely ordered the establishment of a Deputy Colonel of the Western Regions[69], who resided at Dunhuang; a garrison of 300 men was also restored, merely in order to keep in contact with the various states.

[67] This memoir states that it was the king of Nearer Jushi who surrendered to Suo Ban, and does not mention the king of Further Jushi. It also states that "the Northern Xiongnu … led the king of the tribe of Further Jushi to attack and kill Suo Ban and others, thus driving the king of the tribe of Nearer Jushi away". This seems to indicate that that the king of state of Further Jushi did not surrender, but followed the Xiongnu and opposed Han. However, it is recorded in this memoir that, in the first year of the Yongning 永寧 reign-period (120 CE), the king of Further Jushi, Junjiu 軍就, revolted and killed the Major of the tribe of Further Jushi and the Executive Official of Dunhuang [Prefecture]. According to the "Andi ji" in *Hou-Han shu*, the title of the reign-period was changed in the fourth month of the seventh year of the Yuanchu 元初 reign-period (120 CE), and the king of state of Further Jushi rebelled in the third month, or "several months" after the king of the state of Nearer Jushi surrendered to Suo Ban. The "Executive Official of Dunhuang" who was killed, according to the Li 李 Commentary, should have been Suo Ban. This shows that Junjiu's rebellion and his attack and murder of Suo Ban and others refer to the same event. Junjiu was characterized as a rebel, because the state of Further Jushi had been subject to Han before this event. In other words, after Suo Ban

had been stationed at Yiwu, among those who came over to surrender there was not only the king of the state of Nearer Jushi, but also the king of the state of Further Jushi. After the king of the state of Further Jushi surrendered, Han, according to the institution established by Emperor He, should have appointed a Major to cope with it. This memoir only mentions the surrender of the king of the state of Nearer Jushi, probably because the king of the state of Further Jushi revolted soon after.

[68] According to the "Ban Yong zhuan" in *Hou-Han shu*, "in the sixth year of the Yuanchu reign-period (119 CE), the Administrator of Dunhuang Prefecture, Cao Zong 曹宗, sent the Chief Official, Suo Ban, to station himself at Yiwu along with over 1,000 troops, and the kings of Nearer Jushi and Shanshan came over to surrender. Several months later, the *Chanyu* of the Northern Xiongnu and Further Jushi attacked and killed [Suo] Ban, drove away the king of Nearer Jushi, and plundered and occupied the Northern Route. The king of Shanshan was in imminent danger and asked Cao Zong for help. [Cao] Zong thus begged to dispatch 5,000 troops to attack the Xiongnu and avenge the insult of the [murder of] Suo Ban. The Western Regions was thus retaken".

[69] "The Deputy Colonel of the Western Regions": The full title should be the "Deputy Colonel [for the Assistance of Imperial] Envoys for Protecting the Western Regions". During the Eastern Han Dynasty, the Deputy Colonel was established only in the first year of the Yanping 延平 reign-period of Emperor Shang 殤 (106 CE) and the sixth year of the Yuanchu reign-period of Emperor An 安 (119 CE). The former was abolished along with the office of Protector-General in the following year, i.e., the first year of the Yongchu 永初 reign-period of Emperor An (107 CE); the records can be found in the "Liang Jin zhuan" of *Hou-Han shu*. The second time the office was established was when the Eastern Han had abandoned the Western Regions. According to this memoir, the Protector-General was not appointed; and the Deputy Colonel "resided at Dunhuang" with "a garrison of 300 men". The office of Deputy Colonel was abolished soon after, probably because the Xiongnu frequently invaded the Hexi 河西 region.

其後北虜連與車師入寇河西，朝廷不能禁，議者因欲閉玉門[70]、陽關[71]，以絕其患。[72]

After this the northern savages along with Jushi continuously invaded and raided Hexi 河西. The imperial court was not able to stop them, and for this reason it was proposed that the Yumen 玉門[70] and the Yang 陽 Barriers[71] be closed so as to end the trouble.[72]

[70] Yumen 玉門 here refers to the Yumen Barrier 玉門關; its site is located northwest of present-day Dunhuang, Gansu 甘肅 Province.

[71] The Yang Barrier 陽關: Its site is located northwest of present-day Dunhuang, Gansu Province.

[72] As is recorded in the "Ban Yong zhuan" in *Hou-Han shu*, "Empress Dowager Deng 鄧 summoned [Ban] Yong to the court for an audience. Earlier, most of the state ministers had thought it expedient to close the Yumen Barrier, and the Western Regions was abandoned. [Ban] Yong put forward his proposal: '…There used to be 300 troops [for border defense] in Dunhuang prefecture; they should be reinstalled today. The office of the Deputy Colonel of the Western Regions should also be restored, to reside in Dunhuang [prefecture] as had been done in the Yongyuan reign-period. [The court] should also send the Chief Official of the Western Regions with 500 men to be stationed at Loulan, so as to control the routes to Yanqi and Qiuci in the west, reassure and embolden Shanshan and Yutian 于闐 in the south, resist the Xiongnu in the north, and maintain an easy access to Dunhuang in the east. In this way things will develop to our advantage". The court "thereupon followed [Ban] Yong's proposal, redeployed the 300 troops [for border defense], and restored the office of the Deputy Colonel of the Western Regions in Dunhuang. Although the Western Regions was again under control, the troops were not deployed there. Later, the Xiongnu, along with Jushi, frequently invaded and plundered [Han areas], and the Hexi region (Gansu Corridor) was ravaged".

延光二年，敦煌太守張璫上書陳三策[73]，以爲“北虜呼衍王常展轉蒲類、秦海[74]之閒，專制西域，共爲寇鈔。今以酒泉屬國[75]吏士二千餘人集昆侖塞[76]，先擊呼衍王，絕其根本，因發鄯善兵五千人脅車師後部，此上計也。若不能出兵，可置軍司馬，將士五百人，四郡供其犂牛、穀食，出據柳中[77]，此中計也。如又不能，則宜弃交河城，收鄯善[78]等悉使入塞，此下計也”。朝廷下其議。

In the second year of the Yanguang 延光 reign-period (123 CE) the Administrator of Dunhuang, Zhang Dang 張璫, sent a written message to the emperor, stating three plans:[73] Now the King of Huyan 呼延 of the northern savages frequently passes through many places between Pulei 蒲類 and the Qin 秦 Sea[74]. He controls the Western Regions, and, together with Jushi, invades and robs. Two thousand and more officers and soldiers from the dependencies of Jiuquan[75] should be gathered at the barrier of Kunlun 昆侖[76]. First attack the King of Huyan to eliminate his foundation, then call up

the five thousand troops from Shanshan to intimidate the tribe of Further Jushi; this is the best plan. If we are unable to dispatch troops, we should establish the Army Major, who will lead five hundred soldiers; farm cattle and grain and food will be offered by the four prefectures, and they will come out to guard Liuzhong[77]; this is the middling plan. To abandon the town of Jiaohe and collect the people of the states of Shanshan[78] and others, and have them all enter the frontier barrier; this is the worst plan. The imperial court referred the proposal to the ministers for deliberation.

[73] As is recorded in the "Xiao'an huangdi ji (xia)" 孝安皇帝紀下 in *Hou-Han ji* 後漢紀 (ch. 17) by Yuan Hong 袁宏, "[Zhang] Dang 張璫 sent a written message concerning border affairs [to the court]: 'When I was in the capital, I also thought that the Western Regions should be abandoned. Recently I have personally set foot on the lands there, and have come to understand that, had the Western Regions been abandoned, the Hexi region would not survive on its own. I hereby submit three strategies concerning the Western Regions'".

[74] "Places between Pulei 蒲類 and the Qin 秦 Sea": Pulei 蒲類 is an oasis state in the Western Regions, first seen in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu*. According to the Li Commentary, "The state of Da Qin 大秦 is located west of the Western Sea, which is thus also called the 'Qin 秦 Sea'." The "Qin Sea" should refer to the sea beside Da Qin, i.e., the present-day Mediterranean. This is the first time that matters concerning Da Qin were mentioned. Da Qin is at the western end, where Pulei is at the eastern end (near the Barkol nur). The so-called "places between Pulei and the Qin Sea" is another appellation for the Western Regions. The Administrator of Dunhuang stated that King of Huyan 呼延 was active in between, highlighting his ferocity and the havoc he had wrought on the Western Regions.

[75] "Dependencies" 屬國: According to the "Baiguan (wu)" 百官五 in *Hou-Han shu*, dependencies "consist of counties far away from the seats of prefectural government; they are somewhat smaller than the prefectures in size, and the names of the prefectures precede their names". For "Two thousand and more officers and soldiers from the dependencies of Jiuquan should be gathered at the barrier of Kunlun", the "Xiao'an huangdi ji (xia)" in *Hou-Han ji* (ch. 17) by Yuan Hong reads, "3,500 officers, soldiers, and volunteers from the dependencies of Zhangye 張掖 and Jiuquan should be gathered at the barrier of Kunlun".

[76] "The barrier of Kunlun" 昆侖塞 was located south of Anxi 安西 County, Gansu Province.

[77] The site of Liuzhong 柳中 is located at Liukchun 魯克沁, southwest of present-day Shanshan

鄯善 County, Xinjiang 新疆.

[78] According to the "Shundi ji" 順帝紀 in *Hou-Han shu*, "On the day *bingchen* 丙辰 in the second month in the spring of the second year [of the Han'an 漢安 reign-period (143 CE)], the state of Shanshan sent an envoy to present tributary gifts". This is the last mention in historical records of the state of Shanshan visiting the Han court to pay its respects.

尚書陳忠上疏曰："臣聞八蠻之寇，莫甚北虜。漢興，高祖窘平城之圍，太宗屈供奉之恥。[79]故孝武憤怒，深惟久長之計，命遣虎臣，浮河絕漠，窮破虜庭。當斯之役，黔首隕於狼望之北，財幣縻於盧山之壑[80]，府庫單竭，杼柚空虛，筭至舟車，貲及六畜。[81]夫豈不懷，慮久故也。遂開河西四郡，以隔絕南羌，收三十六國，斷匈奴右臂。[82]是以單于孤特，鼠竄遠藏。至於宣、元之世，遂備蕃臣[83]，關徼不閉，羽檄不行。由此察之，戎狄可以威服，難以化狎。

The Imperial Secretary Chen Zhong 陳忠 presented a memorandum to the throne in which he said: "I have heard that, of the eight kinds of Man 蠻 barbarian, none are more formidable than the northern savages. They embarrassed Emperor Gaozu 高祖 when they besieged him in Pingcheng 平城 and they forced Emperor Taizong 太宗 to suffer the humiliation of presenting tribute.[79] Therefore Emperor Xiaowu 孝武, full of anger, thought deeply about a long-term strategy, then sent officers [as fierce as the tiger] to cross the [Yellow] River and the desert in pursuit of the savages' court, crushing it. In the battle common people died to the north of Langwang 狼望, goods and valuables were wasted in the gullies of the Lu 盧 Mountain[80], government repositories were short and exhausted, production lay waste all around, the scope of the levy was extended to wagons and boats, and taxes raised even on stock animals.[81] How would these not be taken into consideration? They were all the result of concern for the long-term interest. Subsequently he opened up the four prefectures in the Hexi region in order to isolate the southern Qiang, take charge of the thirty-six states, and cut off the right arm of the Xiongnu.[82] This left the *Chanyu* all alone, so he scurried off to hide himself in distant parts. Up to the times of Emperors Xuan 宣 and Yuan 元, they eventually filled the posts of outer subjects[83], frontier barriers were not closed, and urgent dispatches were not sent. Thus it will be observed that the Rong 戎 and Di 狄 could be overawed but were difficult to domesticate.

[79] The Li Commentary: "Emperor Gao himself commanded an army to attack the Xiongnu. When they reached Pingcheng 平城, they were surrounded by the *Chanyu* Modu 冒頓 at Baideng 白登. The siege lasted for seven days. Emperor Taizong 太宗 was Emperor Wen 文. Jia Yi's 賈誼 memorial reads: '*The Xiongnu are arrogant, insulting, take pleasure in raiding and pillaging, and Han each year offers them gold and silk. The Yi 夷 and Di 狄 give orders, which should have been issued from the Lord of Men. The Son of Heaven pays tribute, which is a ritual performed by subjects. Hence the humiliation*'."

[80] The Li Commentary: "Langwang 狼望 is in the Xiongnu". Li also quotes Yang Xiong 揚雄: "How could one say that the previous generations were happy about the endless spending, contented with what happened north of Langwang? Did they [spend as if to] fill the gullies of the Lu Mountain without any regret?"

[81] The Li Commentary: "This means that a property tax called '*suan*' 筭 was levied on the value of everything. The rate for each *shao* 軺 carriage was one '*suan'*, that for each carriage of the merchants two '*suan*', and that for a boat of over five *zhang* in length one '*suan*'. For stock animals, [I have not seen] the records. From this it can be seen that nothing was left untaxed."

[82] The "Wei Xuancheng zhuan" 韋玄成傳 in *Hanshu* records the advice of Wang Shun 王舜 and Liu Xin 劉歆: "[Emperor Wu] launched an attack on Dayuan, controlled the thirty-six states, made an alliance with Wusun, and established the prefectures of Dunhuang, Jiuquan and Zhangye, in order to separate them from the Ruo Qiang and to sever the right arm of the Xiongnu in the west". According to the "Xiongnu zhuan (shang)" 匈奴傳上 in *Hanshu*, "in the west, Han had created Jiuquan Prefecture in order to drive a wedge between the Xiongnu and the Qiang 羌 and to cut off communications between them". From this we can see that one of the motivations for Han's dealings with the Western Regions was to separate the Qiang from the Xiongnu.

[83] The Li Commentary: "During the reigns of Emperors Xuan 宣 and Yuan 元, the *Chanyu* Huhanxie 呼韓邪 made several visits to [the Han] court, acknowledging his submission and bringing tributary gifts."

"西域內附日久，區區東望扣關者數矣，此其不樂匈奴慕漢之效也。今北虜已破車師，埶必南攻鄯善，弃而不救，則諸國從矣。[84]若然，則虜財賄益增，膽埶益殖，威臨南羌，與之交連。如此，河西四郡危矣。河西既危，不得不救，則百倍之役興，不訾之費發矣。議者但念西域絕遠，卹之煩費，不見先世苦心勤勞之意也。方今邊境守禦之具不精，內郡武衛之備不脩，敦煌孤危，遠來告急，復

不輔助，內無以慰勞吏民，外無以威示百蠻。蹙國減土，經有明誡。[85]臣以爲敦煌宜置校尉，案舊增四郡屯兵，以西撫諸國。庶足折衝萬里，震怖匈奴。”[86]

“The Western Regions have submitted to Han for a long time. [The states] are small and look to the east, and those who come knocking at the barriers are numerous. This [is the result of] their unhappiness with the Xiongnu and their admiration for the Han. Now the northern savages, having already crushed Jushi, will certainly come south to attack Shanshan; if we do not come to its rescue, then all the other states will follow.[84] If such should be the case, then the savages' wealth would increase, their daring and strength would grow, and their power would extend as far as the southern Qiang with whom they would join. In this way the four prefectures of the Hexi region would be endangered. If the Hexi region were endangered, we would have no choice but to rescue them, and then we would have to fight a hundred times more battles and incur immeasurable expenses. Those who object that the Western Regions are extremely distant and that to succor them is expensive fail to see the purpose for which our ancestors worked so hard and with such dedication. Today, defenses on the frontiers are not excellent and military equipment in the inner prefectures is not maintained. Dunhuang, being isolated and endangered, came from a distance to ask for emergency help. If we also do not assist it, we could not comfort the officers and people inside, and not display our strength to the various barbarians outside, so that our territory will be retrenched. There is a clear warning in the Confucian classics.[85] I believe that a colonel should be appointed to Dunhuang and that, as in the old days, we should add garrison troops to the four prefectures in order to pacify the various states in the west. It may be that this will suffice to push back their attacks 10,000 *li* and thoroughly frighten the Xiongnu."[86]

[84] Ban Yong's words were recorded in his biography in *Hou-Han shu*: "Currently, Youhai 尤還, the king of Shanshan, is a grandson of Han on the maternal side;[20] if the Xiongnu achieve their ambition, Youhai will certainly be killed. Such people are simply like birds and beasts, but they also know how to keep away from harm. If Han dispatches troops to be stationed at Loulan, it would be enough to move him to submit [to us]. I humbly think that this would be to our advantage".

[85] The Li Commentary: "*Book of Poetry*: 'Formerly when the former kings received their

appointment, / There were such ministers as the duke of Shao, / Who would in a day enlarge the kingdom a hundred *li*. / Now it is contracted in a day a hundred *li*'." (Translated by James Legge, *The Chinese Classics*.)

[86] The Eastern Han's management of the Western Regions was, on the whole, inactive and passive, its main purpose being the subjugation of the Xiongnu and the preservation of the Hexi 河西 region. The Eastern Han would abandon the Western Regions whenever it suffered a setback. There was no long-term strategy regarding the Western Regions even in the period when it managed the Western Regions, due to the basic passivism in their policy. The petition by Chen Zhong is a case in point.

帝納之，乃以班勇[87]爲西域長史，[88]將弛刑士五百人，西屯柳中。[89]

Accepting his proposal, the emperor appointed Ban Yong 班勇[87] as Chief Official of the Western Regions,[88] who led five hundred men who were exempted from punishment [on condition that they serve in the army] to go west and set up an agricultural colony at Liuzhong 柳中.[89]

[87] According to historical records, Ban Yong 班勇, the son of Ban Chao 班超, had inherited much of his father's character. However, if we carefully read his petition in the sixth year of the Yuanchu reign-period (120 CE), where he described the purpose for which Emperor Wu "opened up the communications with the Western Regions", we find that he only saw the role "to capture the Xiongnu's treasure house and cut off their right arm". According to Ban Yong's biography in *Hou-Han shu*, he stressed only the following: "If we develop ties with the Western Regions, the position of the savages will certainly be weakened. When their position is weakened, then the harm they do will only be reduced. How can we [even consider] giving their treasure house back to them and re-attaching their broken arm? A colonel should be deployed to guard and pacify the Western Regions, and a Chief Official established to win the loyalty of the various states. If we abandon [the Western Regions] and do not establish [these officials], then the Western Regions will give up all hope. After giving up all hope, they will subordinate themselves to the northern savages, the prefectures on the frontier will be devastated, and the cities of Hexi, I am afraid, will again find themselves in that state of alarm where they must keep their gates closed in the daytime. If today the imperial court does not broaden its virtue, if it begrudges the funds to establish army camps and to guard the frontier, and if the northern savages then spread like wildfire, how can we say that we have a long-term policy for

stabilizing the frontier?" The main point was just "to stabilize the frontier". He referred to "proclaiming our authority and virtue"; his purpose was nothing but "to incline the various states towards Han and sow doubt in the covetous hearts of the Xiongnu, without the worry that the concomitant expenses will exhaust the country". Of course, this is not nearly comparable to Emperor Wu's ambition "to extend [Han] territory for ten thousand *li*" and to have "imperial power and prestige exercised throughout the area within the Four Seas". Even Ban Yong's thought lacks scope, not to mention those of others.

[88] According to the "Ban Chao zhuan" in *Hou-Han shu*, in the eighth year of the Jianchu reign-period (83 CE), "[the Emperor] appointed [Ban] Chao the Chief Official [with the authority] to lead troops, [with the right] to use a military band and banners". This in fact inaugurated the practice whereby the Chief Official managed the affairs of the Western Regions because the Protector-General was no longer assigned at this time. According to the same chapter, in the third year of the Yongyuan 永元 reign-period (91 CE), Emperor He 和 appointed Ban Chao the Protector-General and Xu Gan 徐幹 the Chief Official. The Chief Official was roughly equal to the secondary position in support of the Protector-General, since the Deputy Colonel no longer existed at that time. When Ren Shang, following Ban Chao, was appointed Protector-General of the Western Regions, according to the biography of Liang Jin in *Hou-Han shu*, the Chief Official was Zhao Bo 趙博, who, along with the Commandant of Cavalry Duan Xi 段禧, assisted Ren Shang. WhenDuan Xi became the Protector-General, succeeding Ren Shang, Liang Jin was appointed Deputy Colonel of the Western Regions, and the former Chief Official of the Western Regions, Zhao Bo, became the Commandant of Cavalry. After Emperor An 安 had abandoned the post of Protector-General in the first year of the Yongchu reign-period (107 CE), the Eastern Han no longer retained the posts of Protector General and Deputy Colonel, and the duty of the Protector-General was assumed by the Chief Official in the management of the Western Regions. The Chief Official was appointed continuously until the reign of Emperor Ling 靈. Those whose names are recorded in the histories are Suo Ban 索班 and Ban Yong 班勇, during the reign of Emperor An 安; Zhao Ping 趙評 and Wang Jing 王敬, during the reign of Emperor Huan 桓; and Zhang Yan 張晏, during the reign of Emperor Ling. The seat of the Chief Official was not located in the same place as formerly. The seats of the offices of Ban Chao and Xu Gan were located in Shule 疏勒; that of Suo Ban, in Yiwu; that of Ban Yong, in Liuzhong; and those of Zhao Ping and Wang Jing, in Yutian 于闐; while those of the others are unknown. There is no record concerning the rank of the Chief Official of the Western Regions; it had, most likely, a rank equivalent to 600 piculs. Since the position of Chief Official of the Western Regions corresponded to

that of the Assistant in the prefectural government, it had to receive orders from the Administrator of Dunhuang, and accordingly the various states in the Western Regions under the Chief Official became to a certain extent an area under the jurisdiction of the Administrator of Dunhuang. The practice for the Administrator of Dunhuang to be directly involved in the affairs of the Western Regions may date back to the reign of Emperor An, when the post of the Protector-General was abandoned. Obviously, this had something to do with the fact that the executive officer of the Western Regions was demoted to Chief Official.

[89] This means that the emperor had accepted the "second best" plan of Zhang Dang 張璫. According to the "Ban Yong zhuan" in *Hou-Han shu*, "in the second year of the Yanguang reign-period (123 CE), [Han] again made [Ban] Yong the Chief Official of the Western Regions, and he, leading 500 men, was stationed at Liuzhong. In the first month of the following year, [Ban] Yong arrived at Loulan 樓蘭, and bestowed on [the king of] Shanshan three ribbons (三綬) for his submission [to Han].[21] However, Baiying 白英, the king of Qiuci, hesitated himself and did not yield. [Ban] Yong demonstrated to him his benevolence and trustworthiness. Baiying then led the kings of Gumo 姑墨 and Wensu 溫宿, tying themselves up, to call upon [Ban] Yong to surrender. Following this, Ban Yong mobilized more than 10,000 infantry and cavalry from Qiuci and other states, and marched to the royal court of the tribe of Nearer Jushi. The Yili 伊蠡 King of the Xiongnu was defeated at the valley of Yihe 伊和 and driven out, and 5,000 men from the state of Nearer Jushi surrendered to Ban Yong. Thus, communications with the tribe of Nearer Jushi opened up again. When he returned, he set up an agricultural colony at Liuzhong". The so-called "submission of Shanshan" refers to its submission to Suo Ban in the sixth year of the Yuanchu reign-period (119 CE).

勇遂破平車師。自建武至于延光，西域三絕三通。[90]

[Ban] Yong subsequently routed and pacified Jushi. From the Jianwu 建武 reign-period to the Yanguang 延光 reign-period, the Western Regions' contacts [with Han] were cut off three times and opened up three times.[90]

[90] "The Western Regions' contacts [with Han] were cut off three times and opened up three times" 西域三絕三通: The first stage is from the fifth year of the Jianwu 建武 reign-period of Emperor Guangwu 光武 (25 CE) to the fifteenth year of the Yongping 永平 reign-period of Emperor Ming 明 (72 CE). At first the Eastern Han attempted to establish control over the Western Regions and to confront

the Xiongnu through Suoju. After his ascension to the throne, the king of Suoju, Xian 賢, invaded and enslaved various states, which in turn sent their envoys to ask the Eastern Han to appoint a Protector-General. Emperor Guangwu did not comply with this request because the Central Plains had only recently seen peace. These states thus all submitted to the Xiongnu instead. Since the eighth year of the Yongping reign-period of Emperor Ming (65 CE), the Northern Xiongnu intimidated the various states into submission, and together they raided the prefectures and counties in the Hexi region, so that the towns had to keep their gates closed in the daytime. In the fifteenth year of the Yongping reign-period (73 CE), Emperor Ming ordered Dou Gu 竇固 and Geng Bing 耿秉 to be stationed in Liang 涼 Province and to prepare for a northern expedition.

The second stage is from the sixteenth year to the eighteenth year of the Yongping reign-period of Emperor Ming (73-75 CE). The Eastern Han launched a campaign against the Northern Xiongnu, thus beginning the management of the Western Regions. The purpose was to cut off the right arm of the Xiongnu.

The third stage is from the first year of the Jianchu reign-period of Emperor Zhang 章 (76 CE) to the first year of the Yongyuan reign-period of Emperor He 和 (89 CE). In the first year of the Jianchu reign-period, the Eastern Han abolished the post of the Protector-General. After this the Eastern Han abandoned the Western Regions for more than ten years, the reason being that, at the end of the reign of Emperor Ming, various states in the Western Regions betrayed Han and worked in concert with the Northern Xiongnu. "Grain rose in price because of serious drought" at the beginning of the Jianchu reign-period (according to the "Yang Zhong zhuan" 楊終傳 in *Hou-Han shu*), making the Eastern Han unable to continue the management of the Western Regions. However, during this stage Ban Chao's activities in the Western Regions achieved considerable success. In the general climate in which the Eastern Han abandoned the Western Regions, the success that Ban Chao had achieved can mainly be attributed, as the Hu 胡 Commentary on the "Hanji" 漢紀 in *Zizhi tongjian* 資治通鑒 (ch. 48) states, to the fact that "the Xiongnu declined and were exhausted, and their strength could not reach the Western Regions", in addition to his personal competence. The Northern Xiongnu had always ruthlessly exploited the various states in the Western Regions, making them prefer to serve Han.

The fourth stage is from the second year of the Yongyuan reign-period (90 CE) to the first year of the Yanping 延平 reign-period of Emperor Shang 殤 (106 CE). During this stage the Eastern Han resumed the management of the Western Regions, which then reached its zenith because of the utter defeat of the Northern Xiongnu as well as Ban Chao's success in the preceding stage. The communications between east and west were also frequent and thrived.

The fifth stage is from the first year of the Yongchu 永初 reign-period of Emperor An (107 CE) to the first year of the Yanguang 延光 reign-period (122 CE). The reason for the cutting-off of the communications with the Western Regions is the unpopularity of the Protector-General Ren Shang 任尚, who was appointed after Ban Chao, leading to the revolt of the various states. Another reason is that the enlistment, on the part of the Eastern Han, of the Qiang people for a western expedition; they did not obey orders and deserted on the way, resulting in disaster. According to the "Xi Qiang zhuan" 西羌傳 in *Hou-Han shu*, the Qiang people were called for service in the summer of the first year of the Yongchu reign-period (107 CE), and Emperor An abolished the post of the Protector-General in the sixth month of this year. After the Eastern Han had abandoned the Western Regions, the Northern Xiongnu resumed their suzerainty over the various states in the Western Regions, and together they harassed the border for more than a decade. During this stage, the Administrator of Dunhuang Prefecture, Cao Zong 曹宗, sent a written message to the Emperor, who dispatched Suo Ban 索班, who was concurrently performing the duties of the Chief Official, to move his headquarters to Yiwu, offer an amnesty to the various states, and enlist their service in an attempt to mitigate the assaults of the Northern Xiongnu. But after several months Suo Ban was attacked and killed by the Northern Xiongnu. Cao Zong begged for troops to be dispatched to attack the Xiongnu, but the Empress Dowager Deng 鄧 rejected this proposal, probably because the turmoil of the Qiang was not yet completely calmed. Only the Deputy Colonel of the Western Regions was established at Dunhuang and a garrison of 300 men was restored, a measure designed only to maintain contact with, and watch over, the various states. After this there were ministers who asked to close the barriers of Yumen and Yang to eradicate the aggression from the Northern Xiongnu because they continuously invaded the Hexi region.

The sixth stage is from the second year of the Yanguang reign-period (123 CE) to the end of the Eastern Han. This stage can be subdivided into three periods. The first period is from the second year of the Yanguang reign-period (123 CE) to the end of the Yongjian 永建 reign-period (132 CE). During this period the Eastern Han again made great efforts to resume the management of the Western Regions. As a result, while it was unable to restore communications with the states to the west of the Cong Mountains, most of the states around the Tarim Basin submitted anew to Han. The eight-year period began with the setting up of an agricultural colony at Liuzhong and ended with the setting up of another one at Yiwu, which was the second apex of the Eastern Han's management of the Western Regions. The second period is from the first year of the Yangjia 陽嘉 reign-period (132 CE) to the first year of the Yuanjia 元嘉 reign-period (151 CE) of Emperor Huan 桓. During this period, the Eastern

Han was still able to keep control of the Western Regions; however, the various states invaded each other and the authority of the Eastern Han steadily declined. In the second year of the Yuanjia reign-period (152 CE), the Chief Official of the Western Regions, Wang Jing 王敬, was killed, which can be regarded as a symbol of the collapse of the Eastern Han's control over the Western Regions. In the third year of the Jianning 建寧 reign-period of Emperor Ling (170 CE), the Governor of Liang Province could still mobilize the troops of Yanqi, Qiuci, and the tribes of Nearer and Further Jushi to attack Shule. In the fourth year of the Xiping 熹平 reign-period (175 CE), the Wuji 戊己 Colonel and the Chief Official of the Western Regions could still send forces to help enthrone the son of Jumi's 拘彌 king, who had been attending at the Han court. These events seem to show that the Eastern Han's control of the Western Regions lasted until later in the reign of Emperor Ling, at least. However, the use of military forces twice as mentioned above can only be regarded as the final efforts that the Eastern Han made for the control of the Western Regions. After the third year of the Jianning reign-period (170 CE), the kings of Shule were all killed in succession, and the Han court was unable to stop such criminalities. The son of Jumi's king, who had attended at the Han court, was established as king eventually, but Han was unable to bring to justice the king of Yutian 于闐, who had killed the former king of Jumi. These examples all illustrate this point.

順帝永建二年，勇復擊降焉耆。[91]於是龜茲、疏勒[92]、于窴、莎車等十七國皆來服從，而烏孫[93]、葱領[94]已西遂絕。

In the second year of the Yongjian 永建 reign-period of Emperor Shun 順 (127 CE), [Ban] Yong attacked and subdued Yanqi once more.[91] Thereupon the 17 states such as Qiuci, Shule[92], Yutian 于窴 and Suoju 莎車 all came and expressed their subordination. However, contacts with those to the west of Wusun[93] and the Cong 葱 Mountains[94] (the Pamirs) were broken off.

[91] As is recorded in the "Shundi ji" 順帝紀 of *Hou-Han shu*, in the sixth month of the second year of the Yongjian reign-period, "the Chief Official of the Western Regions, Ban Yong, and the Administrator of Dunhuang, Zhang Lang 張朗, launched a punitive expedition against the three states of Yanqi, Weili 尉犂, and Weixu 危須 and defeated them. They all sent their princes to present tribute".

[92] Shule 疏勒 was an oasis state on the Northern Route in the Western Regions, first mentioned in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu*.

[93] Wusun 烏孫 consisted of nomadic tribes in the valleys of the Ili and Chu rivers, first mentioned in the "Dayuan liezhuan" of *Shiji*. According to the "Geng Gong zhuan" 耿恭傳 in *Hou-Han shu,* in the seventeenth year of the Yongping reign-period, Geng Gong was appointed the Wuji Colonel. "After he had arrived in the tribe of Jushi, [Geng] Gong 耿恭 sent a dispatch to Wusun to proclaim Han's power, prestige, and trustworthiness. The Greater *Kunmi* and those lower in rank all rejoiced, sending envoys to present fine horses and to produce the gambling and chess games which had been given to the princess by Emperor Xuan 宣. [The *Kunmi*] expressed his willingness to send his son to attend at the [Han] court. [Geng] Gong sent envoys, bringing gold and silk, to meet the son who was to attend at the court". This inaugurated the communication between Wusun and the Eastern Han. If the date of [Geng] Gong's arrival in the state of Further Jushi was the winter of the seventeenth year of the Yongping reign-period (74 CE), it would have been in the eighteenth year when Wusun sent its prince to attend at the court. As is recorded in the "Ban Chao zhuan" 班超傳 of *Hou-Han shu*, in the fifth year of the Jianchu 建初 reign-period (80 CE), "after destroying Fanchen 番辰, Ban Chao wanted to attack Qiuci, and thought Wusun's forces were powerful and should be used. He sent a memorial to the throne, saying that Wusun was a large state with 100,000 trained bowmen. [In the past] Emperor Wu had given the hand of a princess [to its ruler] in marriage, and it finally, in the time of Emperor Xiaoxuan 孝宣, bore fruit. Now we should send an envoy to win the state over and join forces with it". The Emperor accepted [Ban Chao's] recommendation. In the eighth year (83 CE), [the Emperor] appointed [Ban] Chao the Chief Official with the authority to command troops, with the privilege to use a military band and banners, and appointed Xu Gan 徐幹 the Army Major. [Han] sent the Guards' Captain, Li Yi 李邑, to escort Wusun's envoy, and made a gift of silks and brocade to the Greater and Lesser *Kunmi* and those of lower ranks". The *Kunmi* of Wusun sent his son to attend at court, and "[Ban] Chao sent [Li] Yi back to the capital, escorting the son of the king of Wusun, who would attend at the court". It is possible that the *Kunmi* of Wusun sent his son to attend at the Eastern Han court for the second time. Since Ban Chao called Wusun "a large state", it must still have had some strength. However, those trained bowmen, totaling only 100,000, were far less than the number recorded in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu*. Wusun was presented silks and it sent its prince to attend at the court, but there is no record that it ever sent out forces to help Ban Chao in the expedition against Qiuci, and the Eastern Han never did seem to think of allying itself with Wusun to resist the Xiongnu. The Eastern Han's communication with Wusun was cut off at the time when Emperor An ascended the throne. However, as recorded in the "Zhong Hao zhuan" 种暠傳 of *Hou-Han shu*, during the reign of Emperor Huan 桓, when Zhong Hao was appointed the General Crossing the Liao 遼 [River], Wusun

expressed a willingness to Zhong Hao "to be subject to" Han.

[94] "Congling" 葱領 (the Cong 葱 Mountains) should be the same as the "Congling" 葱嶺 in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu*.

六年，帝以伊吾舊膏腴之地，傍近西域，匈奴資之，以爲鈔暴，復令開設屯田如永元時事，置伊吾司馬一人。[95]

In the sixth year [of the Yongjian 永建 reign-period] (131 CE), the emperor also ordered to set up an agricultural colony as had been done in the Yongyuan 永元 reign-period (89-105 CE) and to establish a Major of Yiwu 伊吾,[95] because Yiwu, being fertile land that adjoined the Western Regions, was often robbed and harried by the Xiongnu who treated it as a resource.

[95] According to the "Shundi ji" 順帝紀 in *Hou-Han shu*, "on the day *xinhai* 辛亥 in the third month [of the sixth year of the Yongjian 永建 reign-period (131 CE)], the agricultural colony at Yiwu was resumed, and the Major of Yiwu was reestablished". From then on Yiwu was subject to Han.

自陽嘉以後，朝威稍損，諸國驕放，轉相陵伐。元嘉二年，長史王敬爲于窴所沒。永興元年，車師後王復反攻屯營。雖有降首[96]，曾莫懲革，自此浸以疏慢矣。[97]

After the Yangjia 陽嘉 reign-period (132-135 CE), the prestige of the imperial court diminished somewhat: the various states became arrogant and unrestrained, and made war upon one another. In the second year of the Yuanjia 元嘉 reign-period (152 CE), the Chief Official, Wang Jing 王敬, was killed by Yutian 于窴. In the first year of the Yongxing 永興 reign-period (126 CE), the king of the state of Further Jushi again revolted and attacked the camp that was to set up an agricultural colony. Although there were some who surrendered,[96] nobody learned from past mistakes and mended their ways. From then on [the various states in the Western Regions] drifted apart and slighted [Han] bit by bit.[97]

[96] "*Xiangshou*" 降首: According to the Li Commentary, "*shou*" 首 is equivalent to "*fu*" 服.

[97] Aluoduo 阿羅多 attacked the camp that was setting up an agricultural colony, i.e., the town of Qiegu 且固 in the following text, and fled to the Northern Xiongnu. Han was unable to bring him to justice; on the contrary, he was established as the king of the state of Further Jushi: a devastating blow to Han's prestige. The Aluoduo event is one of the signs that Han's management in the Western Regions was about to collapse.

班固記諸國風土人[98]俗，皆已詳備《前書》。今撰建武以後其事異於先者，以爲“西域傳”，皆安帝末班勇所記云。[99]

The natural conditions and social customs[98] of the various states recorded by Ban Gu 班固 are all supplied in *Qian-Han shu* 前漢書. Now I have compiled those matters after the Jianwu 建武 reign-period, which were different from the former, into the "Memoir on the Western Regions". This has all been written down by Ban Yong at the end of the reign-period of Emperor An.[99]

[98] Originally the character "*ren*" 人 should have been "*min*" 民 , changed into the present form to observe the taboo of an emperor's name in the Tang dynasty.

[99] According to the "Ban Liang liezhuan" 班梁列傳 in *Hou-Han shu*, in the second year of the Yongjian reign-period (127 CE), Ban Yong, together with the Administrator of Dunhuang, Zhang Lang, attacked Yanqi. "[Ban] Yong reached the destination after the designated time, for which he was summoned and imprisoned, but he was exempt from punishment. Later he died at his own residence". From this, we can see that Ban Yong's activities in the Western Regions terminated in the second year of the Yongjian reign-period; that is, this year is the latest possible date of the "records written down by Ban Yong", as well as the events in the Western Regions recorded in this memoir. However, of the verifiable events in this memoir, there are obviously many that had occurred later than the second year of the Yongjian reign-period; for instance, in the sixth year of the Yongjian reign-period of Emperor Shun 順, in the second year of the Yuanjia reign-period (152 CE) and the first year of the Yongxing 永興 reign-period (153 CE) of Emperor Huan 桓, among others. The latest event recorded occurred in the fourth year of the Xiping 熹平 reign-period (175 CE) of Emperor Ling. All this means that the sources for the records here are not limited to those "written down by Ban Yong". Ban Yong was a son of Ban Chao. He was the Chief Official of the Western Regions from the second year of the Yanguang 延光 reign-period of Emperor An to the second year of the Yongjian reign-period of

Emperor Shun. During his term, the Eastern Han's management of the Western Regions once again reached its zenith. Ban Yong thus had a very rich experience. The information "written down by Ban Yong" must include much that he had personally seen and heard. However, Ban Yong lived in the Western Regions for no more than four years, and, as recorded in this memoir, after the second year of the Yongjian reign-period, "contacts with Wusun and the west of the Cong Mountains [the Pamirs] were broken off". Therefore, it is impossible that the records "written down by Ban Yong", especially the part concerning the west of the Cong Mountains, were entirely what Ban Yong had seen and heard during his term as the Chief Official of the Western Regions. Of the records here, some had been undoubtedly acquired by his father, Ban Chao, including whatever information Gan Ying 甘英 had gained on his western mission.[22]

西域内屬諸國，東西六千餘里 [100]，南北千餘里 [101]，東極玉門、陽關，西至葱領。其東、北與匈奴、烏孫相接。[102] 南北有大山 [103]，中央有河 [104]。其南山東出金城 [105]，與漢南山 [106] 屬焉。其河有兩源 [107]：一出葱領東流，一出于寘南山下北流，與葱領河合，東注蒲昌海 [108]。蒲昌海一名鹽澤 [109]，去玉門三百餘里。[110]

The various states in the Western Regions that entered [the Han] as tributaries are situated in an area, whose distance from east to west extends for more than 6,000 *li* [100] and from north to south for more than 1,000 *li* [101]. On the east it extends as far as the Yumen and the Yang Barriers. On the west it extends as far as the Cong Mountains (the Pamirs). On the northeast it adjoins the Xiongnu and Wusun.[102] To the north and south there are great mountains,[103] and a river flows through the middle[104]. Its southern mountains emerge in the east in Jincheng 金城 [Prefecture] [105] and link with the Southern Mountains of Han[106]. Its rivers have two sources[107], of which one rises in the Cong Mountains and runs eastward, and the other in the Southern Mountains of Yutian 于寘 and runs northward to join the river that comes from the Cong Mountains. Eastward it flows into the Puchang 蒲昌 Sea[108], whose other name is the Salt Marsh[109]. The Salt Marsh is more than 300 *li* [110] from the Yumen and Yang Barriers.

[100] "More than 6,000 *li*" (Distance 2.1): The approximate distance between Yumen and Yang Barriers and the Cong Mountains.

[101] "More than 1,000 *li*" (Distance 2.2): The approximate distance between the southern and

northern mountains.

[102] As in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu*, the definition and connotation of the "Western Regions" are not the same. As a matter of fact, the scope of the "Western Regions" in this memoir has exceeded that in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu*. Specifically, the term here includes the Italian Peninsula and the eastern, northern, and southern shores of the Mediterranean Sea. The scope of the term here encompasses the largest areas in the memoirs on the Western Regions in the official histories of the Western and Eastern Han, Wei, Jin, and Southern and Northern Dynasties. The scope of narrative concerning the Western Regions in the subsequent histories does not go beyond that in this memoir.

[103] "To the north and south there are great mountains": The southern mountains refer to the present-day Karakoram, Kunlun, and Altyn-tagh mountains; the northern mountains refer to the Tianshan Mountains.

[104] The river refers to the Tarim River.

[105] Jincheng 金城 was a county. Its seat was northwest of present-day Lanzhou 蘭州, Gansu province.

[106] "The Southern Mountains of Han" 漢南山 refers to the present-day Qilian 祁連 Mountains.

[107] "Its rivers have two sources": The river that rises in the Cong Mountains is the River of the Cong Mountains 葱嶺河 (the present-day Yarkand River); the river that rises from the Southern Mountains of Yutian 于闐南山 is the Yutian 于闐 River (the present-day Hetian 和闐 River). The two rivers converge to flow into the Lop Nur.

[108] "The Puchang Sea" 蒲昌海 was first mentioned in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu*; it is the same as the Salt Marsh in this text.

[109] "The Salt Marsh" 鹽澤 was first mentioned in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu.*

[110] "More than 300 *li*" (Distance 2.3): The approximate distance between the Salt Marsh and the Yumen and Yang Barriers. This figure is based on the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu*. In the Chinese text, after "Yumen", the two characters—"Yang guan" 陽關—are missing.

自敦煌西出玉門、陽關，涉鄯善，[111] 北通伊吾千餘里 [112]，自伊吾北通車師前部高昌壁千二百里 [113]，自高昌壁北通後部金滿 [114] 城五百里 [115]。此其西域之門戶也，故戊己校尉更互屯焉。伊吾地宜五穀、桑麻、蒲萄。其北又有柳中，皆膏腴之地。故漢常與匈奴爭車師、伊吾，以制西域焉。[116]

Starting from Dunhuang, he went west through the Yumen and Yang Barriers across [the desert] to Shanshan,[111] and [from Dunhuang] north over a thousand *li* to Yiwu[112], from Yiwu north to the fortress of Gaochang 高昌 in the tribe of Nearer Jushi 1,200 *li* [113] distant, from the fortress of Gaochang north 500 *li* [115] to the town of Jinman 金滿 [114] in the tribe of Further Jushi. This was his strategic area for controlling the Western Regions, [the one which] the former Wuji 戊己 Colonels, one after another, garrisoned with agricultural colonies. The territory of Yiwu is suitable for the five grains, mulberry, hemp, and grapes. North of it as far as Liuzhong [the land] is all fertile, and therefore the Han fought with the Xiongnu over Jushi and Yiwu in order to control the Western Regions.[116]

[111] "Starting from Dunhuang, he went west through the Yumen and Yang Barriers across [the desert] to Shanshan", etc.: It seems that some characters are missing in the Chinese text, since one was unable to travel from Dunhuang northward to Yiwu, starting from the Yang Barrier; he would not be able to pass through the territory of Shanshan; and on the eastern border of Shanshan there was no direct road to the Yumen Barrier. Therefore, it is not unreasonable to regard the five characters, 陽關涉鄯善, as belonging to the beginning of the next section and, hence, redundant here.

[112] "Over a thousand *li*" (Distance 3.1): The distance from the Yumen Barrier west of Dunhuang to Yiwu.

[113] "1,200 *li*" (Distance 3.2): The distance from Yiwu westward to the fortress of Gaochang.

[114] "Jinman" 金滿 should be "Jinpu" 金蒲 according to the "Geng Gong zhuan" of *Hou-Han shu*. "Jinpu" 金蒲 [kiəm-pha] and the "Jinfu" 金附 [kiəm-bio] in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu* should be variations in the transcription of the same name. It was probably the East Dalungku Site south of present-day Jimsar.

[115] "500 *li*" (Distance 3.3): The distance from the fortress of Gaochang to Jinman. Considered in light of Distance 1, Jinman should be the Town of the Captain in the Tribe of Further Jushi.

[116] In the twenty-first year of the Jianwu 建武 reign-period of Emperor Guangwu (45 CE), the king of Nearer Jushi sent his son to attend at the Han court, and petitioned that Han appoint a Protector-General. Because of Han's refusal, he was forced to submit to the Xiongnu. Earlier, the king of Further Jushi had already submitted to the Xiongnu. In the seventeenth year of the Yongping 永平 reign-period (74 CE) of Emperor Ming, Han defeated Nearer and Further Jushi. In the eighteenth year, the Northern Xiongnu killed the king of Further Jushi, and Jushi reverted to the rule of the Xiongnu.

In the first year of the Jianchu 建初 reign-period (76 CE) of Emperor Zhang 章, Han forces launched an attack on the town of Jiaohe 交河, and Jushi again surrendered. Because the office of the Wuji Colonel was abolished, Jushi again submitted to the Xiongnu, until the second year of the Yongyuan 永元 reign-period (90 CE) of Emperor He 和 , when Dou Xian 竇憲 defeated the Northern Xiongnu and the kings of Nearer and Further Jushi both sent their sons to attend at the Han court and present tribute. In the third year, the office of Wuji Colonel was reestablished, headquartered in the fortress of Gaochang in Nearer Jushi, and the Captain of the Wu Division 戊部候 was established, stationed at the Town of the Captain in the Tribe of Further Jushi. In the eighth year, the king of Further Jushi attacked his counterpart of the Nearer Jushi. In the ninth year, Han launched a punitive expedition against Further Jushi. The king of Further Jushi fled to the Northern Xiongnu, but the Han forces pursued and killed him, and established a new king for Further Jushi. In the first year of Yongchu 永初 reign-period (107 CE) of Emperor An, the office of the Protector-General was abolished, and Jushi again surrendered to the Xiongnu. In the sixth year of the Yongchu reign-period (119 CE), Suo Ban was stationed at Yiwu. He offered an amnesty to various states to enlist their service, and the kings of Nearer and Further Jushi came over to surrender. In the first year of the Yongning 永寧 reign-period (120 CE), the king of Further Jushi rebelled, killing the Major of the tribe of Further Jushi and the Executive Official of Dunhuang [Prefecture]. After this, the Xiongnu, together with Jushi, frequently invaded and raided the Hexi region (Gansu 甘肅 Corridor), until the second year of the Yanguang 延光 reign-period (123 CE), when Han mobilized the troops of Qiuci and other states and reached the court of the King of Nearer Jushi, driving away the Yili 伊蠡 King of the Xiongnu and opening again the communication with Nearer Jushi. In the fourth year of the Yanguang reign-period, forces were gathered from the Han cavalry at the borders and from Nearer Jushi and other states, which defeated the King of Further Jushi. In the first year of the Yongjian 永建 reign-period (126 CE), the *Chanyu* of the Northern Xiongnu invaded Further Jushi; Han forces speedily sent reinforcements, and the *Chanyu* fled. In the third year of the Yangjia 陽嘉 reign-period (134 CE), the Major of the Tribe of Further Jushi made a surprise attack on the Northern Xiongnu in the Changwulu 閶吾陸 Valley. In the spring of the fourth year, the Huyan 呼衍 King of the Northern Xiongnu led a force to invade Further Jushi; the Han force came to its aid, but was unable to prevail. In the autumn, the Huyan King again defeated Further Jushi. In the second year of the Yonghe 永和 reign-period (137 CE), the Administrator of Dunhuang killed the Huyan King. In the first year of the Yongxing reign-period (153 CE) of Emperor Huan 桓 , the Aluoduo 阿羅多 Incident occurred (see this memoir). After this, Further Jushi was subject to Han. In the third year of the Jianning reign-period (170 CE), the Governor

of Liang Province called up the troops of the Tribes of Nearer and Further Jushi to attack Shule. In order to fight against the Northern Xiongnu, Emperor Ming resumed the management of the Western Regions, ordering Dou Gu 竇固, in the sixteenth year of the Yongping 永平 reign-period (73 CE), to launch an expedition against the Northern Xiongnu and establishing the office of the Commandant of Yihe 宜禾 at Yiwu to supervise the agricultural colony there. At the death of Emperor Ming, the office of the Protector-General was abolished, and the agricultural colony at Yiwu was abolished in the second year of the Jianchu 建初 reign-period. Yiwu reverted to the control of the Xiongnu. In the first year of the Yongyuan 永元 reign-period (89 CE) of Emperor He, Dou Xian 竇憲 defeated the Xiongnu, and subsequently in the next year sent the Deputy Colonel, Yan Pan 閻槃, to take Yiwu and resume the agricultural project there. In the first year of the Yongchu 永初 reign-period (107 CE) of Emperor An, the Eastern Han abolished the post of the Protector-General, as well as the agricultural colonies at Yiwu and Liuzhong, and the Western Regions again reverted to the control of the Northern Xiongnu. In the sixth year of the Yuanchu 元初 reign-period (119 CE), Suo Ban, the Chief Official, was ordered to station at Yiwu with over 1,000 troops, but a few months later the Northern Xiongnu murdered Suo Ban and occupied Yiwu yet again. In the sixth year of the Yongjian 永建 reign-period of Emperor Shun 順, Han ordered the resumption of the agricultural colony at Yiwu, and established the Major of Yiwu there. Although the Northern Xiongnu encroached upon the area later, the control of Yiwu never changed hands thereafter.

自鄯善踰葱領出西諸國，有兩道。[117] 傍南山北，陂河 [118] 西行至莎車，爲南道。南道西踰葱領，則出大月氏 [119]、安息之國也。自車師前王庭隨北山，陂河西行至疏勒，爲北道。北道西踰葱領，出大宛 [120]、康居 [121]、奄蔡 [122] 焉。[123]

Starting from Shanshan there are two routes which cross the Cong Mountains and then lead to the various states of the Western Regions.[117] The one which skirts the northern edge of the Southern Mountain and proceeds along the course of the river[118] west of Suoju 莎車 is the Southern Route. To the west, the Southern Route crosses the Cong Mountains and then leads to Da Yuezhi 大月氏 [119] and Anxi 安息. The route that starts from the royal court of Nearer Jushi 車師, runs alongside the Northern Mountains, and follows the course of the river west to Shule 疏勒, is the Northern Route. To the west, the Northern Route crosses the Cong Mountains and leads to Dayuan 大宛 [120], Kangju 康居[121], and Yancai 奄蔡[122].[123]

[117] The section from "Starting from Shanshan there are two routes which cross the Cong Mountains and then lead to the various states of the Western Regions" 自鄯善踰葱領出西諸國 is copied from the records concerning the Southern and Northern Routes in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu*. Not only is the wording after "the one which skirts the northern edge of the Southern Mountain" exactly the same, but the redundant character "*qi*" 耆 is found in both texts.[23] The first sentence does not make sense in meaning; it can be emended, after the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu,* to: "Starting from the Yumen and Yang Barriers there are two routes which lead into the Western Regions. The one which goes by way of Shanshan…" 自玉門、陽關出西域有兩道, 自鄯善…

[118] " 陂河 " is the same as " 波河 " in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu*.

[119] "Da Yuezhi" 大月氏 first appears in the "Dayuan liezhuan" of *Shiji*. The Da Yuezhi were the nomadic tribes in the valleys of the Ili and Chu rivers. They later migrated westwards to the valley of the Amu Darya. The "Da Yuezhi" in this memoir refers to the state of Guishuang 貴霜.

[120] Dayuan 大宛 was located in the Ferghāna Basin; it first appears in the "Dayuan liezhuan" of *Shiji*. At the beginning of the Eastern Han, Dayuan was subject for a time to Suoju; the single record of its contact with the Eastern Han is in the "Shundi ji" 順帝紀 of *Hou-Han shu*: "In the fifth year [of Yongjian reign-period]…, the kings of Dayuan and Suoju both sent envoys to present tributary gifts". But the "blood-sweating" horses were often brought to Han.

[121] Kangju 康居 refers to the nomadic tribes on the north of the Syr Darya; the name first appears in the "Dayuan liezhuan" of *Shiji*. According to the "Ban Chao zhuan" in *Hou-Han shu*, in the third year of the Jianchu reign-period (78 CE), Ban Chao led his troops to attack Gumo 姑墨. In the same year, when Ban Chao submitted a petition for more troops, he referred to Kangju as "willing to acknowledge allegiance [to us]". According to the "Ban Gu zhuan" 班固傳 in *Hou-Han shu*, in the eighth year (83 CE), Ban Gu memorialized the throne, saying, "Kangju and Yuezhi came over from afar". This seems to refer to Kangju's willingness to pledge allegiance in the third year. However, according to the "Ban Chao zhuan" in *Hou-Han shu*, when Ban Chao attacked Shule in the first year of the Yuanhe 元和 reign-period (84 CE), Kangju came to its aid with the best of its troops; it was only when Ban Chao sent the King of Yuezhi to caution the King of Kangju that he withdrew his troops. In the third year of the Yuanhe 元和 reign-period (86 CE), the former King of Shule 疏勒, Zhong 忠, borrowed troops from Kangju to oppose Ban Chao. This seems to show that the separations and reunions of Kangju and the Eastern Han were completely dependent on the temporary balance of power.

[122] Yancai 奄蔡 is the nomadic tribes to the north of the Aral and Caspian Seas; it first appears in the "Dayuan liezhuan" of *Shiji*. The Yancai in this memoir refers to the Yancai conquered by the

state of Alan 阿蘭.

[123] This memoir in *Hou-Han shu* records another route to the Western Regions that is not included in its counterpart in *Hanshu*; i.e., the Route of Yiwu 伊吾道. It is generally believed that this route had been opened up in the era of the Eastern Han. According to the "Dou Gu zhuan" 竇固傳 in *Hou-Han shu*, in an expedition, his subordinates, "Geng Bing 耿秉 and Qin Peng 秦彭, took a force of 10,000 cavalry, which included the mercenary recruits from Wuwei 武威, Longxi 隴西, Tianshui 天水, and the Qiang Hu 羌胡, setting out from the Juyan 居延 Defense". The route followed was the same as that taken by Huo Qubing 霍去病. However, in the seventeenth year of the Yongping reign-period (74 CE) of Emperor Ming, according to the "Mingdi ji" 明帝紀 in *Hou-Han shu*, Dou Gu and others set out from the Kunlun Barrier 昆侖塞 in Dunhuang; they "defeated the savages of the White Mountains at the Pulei 蒲類 Lake", indicating that they advanced along the so-called Route of Yiwu. The Kunlun Barrier should be on the communication lines from Dunhuang to Yiwu. There is no harm in considering that the opening up of the Route of Yiwu had something to do with the setting up of the agricultural colonies at Yiwu.

出玉門，經鄯善、且末、精絕三千餘里[124]至拘彌[125]。

Starting from the Yumen Barrier, via Shanshan, Qiemo and Jingjue 精絕, one goes over 3,000 *li*[124] and reaches Jumi 拘彌[125].

[124] "Over 3,000 *li*" (Distance 4): The approximate distance from the seat of the king's government of Shanshan to that of Jumi via those of Qiemo and Jingjue. The figure is the aggregate of a number of distances according to the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu*, i.e., the aggregate of 720 *li*, the distance between the seat of the king's government of Shanshan and that of Qiemo; 2,000 *li*, the distance between the seat of the king's government of Qiemo and that of Jingjue; and 460 *li*, the distance between the seat of the king's government of Jingjue and that of Wumi 扜彌 (Jumi 拘彌)—a total of 3,180 *li*. This indicates that the distances in this memoir are not a result of actual surveys in Eastern Han times; they are copied from the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu*.

[125] Jumi 拘彌 was an oasis state on the Southern Route of the Western Regions; it should be the Wumi 扜彌 or Wumi 杅彌 in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu*. "Jumi" 拘彌 [kiok-miai] and "Wumi" 扜彌 or "Wumi" 杅彌 are variant transcriptions of the same name.

拘彌國居寧彌城[126]，去長史所居柳中四千九百里[127]，去洛陽萬二千八百里[128]。領戶二千一百七十三，口七千二百五十一，勝兵千七百六十人。

The state of Jumi: It has its residence at the town of Ningmi 寧彌[126], which is 4,900 *li* [127] from Liuzhong 柳中, the seat of the government of the Chief Official, and is 12,800 *li* [128] from Luoyang 洛陽. There are 2,173 households, 7,251 individuals including 1,760 persons able to bear arms.

[126] The location of Ningmi 寧彌 is the same as the town of Wumi 扜彌 in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu*, the seat of the king's government of the state of Wumi. It was probably located at the present-day ruins of Dandān-Uiliq. According to this memoir, in the ninth year of the Jianwu reign-period (33 CE), the King of Suoju, Xian 賢, defeated Jumi 拘彌, killed its king, and established a son of his brother named Kang 康 as the King of Jumi. Later, the state of Jumi was in constant turmoil, until after Emperor Zhang ascended the throne, when it submitted to Han and saw peace. Hence the name of "Wumi" 杅彌 was changed to "Ningmi" 寧彌.

[127] "4,900 *li*" (Distance 5.1): The approximate distance from the seat of the king's government of Jumi via that of Shanshan to Liuzhong. According to the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu*, the distance between the king's government of Wumi 扜彌 (Jumi 拘彌) and that of Shanshan is 3,180 *li*; the distance between the seat of the king's government of Shanshan and that of Nearer Jushi is 1,890 *li*: hence the distance between the seat of the king's government of Jumi and that of Nearer Jushi can be calculated at 5,070 *li*. Since Liuzhong is 80 *li* east of the seat of the king's government of Nearer Jushi, the distance from the seat of the king's government of Jumi via that of Shanshan to Liuzhong should be 4,990 *li*. The figure "4,900" 四千九百 is possibly an error for "4,990" 四千九百九十.

[128] "12,800 *li*" (Distance 5.2): The distance from the seat of the king's government of Jumi via that of Shanshan to Luoyang; i.e., the aggregate of 3,180 *li*, the distance between the seat of the king's government of Jumi and that of Shanshan; 6,100 *li*, the distance between the seat of the king's government of Shanshan and Chang'an (the above figures are according to the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu*); and 1,000 *li*, the distance between Chang'an and Luoyang. The figure "12,800" 萬二千八百 should be an error for "10,280" 萬二百八十.

順帝永建四年，于寘王放前殺拘彌王興，自立其子爲拘彌王，而遣使者貢獻於漢。[129]敦煌太守徐由上求討之，帝赦于寘罪，令歸拘彌國，放前不肯。[130]

In the fourth year of the Yongjian 永建 reign-period of Emperor Shun 順 (129 CE), the king of Yutian 于寘, Fangqian 放前, killed the king of Jumi, Xing 興, established his own son as king of Jumi, and sent an envoy to present tribute to Han.[129] The Administrator of Dunhuang, Xu You 徐由, sent a written message to the emperor asking permission to punish him. The Emperor pardoned Yutian and ordered it to give the state back to Jumi. Fangqian was not willing to do so.[130]

[129] According to the "Shundi ji" of *Hou-Han shu*, in the fourth year of the Yongjian reign-period, "the state of Jumi sent an envoy to present tribute". The envoy must have been sent by the son of Fangqian 放前; the purpose was to please Han.

[130] According to the "Shundi ji" of *Hou-Han shu*, in the sixth year of the Yongjian reign-period (131 CE), the king of Yutian sent his son, who had been attending at court, to present tribute. It is possible that Fangqian stated the reason why he was not willing to give the state back to Jumi. In the end, however, he could not avoid the punitive expedition led by Chenpan 臣磐.

陽嘉元年，徐由遣疏勒王臣槃發二萬人擊于寘，破之，斬首數百級[131]，放兵大掠，更立興宗人成國爲拘彌王而還。至靈帝熹平四年，于寘王安國攻拘彌，大破之，殺其王，死者甚衆，戊己校尉[132]、西域長史各發兵輔立拘彌侍子定興爲王。時人衆裁有千口。[133]其國西接于寘三百九十里[134]。

In the first year of the Yangjia 陽嘉 reign-period, Xu You sent the king of Shule, Chenpan 臣磐, to call up a force of 20,000 persons to attack Yutian and routed it, cutting off several hundred heads.[131] He let his troops wantonly loot, and reestablished a man of Xing's 興 clan, Chengguo 成國, as king of Jumi, before he returned. In the fourth year of the Xiping 熹平 reign-period of Emperor Ling 靈 (175 CE), the king of Yutian 于寘, Anguo 安國, attacked Jumi and inflicted heavy losses on it. The king of Jumi was killed and the dead were very numerous. The Wuji 戊己 Colonel[132] and the Chief Official of the Western Regions sent out their forces to assist in the establishment of the Jumi king's son Dingxing 定興, who had been attending at court, as king. At that time there were only a thousand people surviving in the state.[133] To the west the state adjoins Yutian at a distance of 390 *li* [134].

[131] For this sentence, the "Tianwen zhi (zhong)" 天文志中 of *Hou-Han shu* reads, "The Administrator Xu Bai 徐白 let the King of Shule, [Chen]pan, and others, with a force of 20,000 persons, enter Yutian; they looted it and cut off 300 heads". The wording and meaning in these two texts are somewhat different.

[132] "The Wuji Colonel": There are scholars who think that the character *ji* is redundant.[24] In my opinion, this opinion is not right, for there was undoubtedly such an office by the reign of Emperor Ling.

[133] This move by Anguo 安國 was to avenge his father, and it depended on Song Liang's 宋亮 inability to send out the forces. Although Han did send out forces to establish a king for Jumi, Anguo, after all, did not receive the punishment he deserved.

[134] "390 *li*" (Distance 5.3): The distance between the seat of the king of Jumi and that of Yutian. The figure is copied from the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu*.

于窴國居西城[135]，去長史所居五千三百里[136]，去洛陽萬一千七百里[137]。領戶三萬二千，口八萬三千，勝兵三萬餘人。[138]

The state of Yutian 于窴: It has its residence at the town of Xi 西[135], which is 5,300 *li*[136] from the seat of the government of the Chief Official, and is 11,700 *li*[137] from Luoyang. There are 32,000 households, 83,000 individuals including over 30,000 persons able to bear arms.[138]

[135] The town of Xi 西, the seat of the king's government of Yutian, is first mentioned in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu*.

[136] "5,300 *li*" (Distance 6.1): The distance from the town of Xi to Liuzhong via the seat of the king's government of Jumi; i.e., the aggregate of 390 *li*, the distance between the town of Xi and the seat of the king's government of Jumi, and 4,990 *li*, the distance between the latter and Liuzhong. The figure "5,300" 五千三百 is a corruption of "5,380" 五千三百八十.

[137] "11,700 *li*" (Distance 6.2): The distance from the town of Xi to Luoyang via the seats of the king's governments of Pishan 皮山 and Suoju. According to the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu*, the town of Xi is 380 *li* from the seat of the king's government of Pishan, which is 760 *li* from that of Suoju. The aggregate of the latter and 10,950 *li*, the distance between the seat of the king's government of Suoju and Luoyang, is the distance between the town of Xi and Luoyang. Here the figure "11,700" is

a corruption of "11,710".

[138] The numbers of households, individuals, and those able to bear arms here are 9.69, 4.30, and 12.5 times the figures recorded in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu*. The numbers in the former include those of the smaller states subject to Yutian, which should not be regarded as the actual increase in its population.

建武末，莎車王賢強盛，攻并于寘，徙其王俞林爲驪歸[139]王。明帝永平中，于寘將休莫霸反莎車，自立爲于寘王。休莫霸死，兄子廣德立，後遂滅莎車，其國轉盛。從精絕西北至疏勒十三國皆服從。而鄯善王亦始強盛。自是南道自蔥領以東，唯此二國爲大。[140]

At the end of the Jianwu reign-period, Xian, the king of Suoju waxed powerful, attacked and annexed Yutian, transferring its king Yulin 俞林 to be the king of Ligui 驪歸[139]. During the Yongping 永平 reign-period of Emperor Ming, Xiumoba 休莫霸, a general of Yutian, set himself up as king. When Xiumoba died, his elder brother's son Guangde 廣德 ascended the throne. Later he succeeded in annexing Suoju and his state became strong. All the thirteen states from northwest of Jingjue to Shule submitted to it. And the king of Shanshan also grew powerful: therefore along the Southern Route east of the Cong Mountains only these two states were most important.[140]

[139] What "Ligui" 驪歸 means is yet to be determined.

[140] Yutian and Shanshan became powerful with the decline of Suoju. It is stated previously in this memoir that Qule and Pishan were annexed by Yutian, Xiao Yuan 小宛 and Jingjue by Shanshan. The various states were not only subject to them, but were annexed by them.

順帝永建六年，于寘王放前遣侍子詣闕貢獻。[141]元嘉元年，長史趙評在于寘病癰死，評子迎喪，道經拘彌。拘彌王成國與于寘王建素有隙，乃語評子云："于寘王令胡醫持毒藥著創中，故致死耳。"評子信之，還入塞，以告敦煌太守馬達[142]。明年，以王敬代爲長史，達令敬隱覈其事。敬先過拘彌，成國復說云："于寘國人欲以我爲王，今可因此罪誅建，于寘必服矣。"敬貪立功名，且受成國之說，前到于寘，設供具請建，而陰圖之。

In the sixth year of the Yongjian 永建 reign-period of Emperor Shun 順 the king of Yutian, *Fangqian* 放前, *sent a prince to attend at the court and to present tribute at the* palace.[141] In the first year of the Yuanjia 元嘉 reign-period [of Emperor Huan 桓] (151 CE), the Chief Official, Zhao Ping 趙評, died at Yutian of a carbuncle. The son of [Zhao] Ping came to join in mourning, passing by Jumi. Because there had been a disagreement between the king of Jumi, Chengguo 成國, and the king of Yutian, Jian 建, the former told the son of [Zhao] Ping that the king of Yutian had ordered a barbarian doctor to put poison in [Zhao] Ping's cut, and that this was the cause of his death. The son of [Zhao] Ping believed him, and told this to the Administrator of Dunhuang, Ma Da 馬達[142], when he returned and entered the barrier. In the next year, Han appointed Wang Jing 王敬 Chief Official to replace Zhao Ping. [Ma] Da ordered him to verify the allegation covertly. [Wang] Jing first went to Jumi, and Chengguo again advised him and said, "The people of Yutian want to establish me as the king, and now you can kill Jian on this charge, so that Yutian will surely obey". [Wang] Jing was eager to achieve distinction, so he accepted Chengguo's advice. He arrived at Yutian and set out food and drink, invited Jian, and plotted to kill him in secret.

[141] According to the "Shundi ji" of *Hou-Han shu*, "On the day *dingyou* 丁酉 [in the ninth month of the autumn of the sixth year of the Yongjian 永建 reign-period (131 CE)], the King of Yutian sent a prince to attend at the court and present tribute"; and "on the day *renshen* 壬申 in the twelfth month, the king of Yutian sent his son, who served as an attendant at the court, to present tribute at the palace".

[142] For Ma Da 馬達, the section on Jushi in this memoir reads "Sima Da" 司馬達; we do not know which version is correct. Zhao Ping's son aired the allegations against the King of Yutian to Ma Da, indicating that the Administrator of Dunhuang at that time was in charge of affairs in the Western Regions.

或以敬謀告建，建不信，曰："我無罪，王長史何爲欲殺我？"旦日，建從官屬數十人詣敬。坐定，建起行酒，敬叱左右執之，吏士並無殺建意，官屬悉得突走。時成國主簿秦牧隨敬在會，持刀出曰："大事已定，何爲復疑？"卽前斬建。于寘侯將輸僰等遂會兵攻敬。敬持建頭上樓宣告曰："天子使我誅建耳。"于寘侯將遂焚營舍，燒殺吏士，上樓斬敬，懸首於市。[143]

Someone revealed [Wang] Jing's plan to Jian. Jian did not believe it, saying, "I am

not guilty. Why does Wang, the Chief Official, want to kill me?" At dawn, Jian, leading his subordinates, who were numbered in the tens, visited [Wang] Jing. After sitting down, Jian stood and served wine to [Wang] Jing. [Wang] Jing loudly bawled at his attendants to apprehend him. Neither officers nor soldiers wanted to kill Jian, thus all the subordinates charged out and ran away. At that time, Chengguo's Archivist, Qin Mu 秦牧, who was at the banquet, held a sword and went out, saying, "The matter has been decided! Why do we hesitate?" They immediately advanced and beheaded Jian. The generals and nobles of Yutian, such as Shubo 輸僰 and others, thereupon called up their forces to attack [Wang] Jing. [Wang] Jing, holding Jian's head, mounted a building and declared: "The Son of Heaven ordered me to put Jian to death." However, the generals and nobles of Yutian torched [Wang Jing's] camp, burned his officers and soldiers to death, and then mounted the building and beheaded [Wang] Jing, hanging his head in the market.[143]

[143] According to the "Huandi ji" of *Hou-Han shu*, "In the first month in the spring of the second year [of the Yuanjia 元嘉 reign-period (152 CE)], the Chief Official of the Western Regions, Wang Jing, was killed by the state of Yutian".

輸僰欲自立爲王，國人殺之，而立建子安國焉。馬達聞之，欲將諸郡兵出塞擊于寘，桓帝不聽，徵達還，而以宋亮代爲敦煌太守。亮到，開募于寘，令自斬輸僰。時輸僰死已經月，乃斷死人頭送敦煌，而不言其狀。亮後知其詐，而竟不能出兵，于寘恃此遂驕。[144]

Shubo wanted to establish himself as the king of Yutian. The countrymen [of Yutian] killed him and established the son of Jian, Anguo 安國, as king. After he had heard this, Ma Da wanted to muster the forces from the various prefectures and come out from the barrier to attack Yutian. Emperor Huan 桓 did not agree with him and summoned [Ma] Da to return to court, and made Song Liang 宋亮 Administrator of Dunhuang in his place. After having arrived at Yutian, Song Liang publicly recruited [the people of] Yutian and ordered them to behead Shubo on their own. As it happened, Shubo had already died a month earlier. [The people of] Yutian cut off the head of the corpse and sent it to Dunhuang, not giving the facts. [Song] Liang afterwards learned

about the ruse but was unable to dispatch troops. Yutian therefore became arrogant.[144]

[144] Since the Yuanjia 元嘉 reign-period of Emperor Huan 桓 (151-153 CE), the Eastern Han Dynasty underwent steady decline. The fact that Song Liang did not punish Yutian can be regarded as an instance of his ability falling short of his wishes. Ma Da ordered Wang Jing "to verify the allegation covertly", which shows that the Chief Official of the Western Regions was controlled by the Administrator of Dunhuang. The headquarters of the Chief Official of the Western Regions in the era of the Eastern Han were different, depending on the situation. The specific reason why Zhao Ping and Wang Jing were stationed at Yutian is unknown, and it may have been simply coincidental.

自于寘經皮山，至西夜[145]、子合[146]、德若[147]焉。

From Yutian, via Pishan, one reaches Xiye 西夜[145], Zihe 子合[146], and Deruo 德若[147].

[145] Xiye 西夜 was the name of a people, first mentioned in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu*.

[146] Zihe 子合 was an oasis state on the Southern Route, first mentioned in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu*.

[147] "Deruo" 德若, an oasis state on the Southern Route, should be "Wucha" 烏秅 in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu*. "Deruo" 德若 [tək-njiak] and "Wucha" 烏秅 should be variations in the transcription of the same name.

西夜國一名漂沙[148]，去洛陽萬四千四百里[149]。戶二千五百，口萬餘，勝兵三千人。地生白草[150]，有毒，國人煎以爲藥，傅箭鏃，所中卽死。《漢書》中誤云西夜、子合是一國，今各自有王。[151]

The state of Xiye 西夜: It has another name, Piaosha 漂沙[148], and is 14,400 *li* [149] from Luoyang. There are 2,500 households, over 10,000 individuals including over 3,000 persons able to bear arms. The land produces white grass[150] which is poisonous. The countrymen decoct it into a poison which they apply to arrowheads; those who are hit by such inevitably die. Xiye and Zihe 子合 are mistaken as one state in *Hanshu*. Now each has its own king.[151]

[148] "Piaosha" 漂沙 [phiô-shea] should be a transcription of Massagetae. "Xiye" in this memoir refers to the state of Piaosha. The Massagetae, according to the *History* of Herodotus (I, 153, 201), are also called the "Sacae". Although the Massagetae are called the "Sacae", these Sacae are different from the Sakās in the Behistun Inscription of Darius I, although both were possibly identical in language and ethnicity, and had the same origin. For the location of Piaosha, we only know its distance from Luoyang. In light of its distance from Chang'an, Piaosha should be 3,000 *li* to the west of Zihe.

[149] "14,400 *li*" (Distance 7): This was probably the distance from the seat of the king's government of Xiye via that of Suoju to Luoyang.

[150] White grass 白草 here should refer to 獨白草 (*Aconitum kusnezoffii Reichb.*); for its pharmaceutical properties, see "Cao zhi liu" 草之六 in *Bencao gangmu* 本草綱目 (ch. 17 [xia]).

[151] This memoir regards *Hanshu*'s record concerning this state as incorrect, an assertion that is, actually, not completely right. For the "Xiye Zihe" 西夜子合 in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu*, there are two interpretations: it could indicate the lands of Zihe, with the valley of Hujian 呼犍谷 as its center; it could also mean that the people of Xiye in the valley of Hujian are ruled over by the people of Zihe. If the latter is true, the statement, "the king is entitled King of Zihe", would be the same as that about the king of Ruo Qiang: "The King of Ruo Qiang is entitled King Quhulai". The name of the seat of the king's government, the numbers of households, individuals, and those able to bear arms are the same as in the record about the state of "Xiye Zihe" 西夜子合國 , indicating that they refer to the same state, that of Zihe, or the people of Xiye in the area of Zihe.

子合國居呼犍谷 [152]。去疏勒千里 [153]。領戶三百五十，口四千，勝兵千人。

The state of Zihe 子合: It has its residence in the Hujian 呼犍 valley[152], which is 1,000 *li* [153] from Shule. There are 350 households, over 4,000 individuals including over 1,000 persons able to bear arms.

[152] The location of the Hujian valley 呼犍谷 here is the same as in the record of the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu*; it is the valley of the Asgan-sal to the west of Karghalik.

[153] "1,000 *li*" (Distance 8): The distance from the Hujian valley to the seat of the king's government of Shule via that of Puli 蒲犂. According to the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu*, the Hujian valley is 700 *li* from the seat of the king's government of Puli, which is 200 *li* from that of Shule; the

sum of the two is 900 *li*. The "1,000 *li*" here is an approximate figure.

德若國領戶百餘，口六百七十，勝兵三百五十人。東去長史居三千五百三十里 [154]，去洛陽萬二千一百五十里 [155]，與子合相接。其俗皆同。

The state of Deruo 德若: In the state there are over 100 households, 670 individuals including over 350 persons able to bear arms. To the east it is 3,530 *li* [154] from the seat of the government of the Chief Official, and 12,150 *li* [155] from Luoyang. This state adjoins Zihe. The way of life is similar to that of Zihe.

[154] "3,530 *li*" (Distance 9.1): The distance from the seat of the king's government eastwards to Liuzhong.

[155] "12,150 *li*" (Distance 9.2): The distance between the seat of the king's government of Deruo and Luoyang. If Deruo is the Wucha in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu*, then the road to Liuzhong and Luoyang should be via Puli or Pishan. Distance 9.2 is different from the figure calculated from the distance between Wucha and Chang'an as recorded in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu*, indicating the former was a figure from an actual survey conducted in the Eastern Han.

自皮山西南經烏秅 [156]，涉懸度 [157]，歷罽賓 [158]，六十餘日 [159] 行至烏弋山離國，地方數千里，時改名排持。[160]

From Pishan 皮山 to the southwest, traversing Wucha 烏秅[156], passing through the Suspended Crossing[157], and crossing Jibin 罽賓[158], after over 60 days' travel[159] one reaches the state of Wuyishanli 烏弋山離. Its territory is several thousand *li* square. At this time, its name has been changed to Paite 排特.[160]

[156] Wucha 烏秅 is first seen in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu*; it should be the Deruo in this memoir. Because of different sources of references, this state is mistakenly identified as being two states.

[157] 懸度 should be the 縣度 (Suspended Crossing) in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu*.

[158] Jibin 罽賓 was located in the middle and lower reaches of the Kabul River. Jibin is first mentioned in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu*.

[159] "Over 60 days' travel" (Distance 10.1): The distance from the seat of the king's government

of Pishan to that of Wuyishanli via that of Jibin. According to the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu*, the distance from the seat of the king's government of Wuyishanli to the town of Wulei 烏壘 is "sixty days' travel", which is not accurate. According to this memoir, the "sixty days' travel" should be the distance between the seat of the king's government of Wuyishanli and that of Pishan.

[160] The state of Wuyishanli 烏弋山離 was located in Alexandria Prophthasia, and was first mentioned in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu*. The "Paichi" 排持 in this memoir comes from the "Paite" 排特 in the "Xi Rong zhuan" 西戎傳 of *Weilüe* 魏略, where "*te*" 特 was confused with "*chi*" 持 owing to their similarity in form. "Paite" 排特 [buəi-dək] is an abbreviated transcription of Prophthasia.

復西南馬行百餘日 [161] 至條支。

Traveling southwest again for over 100 days on horseback[161] one reaches Tiaozhi 條支.

[161] "Traveling southwest … for over 100 days on horseback": (Distance 10.2): The distance from Wuyishanli to Tiaozhi via Anxi. This figure follows the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu*. The section starting with "From Pishan to the southwest…" to "Traveling southwest again for over 100 days on horseback…" is a condensation of two passages in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu*: "The state of Pishan …. to the southwest it is a distance of 1,340 *li* to the state of Wucha … to the southwest it is situated on the Jibin and Wuyishanli"; and "The state of Wuyishanli: The seat of the royal government is 12,200 *li* from Chang'an…. To the northeast it is a distance of sixty days' journey to the seat of the Protector-General. It adjoins Jibin in the east, Putiao 撲挑 in the north, and Lijian 犂靬 and Tiaozhi 條支 in the west…. After traveling for some hundred days one then reaches Tiaozhi…. Proceeding by the Southern Route from the Yumen and the Yang Barriers, and traveling south through Shanshan, one reaches Wuyishanli, which is the extreme southern point of the Southern Route; and turning north and then proceeding eastward one arrives at Anxi". We should not think that by the time of Ban Chao or Ban Yong one could reach Tiaozhi directly from Wuyishanli. "Traveling southwest … on horseback" means travelling from the capital of Anxi on the shore of the southeastern corner of the Caspian Sea to Tiaozhi, proceeding to the southwest, and then reaching Ctesiphon via Ecbatana.

條支國城在山上，周回四十餘里。臨西海，海水曲環其南及東北，三面路絕，唯西北隅通陸道。[162] 土地暑溼，出師子、犀牛、封牛、孔雀、大雀 [163]。大

雀其卵如甕。[164]

The state of Tiaozhi 條支*: It has its town situated on a hill. The town is more than* 40 *li* in circumference. The town borders the Western Sea. The seawater curves around it from the south to the northeast, so that access is cut off on three sides. Only in the northwest corner is there communication with the land route.[162] The land is hot and damp. It produces lions, rhinoceros, humped buffalo (*zebu*), peacocks, and ostriches[163], whose eggs are as large as pots.[164]

[162] The town of the state of Tiaozhi here seems to be Seleucia, the outer harbor of Antiochia, the original capital of the Seleucids. Since "the town borders the Western Sea", the scene of "the seawater curv[ing] around it" may be what Gan Ying 甘英 had seen with his own eyes when he was "about to take his passage across the sea".[25]

[163] "*Da que*" 大雀 here are ostriches.

[164] Since it is clearly recorded that Gan Ying was an envoy of the Eastern Han Dynasty who arrived in Tiaozhi, the possibility cannot be ruled out that the information in this passage derived from him.

轉北而東，復馬行六十餘日 [165] 至安息，後役屬條支 [166]，爲置大將，監領諸小城焉。

If one turns to the north and then east, and again goes on horseback for more than 60 days[165], one reaches Anxi 安息, which later subjugated Tiaozhi[166], appointing a military governor with control over all the small towns in it.

[165] "More than 60 days" (Distance 10.3): The distance between Tiaozhi and the capital of Anxi. "If one turns to the north and then east": This is a follow-up of "traveling southwest … on horseback", and should not be understood rigidly.

[166] " 役屬條支 ": This can only be understood as "Anxi subjugated Tiaozhi". The term "*yishu*" 役屬 is used the same way as in the "Dayuan liezhuan" of *Shiji*, while in other places in this memoir it is used differently; for example, "The state of Da Qin: … Its territory is several thousand *li* square; it has over 400 walled cities. Small states which can be numbered in the tens are subject to

it". This is evidence that this memoir copies the *Hanshu* concerning Tiaozhi. "Appointing a military governor" is something imagined, based on the record of Tiaozhi in the "Dayuan liezhuan" of *Shiji* which states that "there are minor overlords or chiefs". This contradicts the statement that "Anxi … later subjugated Tiaozhi": Since Anxi "appointed a military governor with control over all the small towns in it", it must have annexed Tiaozhi, rather than simply having Tiaozhi subject to it. As a matter of fact, Tiaozhi, i.e., Syria, had been destroyed by Rome, and it was impossible for it to be subject to Anxi or under its control in the times of Ban Chao or Ban Yong. Anxi invaded the Syrian area, which had become Roman territory, twice: the first time in 51 BCE (the third year of the Ganlu 甘露 reign-period of Emperor Xuan 宣), when Antiochia was besieged; the second time in 40 BCE (the fourth year of the Yongguang 永光 reign-period of Emperor Yuan 元), when Antiochia was taken, but it lasted only for over one year, and it would seem to have been out of the question that a military governor was appointed to control it.[26]

安息國居和櫝城[167]，去洛陽二萬五千里[168]。北與康居接，南與烏弋山離接。地方數千里，小城數百，戶口勝兵最爲殷盛。其東界木鹿城[169]，號爲小安息，去洛陽二萬里[170]。

The state of Anxi 安息: It has its residence in the town of Hedu 和櫝[167]. It is 25,000 *li* [168] from Luoyang. In the north it adjoins Kangju, and in the south Wuyishanli. Its territory is several thousand *li* square. There are several hundred small towns, and in households and individuals and (in the number of) those able to bear arms, it is the most flourishing of states. On its eastern border is the town of Mulu 木鹿[169], which is called Little Anxi, and is 20,000 *li* [170] from Luoyang.

[167] Hedu 和櫝 was the early capital of Anxi. "Hedu" 和櫝 [huai-dok] is an abbreviated transcription of Hecatompylos.

[168] "25,000 *li*" (Distance 11.1): This is probably the distance from the capital of Anxi at that time to Luoyang via the seat of the king's government of the Da Yuezhi.

[169] Mulu 木鹿 was located in present-day Merv and surrounding areas. "Mulu" 木鹿 [mu-lok] is generally regarded as a transcription of Mōuru.

[170] "20,000 *li*" (Distance 11.2): The distance from Mulu to Luoyang via the seat of the king's government of the Da Yuezhi.

章帝章和元年[171]，遣使獻師子、符拔[172]。符拔形似麟而無角。

In the first year of the Zhanghe 章和 reign-period (87 CE)[171], [Anxi] sent an envoy who presented gifts of lions and *fuba* 符拔[172] (antelopes?). The *fuba*'s 符拔 shape resembles a *lin* 麟 (unicorn), but it has no horns.

[171] It is recorded in the "Hedi ji" in *Hou-Han shu* that in the second year of the Zhanghe 章和 reign-period (88 CE), "The state of Anxi 安息 sent an envoy to present lions and *fuba*". This record is different from this memoir, which states that the event occurred in the first year. However, the record in this memoir may be incorrect. According to the "Zhangdi ji" of *Hou-Han shu*, in the first year of the Zhanghe reign-period (87 CE), "the state of the Yuezhi 月氏 sent an envoy to present lions and *fuba*". This record would be believable if we read it together with the related record in the "Ban Chao zhuan" of *Hou-Han shu*. From this, it can be seen that the state that sent envoys to present lions and *fuba* in the first year was the Yuezhi, not Anxi.[27]

[172] "*Fuba*" 符拔 is written as "*fuba*" 扶拔 in the "Hedi ji" 和帝紀 of *Hou-Han shu*, which should be the "*taoba*" 桃拔 in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu*.

和帝永元九年，都護班超遣甘英使大秦[173]，抵條支。臨大海欲度，而安息西界船人謂英曰："海水廣大，往來者逢善風三月乃得度，若遇遲風，亦有二歲者，故入海人皆齎三歲糧。海中善使人思土戀慕，數有死亡者。"英聞之乃止。[174]

In the ninth year of the Yongyuan 永元 reign-period of Emperor He 和 (97 CE), the Protector-General, Ban Chao, sent Gan Ying 甘英 as an envoy to Da Qin 大秦[173]. He arrived at Tiaozhi, overlooking the great sea. When he was about to take his passage across the sea, the sailors of the western frontier of Anxi told [Gan] Ying: "The sea is vast. With favorable winds it is still only possible for travelers to cross in three months. But if one meets with unfavorable winds, it may even take two years. It is for this reason that those who go to sea always take on board three years' provisions. There is something in the sea which is apt to make men homesick, and several have thus lost their lives there." It was when he heard this that [Gan] Ying gave up.[174]

[173] Da Qin 大秦 refers to the Roman Empire proper, i.e., the present-day Italian Peninsula.[28]

[174] "There is something in the sea…": In the section "Xi Rong (xia)" 西戎下 in the chapter "Si Yi (san)" 四夷三 of *Tongzhi* 通志 (ch. 196), the text is quoted, but reads somewhat differently: "There is something in the sea which is apt to make men homesick, and several have thus lost their lives there. If the Han envoy did not have attachment to his parents, his wife and children, then he could enter [the sea]. It was when he heard this that [Gan] Ying gave up". Da Qin was a place that the people of the Eastern Han deeply admired, but Gan Ying who "was sent as an envoy to Da Qin" was only a subordinate of the Protector-General of the Western Regions. He was not sent by the imperial court. From this aspect alone, it can be seen that the Eastern Han's management of the Western Regions was not nearly as active as the Western Han's.

十三年，安息王滿屈[175]復獻師子及條支大鳥，時謂之安息雀。[176]

In the 13th year, the king of Anxi, Manqu 滿屈[175], again offered a gift of lions and of ostriches from Tiaozhi, [which people] at the time called Anxi fowls.[176]

[175] Manqu 滿屈 is generally regarded as the king of the Parthian Empire of Persia, Pacorus II (r. 78-115/116).

[176] According to the "Hedi ji" of *Hou-Han shu*, "in the eleventh month of the winter [of the thirteenth year of the Yongyuan 永元 reign-period (101 CE)], the state of Anxi sent an envoy to present lions and large birds from Tiaozhi". Tiaozhi, i.e., the Syrian region, was called "the western border of Anxi", therefore "large birds from Tiaozhi" would be called "Anxi birds". "Large birds" here are ostriches.

自安息西行三千四百里[177]至阿蠻國[178]。從阿蠻西行三千六百里[179]至斯賓國[180]。從斯賓南行度河，又西南至于羅國[181]九百六十里[182]，安息西界極矣。自此南乘海，乃通大秦。其土多海西珍奇異物焉。[183]

From Anxi 安息 going west 3,400 *li* [177] one reaches the state of Aman 阿蠻[178], then going west from Aman 3,600 *li* [179], one reaches the state of Sibin 斯賓[180]; then from Sibin, going south, crossing a river, and continuing southwest, one reaches the state of Yuluo 于羅[181], after 960 *li* [182], the extreme western frontier of Anxi. From here one puts to sea to the south, and only then does one communicate with Da Qin 大秦. In

this land are many of the jewels and exotica of the maritime west.[183]

[177] "3,400 *li*" (Distance 12.1): The distance between the seat of the king's government of Anxi and Aman.

[178] "Aman" 阿蠻 [a-mean] is a transcription of Ecbatana.

[179] "3,600 *li*" (Distance 12.2): The distance between Aman and Sibin.

[180] "Sibin" 斯賓 [sie-pien] is a transcription of Ctesiphon.

[181] "Yuluo" 于羅 [hiua-la] is probably a transcription of Hatra. "Southwest" and "south" are probably errors for "north".

[182] "960 *li*" (Distance 12.3): The distance between Sibin and Yuluo.

[183] "The maritime west" 海西 here refers to the state of Da Qin, because it is located by the sea (the Mediterranean Sea). It is possible that this passage was from Gan Ying. The journey to Tiaozhi via Aman (Ecbatana), Sibin (Ctesiphon), Yuluo (Hatra) from the capital of Anxi, the town of Hedu, i.e., Hekotompylos, may be the route Gan Ying had traversed. According to the "Hedi ji" 和帝紀 of *Hou-Han shu*, the state of Anxi had already sent its envoys to pay tribute in the second year of the Zhanghe 章和 reign-period (88 CE) of Emperor Zhang 章, but it is more likely that the related records were from the Han envoys, since the distance of each section of the journey was given in Han *li*, and Gan Ying was the only envoy of the Eastern Han Dynasty known to have made the full journey.

大秦國一名犂鞬[184]，以在海西，亦云海西國。地方數千里，有四百餘城。小國役屬者數十。以石爲城郭。列置郵亭，皆堊塈之。有松柏諸木百草。人俗力田作，多種樹蠶桑。[185]皆髡頭而衣文繡[186]，乘輜軿白蓋小車，出入擊鼓，建旌旗幡幟。

The state of Da Qin 大秦: It is also called Lijian 犂鞬[184]. Since it is situated in the maritime west, it is also called "the state West of the Sea". Its territory is several thousand *li* square; it has over 400 walled cities. Small states which can be numbered in the tens are subject to it. The outer wall of the cities is made of stone. They have established posting stations, all covered with plaster. There are pines and cypresses, as well as all other types of trees and plants. Their customs are as follows: They devote themselves to agriculture, and plant a large number of silkworm mulberry trees.[185] They all shave their heads, but wear embroidered clothes.[186] [The king] rides in a small

carriage, surmounted by a white canopy. When he goes out and returns, a drum is beaten, and flags, banners and pennants are hoisted.

[184] "Lijian" 犂鞬 [lyei-kian] and "Lixuan" 黎軒 in the "Dayuan liezhuan" of *Shiji* are variant transcriptions of the same name. In the "Dayuan liezhuan" of *Shiji*, Lixuan refers to Ptolemaic Egypt. In this memoir, "Lijian" has, objectively, become synonymous with Da Qin. Lixuan, i.e., Ptolemaic Egypt, was so far away from Han that, by the time it became a Roman province in 30 BCE (the third year of the Jianshi 建始 reign-period of Emperor Cheng 成), it was still not well known to the Han people; all they knew was its approximate location. But when the Han people had an opportunity to understand the world in the west more thoroughly, "Lixuan" was no longer used, whereas the name of Da Qin was widely known. Since the former Lixuan had become a part of Da Qin, and those from there who had visited Han might have referred to themselves as the people of Da Qin, the Han people were naturally confused by the two names, thinking that they were one; hence the statement in this memoir: "The state of Da Qin: It is also called Lijian".

[185] "They … plant a large number of silkworm mulberry trees": In the age described in this memoir, Da Qin, or the Roman Empire, had not grown mulberry trees or raised silkworms. The descriptions here are the idealization or imagination about Da Qin by the Han people at that time, and should not be taken as truth.[29]

[186] "They all shave their heads, but wear embroidered clothes": "They … wear embroidered clothes" or "Hu clothes" is only a general statement. "They all shave their heads": This was not the custom of the Romans at that time.[30]

所居城邑，周圜百餘里。城中有五宮，相去各十里。[187] 宮室皆以水精爲柱，食器亦然。[188] 其王日遊一宮，聽事五日而後徧。常使一人持囊隨王車，人有言事者，卽以書投囊中，王至宮發省，理其枉直。各有官曹文書。置三十六將，皆會議國事。[189] 其王無有常人，皆簡立賢者。國中災異及風雨不時，輒廢而更立，受放者甘黜不怨。[190] 其人民皆長大平正，有類中國，故謂之大秦。[191]

The city where he resides is more than 100 *li* in circumference. In this city are five palaces which are ten *li* apart from one another.[187] In all the rooms of these palaces, the columns are made of crystal glass, as are the eating utensils in them.[188] The king travels each day to one of these palaces to hear cases. At the end of five days, he has thus

completed a circuit [of these five palaces]. A man carrying a bag is constantly charged with following the royal chariot. When anyone has anything to say to the king, his document is thrown into the bag. Having arrived at the palace, the king opens the bag, examines the contents [of the document], and decides if the petitioner is right or wrong. For each [of the palaces] there is a body of divisional officials and written archives. They have appointed 36 generals who all meet together to discuss affairs of state.[189] As for the king, he is not a permanent figure, but is chosen as being the most worthy. When a calamity, uncanny event, or unseasonable winds or rains occur in the state, then he is deposed immediately and someone else is put in his place. The one who is thus deposed calmly accepts his dismissal and is not angered by it.[190] The people are generally tall and straight featured. They resemble the people of the Middle Kingdom, and that is why the state is called Da Qin.[191]

[187] Statements such as "In this city are five palaces", and "The king travels each day to one of these palaces" are not completely in agreement with the reality at that time. Some think that this is imagined in accordance with ideas concerning the five directions.[31]

[188] "The columns are made of crystal glass": This shows the extent of idealization of the people at that time.

[189] "A man carrying a bag is constantly charged with following the royal chariot": This does not completely conform to the reality of the Roman Empire. This, according to some, is imagined by the Han people based on the legends about Yao 堯, Shun 舜, and Yu 禹, who used five musical instruments to discern the concerns of those who wanted to speak with them (五音聽治).[32]

[190] "As for the king, he is not a permanent figure": This also does not conform to the reality of the Roman Empire. Some think that this is an idealization of Da Qin based on the political practice of Yao and Shun, who each abdicated in favor of a competent person.[33] This theory is plausible, but to depose the king in his lifetime should be beyond the ken of the Chinese at that time, who had already chosen Confucianism to be the state philosophy. This, therefore, awaits further study.

[191] Da Qin 大秦 seems to have been the name of the Roman Empire among the people of Central Asia, because Qin was the name of the Middle Kingdom among the people of the Northern and Central Asia. The Roman Empire was referred to as Qin, because, for the people of Central Asia, it resembled the Middle Kingdom. "Da" was used because the Roman Empire was the largest state in the west. As for the statement that "the people are generally tall", this was the conjecture of people in

China based on the name of Da Qin; it was also the result of idealization.[34]

土多金銀奇寶，有夜光璧[192]、明月珠[193]、駭鷄犀[194]、珊瑚、虎魄[195]、琉璃[196]、琅玕[197]、朱丹[198]、青碧[199]。刺金縷繡[200]、織成[201]、金縷罽[202]、雜色綾。作黃金塗[203]、火浣布[204]。又有細布，或言水羊毳[205]，野蠶繭[206]所作也。合會諸香，煎其汁以爲蘇合[207]。凡外國諸珍異皆出焉。

The soil produces lots of gold, silver, and rare jewels, including: the jewel which shines at night[192], the full-moon pearl[193], the rhinoceros which frightens chickens[194], corals, amber[195], opaque glass [196]; *langgan* 琅玕 (pearl-like stone)[197], red cinnabar[198]; blue-green *bi* 碧[199], embroidered tissues with gold threads[200], *Zhicheng* 織成[201], woven gold-threaded tapestries[202], and damask of many colors. They produce gold-painted (cloth)[203], and "cloth washed in fire" (asbestos)[204]. They also have a delicate cloth which some say is the wool of sea sheep[205], but which is really made from cocoons of wild silkworms[206]. They mix all sorts of fragrances and boil the mixture to make storax[207]. It is from this state that all the various marvelous and rare objects of foreign states come.

[192] "The jewel which shines at night" 夜光璧: According to some, it refers to a kind of diamond.[35]

[193] "The full-moon pearl" 明月珠: Jewelry that shines. According to some, it is a kind of diamond;[36] to others, it refers to the eye of the whale.[37]

[194] The "Deng she" 登涉 (Into Mountains: Over Streams) chapter of *Baopuzi* 抱朴子 (Neipian 內篇 [Inner Chapters], ch. 17): "If a Tongtian 通天 rhinoceros horn with a red streak in it like a thread running from base to tip is filled with rice and placed in the midst of a flock of chickens, the chickens will wish to pick at it, but before they get within a few *cun* 寸 of it they will be frightened and run away. People from the south, therefore, sometimes call this horn a chicken-frightening rhinoceros horn". (James R. Ware, *Alchemy, Medicine, Religion in the China of A.D. 320: The Nei P'ien of Ko Hung* [Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1966], p. 297; with modifications.) For "red streak" 赤理 , the text quoted in the Li Commentary reads "white streak" 白理.[38]

[195] "*Hupo*" 虎魄 (amber) is first seen in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu*. The Li commentary on the "Wang Fu zhuan" 王符傳 of *Hou-Han shu* states, "According to *Guangya* 廣雅, '*Hupo* 虎魄 are

jewels.' They grow under the ground, reaching down eight or nine *chi* 尺. Above the ground and by its side nothing else will grow. At first they resemble *prunus persica*, but they harden to become *hupo*. The local people use them as pillows. They are products of Jibin 罽賓 and Da Qin".

[196] "Opaque glass" 琉璃: This was classified into natural and artificial types; the natural type is, according to some, the *bi liuli* 璧流離 (jade-like opaque glass).[39]

[197] "*Langgan*" 琅玕 (pearl-like stone), according to some, indicates the balas ruby.[40]

[198] "*Zhudan*" 朱丹 is, according to some, red cinnabar.[41]

[199] "Blue-green *bi*" 青碧 is a type of malachite.[42]

[200] "Embroidered tissues with gold threads" 刺金縷繡, as well as the "woven gold-threaded tapestries" 金縷罽, are fabrics woven with gold threads.[43]

[201] *Zhicheng* 織成 is a kind of valuable fabric.[44]

[202] *Ji* 罽 is first seen in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu*.

[203] "*Huangjin tu*" 黃金塗 , according to some, is gold-painted (cloth).[45]

[204] "*Huo huan bu*" 火浣布 (cloth washed in fire) is generally believed to be made of asbestos.[46]

[205] "The wool of sea sheep" 水羊毳 , according to some, indicates fabrics woven by mussels.[47]

[206] "Cocoons of wild silkworms" 野蠶繭: There was silk from the cocoons of wild silkworms in the state of Da Qin, which is also seen in the *Natural History* (XI, 26) of Pliny (23-79 CE).[48]

[207] "Storax" (*suhe* 蘇合): According to the "Hainan zhuguo zhuan" 海南諸國傳 of *Liangshu* 梁書, *suhe* was produced in the state of Middle Tianzhu 中天竺. It is produced by "boiling the essential concentrates of various incense; it is not a natural product. It is also said that the people of Da Qin gather the *suhe*; first, they extract the juice to produce ointments. The dregs are sold to the merchants of various states. They are thus brought to the Middle Kingdom after passing through many hands; they are not the top-quality incense". The record in this memoir can be read in light of this passage. The original meaning of *suhe* 蘇合 is not clear.[49]

以金銀爲錢，銀錢十當金錢一。與安息、天竺[208]交市於海中，利有十倍。其人質直，市無二價。穀食常賤，國用富饒。鄰國使到其界首者，乘驛詣王都，至則給以金錢。

They make coins from gold and silver, ten silver coins being equal to one gold coin. [Da Qin] trades by sea with Anxi and Tianzhu[208], and the profit is tenfold. The people are honest and frank; there are no double prices in the market. The cereals and

food are always cheap; the resources of the state are abundant. When the envoys of a neighboring state arrive at the border, they ride with the courier services to reach the royal capital, and when they arrive they are immediately given gold coins.

[208] "Tianzhu" 天竺 refers to India. "Tianzhu" 天竺 [thyen-tiuk] here, "Shendu" 身毒 in the "Dayuan liezhuan" of *Shiji*, and "Tiandu" 天篤 in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu* are variations in the transcription of the same name.

其王常欲通使於漢，而安息欲以漢繒綵與之交市，故遮閡不得自達。[209] 至桓帝延熹九年，大秦王安敦 [210] 遣使自日南徼外獻象牙、犀角、瑇瑁，始乃一通焉。[211] 其所表貢，並無珍異，疑傳者過焉。[212]

The king of this state always wanted to enter into diplomatic relations with Han. But Anxi wanted to trade with them in Han silk and so put obstacles in their way, so that they could never have direct relations [with Han].[209] Until the ninth year of the Yanxi 延熹 reign-period of Emperor Huan 桓 (166 CE), Andun 安敦[210], king of Da Qin, sent an envoy from beyond the frontier of Rinan 日南 who offered elephant tusk, rhinoceros horn, and tortoise shell. It was only then that communications were established for the first time [between the two states].[211] The document listing their tribute contained nothing at all that was precious or rare. Thus one suspects that those who have written about it [Da Qin] have erred.[212]

[209] According to the record in the *Gothic War* (IV, 17) by the Byzantine historian, Procopius (500-565), "About the same time certain monks arrived from the (country of the) Indians, and learning that the Emperor Justinian had it much at heart that the Romans should no longer buy silk from the Persians, they came to the king and promised that they would so manage about silk that the Romans should not have to purchase the article either from the Persians or from any other nation". The statement in this memoir, "But the Anxi wanted to trade with them in Han silk", can be understood in the context of such narratives.[50]

[210] "Andun 安敦, king of Da Qin" is generally identified as the fifth Antonine emperor of the Roman Empire, Marcus Aurelius Antonius (r. 161-180 CE).

[211] According to the "Huandi ji" 桓帝紀 of *Hou-Han shu*, in the ninth month of the ninth year

of the Yanxi 延熹 reign-period (166 CE), “the king of Da Qin sent an envoy to present gifts”. This shows that the first direct contact between Da Qin, i.e., the Roman Empire, and the Eastern Han did not come about until the ninth year of the Yanxi reign-period. From this, one can see that the envoys of the various states described as “right up to the edge of the sea, more than 40,000 *li* distant, all presented tribute via multiple interpreters” after the sixth year of the Yongyuan 永元 reign-period of Emperor He 和 did not include envoys from Da Qin, i.e., the Roman Empire proper. In fact, the reference, which only generally mentions the various states “right up to the edge of the sea, more than 40,000 *li* distant” but does not mention Da Qin, already hints at this. However, it should be pointed out that, in all probability, the envoys who came from the dependencies of Da Qin to pay tribute divulged information about the state, and this inspired Ban Chao to send Gan Ying on the mission to Da Qin, which added to Han’s understanding about the western world.

[212] As is recorded in the “Xinan Yi liezhuan” 西南夷列傳 of *Hou-Han shu*, “In the first year of the Yongning 永寧 reign-period (120 CE), the king of the state of Dan 撣,[51] Yongyoudiao 雍由調, again sent an envoy to the palace to pay his respects, bringing musical performers and magicians, who could transform, puff out fire, dissect themselves, change the heads of the ox and the horse, and juggle—they could catch balls up to a thousand times. They said that they were from the West of the Sea. ‘The West of the Sea’ refers to Da Qin, which could be reached from the southwest of the state of Dan”. This record shows the admiration for Da Qin on the part of the Han people at that time.

或云其國西有弱水[213]、流沙[214]，近西王母[215]所居處，幾於日所入也。《漢書》云，“從條支西行二百餘日，近日所入”；則與今書異矣。[216]

Some say: To the west of this state are the Weak Water[213] and the Flowing Sands[214], which are near to the place where the Queen Mother of the West[215] lives, and which are almost where the sun sets. It is recorded in *Hanshu*: “If you travel from Tiaozhi for more than 200 days you draw near the place where the sun sets”. This is not in agreement with the present work.[216]

[213] “The Weak Water”: The Ruoshui 弱水 here is perhaps a textual error for Ruoshui 若水. The fact that the Ruoshui is imagined to be at the western extremity of the known world, and that its location is pushed further and further to the west as the knowledge of the Chinese people about the west expands, may have something to do with an ancient memory of some people or tribe who

migrated from the west.

[214] According to the passage on "Yongzhou" 雍州 in the "Yugong" 禹貢 section of the *Shangshu* 尚書, "He [Yu 禹] surveyed the Weak Water as far as Heli 合黎, from which its superfluous waters went away among the Flowing Sands" (translated by James Legge, in *The Chinese Classics*, III, *The Shoo King* [with modifications], Bk. I, Pt. ii, Ch. II, 5). The Weak Water (Ruoshui) is generally believed to be the Shandan 山丹 River and the Ejin 額濟納 River. The Flowing Sands refers to the Tynger 騰格里 Desert. Here the name "Flowing Sands" is mentioned because of Weak Water; its specific location cannot be ascertained.

[215] "The Queen Mother of the West" 西王母, first mentioned in the "Dayuan liezhuan" of *Shiji*, may have Koubaba, i.e., Cybele, the great goddess of Anatolia, as her prototype.

[216] "It is recorded in *Hanshu*...": Originally Tiaozhi was regarded as the place where the sun sets, but it is now thought that Da Qin is the place: This is a result of the widening knowledge about the west on the part of the Chinese. Note: This section is taken from the "Xi Rong zhuan" 西戎傳 of *Weilüe* 魏略, a "background text"—the so-called "present work"--in this memoir.

前世漢使皆自烏弋以還，莫有至條支者也。[217] 又云："從安息陸道繞海北行出海西至大秦，人庶連屬，十里一亭，三十里一置，[218] 終無盜賊寇警。而道多猛虎、師子，遮害行旅，不百餘人，齎兵器，輒爲所食。" [219] 又言："有飛橋數百里可度海北諸國。" [220] 所生奇異玉石諸物，譎怪多不經，故不記云。

Envoys of Han in former generations all came back from Wuyi[shanli] [烏弋] 山離; not one of them got as far as Tiaozhi.[217] It is also said that from Anxi by the land-route, one goes around the north of the sea, comes out west of the sea, and arrives in Da Qin. The population [of Da Qin] is dense; each ten *li* there is a *ting* 亭 (relay post), and each thirty *li* a *zhi* 置 (postal station). [218] There is thus never any alarm occasioned by the attacks of brigands, but on the route there are many fierce tigers and lions which attack and harm travelers. If the party does not include over 100 men furnished with arms, they are invariably devoured.[219] It is also said that there is a flying bridge, several hundred *li* long, over which one can pass to the various states north of the sea.[220] The various exotica and precious stones that it produces are bizarre but often not genuine, and hence they are not recorded here.

[217] "Envoys of Han in former generations all came back from Wuyi[shanli]" 前世漢使皆自烏弋以還: *This statement follows the related records in the section on Wuyishanli in the "Xiyu zhuan" of Hanshu.* The original intention was to say that there were no Han envoys who reached Tiaozhi via Wuyishanli, not to say that no Han envoy ever reached Tiaozhi.[52]

[218] There were relay stations in Rome and Anxi, where "*serai*" were established for the caravans of the merchants to rest, but they should not be described as "each ten *li* there is a *ting* 亭 (relay), and each thirty *li* a *zhi* 置 (postal station)". Some scholars believe that this is only an idealized version based on the practice of Han, and should not be believed in its entirety.[53]

[219] In reference to the account in "Xi Rong zhuan" 西戎傳 of *Weilüe*, the land- and sea-routes to Da Qin can be summarized as follows: On land, one travels from Hedu 和櫝 in Anxi to Sibin 斯賓 via Aman 阿蠻, then crosses the Tigris (via Yuluo 于羅) or the Euphrates to trek north and arrive at the town of Angu 安谷, then crosses the Hellespont from the east to reach the Italian Peninsula via the Balkans ("North of the Sea"). The sea-routes include the Northern Route and the Southern Route: On the Northern Route, one crosses the Mediterranean in a westerly direction from the town of Angu, and reaches Rome directly. On the Southern Route, one crosses the Euphrates at Yuluo to reach Sifu 汜復, or travels there from Sitao 思陶 via Danlan 旦蘭; then proceeds from Sifu to Zesan 澤散 (also known as Wuchisandan 烏遲散丹, i.e., Alexandria in Egypt) via Xiandu 賢督 and Jishi 積石; and finally crosses the Mediterranean by boat in a northwesterly direction to reach Rome. Sifu was the communications hub on the Southern Route.

[220] The "flying bridge" 飛橋 refers to the bridge across the Hellespont; from Propontis westwards one could reach the Italian Peninsula.

大月氏國[221]，居藍氏城[222]，西接安息，四十九日[223]行，東去長史所居六千五百三十七里[224]，去洛陽萬六千三百七十里[225]。戶十萬，口四十萬，勝兵十餘萬人。

The state of the Da Yuezhi 大月氏[221]: It has its residence in the town of Lanshi 藍氏[222]; to the west it adjoins Anxi at a distance of 49 days' travel[223]; to the east it is 6,537 *li*[224] from the seat of the government of the Chief Official, and 16,370 *li*[225] from Luoyang. There are 100,000 households, over 400,000 individuals including over 100,000 persons able to bear arms.

[221] The following are the records on the relationships between the Yuezhi (i.e., the Guishuang 貴霜 [Kushan] Empire) and the Eastern Han:

1. As is recorded in the "Ban Chao zhuan" of *Hou-Han shu*, in the third year of the Jianchu 建初 reign-period (78 CE), when Ban Chao submitted a petition for troops, he referred to the Yuezhi as "willing to pledge allegiance". In the first year of the Yuanhe 元和 reign-period (84 CE), when Ban Chao attacked Shule, Kangju 康居 dispatched troops to its aid. Ban Chao made a gift of brocades to the King of the Yuezhi, who in turn advised the King of Kangju to disband his troops.

2. In the "Zhangdi ji" 章帝 of *Hou-Han shu*, it is recorded that in the first year of the Zhanghe 章和 reign-period (87 CE), "the state of the Yuezhi sent its envoy to present *fuba* 符拔 (antelopes) and lions". According to the "Ban Chao zhuan" in *Hou-Han shu*, "Previously, the Yuezhi had helped Han in the attack on Jushi and fought with merit. In this year they offered as tribute precious stones, *fuba* (antelopes) and lions, and they used this occasion to ask for the hand of a Han princess. [Ban] Chao refused [the request] and sent the envoy back, and from that moment on they bore a grudge [against Han]". From this, it can be seen that in addition to presenting tribute, the Yuezhi had also made a marriage proposal. The statement that "[Ban] Chao refused [the request] and sent the envoy back" seems to show that the envoy of the Yuezhi did not arrive at the court. Further, if the Yuezhi had actually "helped Han in the attack on Jushi", it must have been in the first year of the Jianchu 建初 reign-period (76 CE). [54]

3. It is recorded in the "Ban Chao zhuan" of *Hou-Han shu* that "in the second year of the Yongyuan 永元 reign-period (90 CE), the Yuezhi sent their viceroy Xie 謝 with 70,000 soldiers to attack [Ban] Chao. [Ban] Chao's troops were few in number, and they were all much afraid. [Ban] Chao gave the soldiers explicit instructions and said, 'The Yuezhi troops are many, but they are nothing to be worried about because they came here crossing the Cong Mountains. They travelled several thousand *li* without conveyance. As long as we hide the provisions and strengthen the defense works, they will surrender because they are hungry and have no way out. The outcome will be decided in just a few dozen days'. Xie then advanced and attacked [Ban] Chao, but could not prevail. Meanwhile, [his armies] plundered and pillaged, but they failed to get anything. [Ban] Chao thought that [Xie's] provisions were almost exhausted and that he would certainly ask for help from Qiuci, so he sent several hundred soldiers to the eastern border in order to intercept them [i.e., Xie's envoys to Qiuci]. Xie indeed sent horsemen carrying gold, silver, pearls, and jade as presents for [the king of] Qiuci. But [Ban] Chao laid an ambush to intercept them, killing them all, and [the soldiers] took the heads of the envoys and showed them to Xie. Xie was greatly alarmed. He immediately sent an envoy

[to Ban Chao] to admit his guilt, saying that he wished to return, with his life spared. [Ban] Chao let him go and sent him away. From that moment the Yuezhi were greatly impressed [by the power of Han] and paid tribute every year". Here it is recorded that the Yuezhi "paid tribute every year" after their viceroy Xie made his way back with his life spared, but it is not recorded in the related basic annals and other texts of *Hou-Han shu*, and cannot be verified.

[222] "The town of Lanshi" 藍氏城 should be "Lanshi" 藍市, the capital of the state of Daxia 大夏 in the "Dayuan liezhuan" of *Shiji*, as well as the town of Jianshi 監氏, the seat of the king's government of the Da Yuezhi; the latter two being abbreviated transcriptions of "Alexandria", another name of Bactra, the capital of the Hellenic Kingdom of Bactria. "Lanshi" 藍氏 [lam-zjie] can also be seen as a contracted transcription of Alexandria.

[223] "49 days' travel" (Distance 13.1): This follows the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu*. The seat of the king's government of Anxi within the time-frame of the two works, *Hanshu* and *Hou-Han shu*, is not the same, so "49 days' travel" does not conform to the reality in the Eastern Han period.

[224] "6,537 *li*" (Distance 13.2): The distance from the town of Lanshi to Liuzhong via the seats of the king's governments of Wulei 無雷, Puli 蒲犂, and Suoju. According to this memoir, "The state of Suoju: Going west from it, via Puli and Wulei, one reaches Da Yuezhi ".

[225] "16,370 *li*" (Distance 13.3): The distance from the town of Lanshi to Luoyang via the seats of the king's governments of the states of Nandou 難兜, Wulei 無雷, Puli 蒲犂, and Suoju; i.e., the aggregate of 4,000 *li,* the distance between the town of Lanshi and the seat of the king's government of Nandou, equivalent to forty days' journey; 340 *li*, the distance between the seats of the king's governments of Nandou and Wulei; 540 *li,* the distance between those of Wulei and Puli; 540 *li*, the distance between those of Puli and Suoju (the three figures are based on the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu*); and, finally, 10,950 *li*, the distance between the seat of the king's government of Suoju and Luoyang.

初，月氏爲匈奴所滅，遂遷於大夏[226]，分其國爲休密[227]、雙靡[228]、貴霜[229]、肹頓[230]、都密[231]，凡五部翖侯[232]。後百餘歲，貴霜翖侯丘就卻[233]攻滅四翖侯，自立爲王，國號貴霜王。[234]侵安息[235]，取高附地[236]。又滅濮達[237]、罽賓[238]，悉有其國。丘就卻年八十餘死[239]，子閻膏珍[240]代爲王。復滅天竺，[241]置將一人監領之。月氏自此之後，最爲富盛，諸國稱之皆曰貴霜王，漢本其故號，言大月氏云。[242]

Formerly, when the Yuezhi had been destroyed by the Xiongnu, they moved to

Daxia 大夏 [226] and divided the country into the five *Xihou* 翖侯 [232] of Xiumi 休密 [227], Shuangmi 雙靡[228], Guishuang 貴霜[229], Xidun 肸頓[230], and Dumi 都密[231]. More than a hundred years later, the *Xihou* of Guishuang [named] Qiujiuque 丘就卻 [233] attacked and destroyed the [other] four *Xihou* and established himself as king; the state was named Guishuang.[234] [This] king invaded Anxi [235], took the country of Gaofu 高附[236], and, moreover, destroyed Puda 濮達 [237] and Jibin 罽賓 [238] and took complete possession of their territory. Qiujiuque died at the age of more than eighty years,[239] and his son Yangaozhen 閻膏珍 succeeded him as king. [240] He in his turn destroyed Tianzhu 天竺 [241] and placed there a general to control it. Since then, the Yuezhi 月氏 have been extremely rich and strong. In the various states [their ruler] is always referred to as "the King of Guishuang", but the Han, basing themselves upon the old appellation, speak about "the Da Yuezhi" 大月氏.[242]

[226] The Yuezhi originally inhabited the territories from the north of the present-day Qilian 祁連 Mountains to east of the present-day Tianshan Mountains and the Altai 阿爾泰 Mountain. Around 177/176 BCE, they were under attack from the Xiongnu and gave up their territories mentioned above; most of them migrated westward to the valleys the Ili and Chu rivers. They are historically referred as the Da Yuezhi 大月氏. About 130 BCE, Wusun 烏孫, with the support of the Xiongnu, attacked the Da Yuezhi, which forced them to migrate further west to the valleys of the Amu Darya. There, they conquered Daxia, the indigenous regime.[55]

[227] Xiumi 休密 is first mentioned in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu.*

[228] Shuangmi 雙靡 is first mentioned in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu.*

[229] Guishuang 貴霜 is first mentioned in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu.*

[230] Xidun 肸頓 should be a textual error for the "Bidun" 肹頓 in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu.*

[231] Dumi 都密 was located not far from where the Surkhan River converges with the Amu Darya. "Dumi" 都密 [ta-miet] may have been the "Danmi" 咀蜜 (Tirmidh) in the *Da Tang Xiyu ji* 大唐西域記 (ch. 1). The Da Yuezhi had possibly established their royal court in Tirmidh at the beginning of their conquest of Daxia. Later, after having moved their capital to south of the River Gui, the Da Yuezhi might have established another *Xihou* in Tirmidh. As a result, *Hou-Han shu* does not treat "Gaofu" as one of the five *Xihou*; instead, it regards "Dumi" as one.

[232] "The five *Xihou* 翖侯 ": The scholars who propose the theory that the Guishuang Kingdom was established by the Da Yuezhi stress the record in this memoir, thinking that the text clearly claims

that the five *Xihou* (including the *Xihou* of Guishuang) were established by the Da Yuezhi.[56] However, those who maintain that the Guishuang Kingdom was established by the Daxia stress the record in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu* and argue that the statement, "there are five *Xihou*", must be understood to mean "there are five *Xihou* [in the state of the Daxia]". Otherwise, the last sentence, "all the five *Xihou are subject to the Da Yuezhi", would be superfluous.[57] In short, the record in Hanshu shows* that the five *Xihou* were the Daxia. *Hou-Han shu*, being composed later, is less reliable than *Hanshu*. In my opinion, the statement that "there are five *Xihou*" in *Hanshu* must be interpreted to mean that "there are five *Xihou* in the state of the Daxia", because the passage, "Originally, the Daxia had no major overlord and chief.... All the five *Xihou* are subject to the Da Yuezhi", is a description of the Daxia. As for the relevant record in this memoir, according to its preface, the sources "had all been recorded by Ban Yong 班勇 by the end of the reign of the Emperor An". It is generally believed that Ban Yong and his father Ban Chao had been garrisoned in the Western Regions for many years, so they had contacts with the various states there, including the Guishuang kingdom at the height of its power, so it is hard to imagine that Ban Yong was not clear about its origin. In other words, we should not rashly disregard the relevant records in *Hou-Han shu* either.[58] In fact, the records of *Hanshu* and *Hou-Han shu* are not contradictory if one examines them carefully. The latter only mentions that the division of the five *Xihou* took place after the invasion of the Da Yuezhi. There was no hint that all the five *Xihou* were the Da Yuezhi. In ancient times, nomadic tribes often set up puppet regimes in the areas they had occupied, whereby they ruled over the natives. The pattern of governance that the Da Yuezhi adopted was probably the same. According to the "Dayuan liezhuan" of *Shiji*, Zhang Qian, during his mission to the Western Regions, discovered that the Daxia "have no major overlord or chief, and minor chiefs were frequently established in the towns". The five *Xihou* were not necessarily original "minor chiefs", but one cannot rule out the possibility that a number of these *Xihou* were established in towns where originally the minor chiefs of the Daxia used to rule, or that a number of descendants and relatives of the original minor chiefs were appointed as *Xihou*. Even if the Da Yuezhi appointed other people to be the *Xihou* after they had conquered the Daxia, there is still the possibility that these *Xihou* were possibly Daxia natives who had close relationships with the Da Yuezhi, and who obviously reigned over the Daxia according to the indigenous tradition, whereby a great number of "minor chiefs" had ruled independently. Although the title "*Xihou*" was to be seen in the Türkic languages (*Yehu* 葉護), there is no evidence to show the Da Yuezhi were a Türkic tribe; however, the Daxia, who migrated from the Hexi region, could have been in touch with tribes that used this title. The "minor chief" (*xiaozhang* 小長) Zhang Qian mentioned might be a literal translation of the

term "*Xihou*". The Da Yuezhi might have propped up the five *Xihou* only to take advantage of the indigenous practices.

[233] Qiujiuque 丘就卻 should be Kujula Kadphises on the coins and inscriptions of Kushāṇa. "Qiujiuque" 丘就卻 [khiuə-dziuk-kniak] can be seen as a transcription of Kaju[la] Ka[dphises]. His career started around 25 CE at the earliest.[59]

[234] Qiujiuque attacked and destroyed the four other *Xihou* and unified the eastern part of Tukhārestān, establishing himself as king. This indicates that he had set himself to confront the Da Yuezhi, his former suzerain, no longer abiding by the role of the Da Yuezhi's subject. Since the five *Xihou*, including the *Xihou* of Guishuang, were Daxia natives, the Guishuang Kingdom founded by the *Xihou* of Guishuang should be mainly made up of the people of the state of Daxia.

[235] "[This] king invaded Anxi": Anxi here refers to the territories of the Indo-Parthians.

[236] "Took the country of Gaofu": The area is the upper reaches of the Kabul River, i.e., Paropamisadae annexed by Qiujiuque from Gondophares or his successors. "Gaofu" 高附 [kô-bio] is a transcription of Kophen, an old name of the Kabul River.

[237] "Puda" 濮達 [pok-dat] should be identical with "Putiao" 撲挑 in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu*, both being transcriptions of Bāχtri, i.e., Bactria.[60] Here it refers to the center of the former Hellenic kingdom of Bactria, under the direct control of the king of the Da Yuezhi. Obviously, Qiujiuque did not take Bactria until he had attacked and destroyed the other four *Xihou*, taken the state of Gaofu, and become prosperous and powerful. Since this text refers to the Guishuang Kingdom as "the state of the Da Yuezhi", it naturally regards the former state of the Da Yuezhi who controlled Bactra and its surrounding areas as "Puda".

[238] "Destroyed … Jibin": This refers to Guishuang's occupation of the middle and lower reaches of the Kabul River, i.e., Gandhāra and Taxila. Qiujiuque destroyed the remnants of the Gondophares who were based there.

[239] According to what we know, we might as well regard Qiujiuque as being born around 5 BCE, and becoming the *Xihou* of Guishuang around 15 CE. Earlier than 19 CE, he formed an alliance with the Greek king, Hermaeus. With the support of Hermaeus, he attacked and destroyed the four other *Xihou*, and called himself the King of Guishuang. Later, around 50 CE, after the death of Gondophares, Qiujiuque took the state of Gaofu. Then he overthrew the Da Yuezhi, his former suzerain, unified Tukhārestān, and occupied Gandhāra around 60 CE and Taxila by 78 CE, hence founding the Kingdom of Guishuang. Qiujiuque died around 80 CE.

[240] "Yangaozhen" 閻膏珍 is generally regarded as Vima Kadphises on the coins and inscriptions

at Kushāṇa of India. According to this text, Qiujiuque's son should be Vima Kadphises. But according to the newly discovered Rabatak inscription, the son of Kujula Kadphises (i.e., Qiujiuque) was actually Vima Tak[to], i.e., Sorer Megas (the nameless king) on coins. The son of Vima Tak[to] was Vima Kadphises.[61] Since, according to this text, Yangaozhen should be Vima Tak[to], then the career of Vima Kadphises is not recorded. In my opinion, although "Yangaozhen" 閻膏珍 [jiam-kə-tiən] could be identified as Vima Tak[to], it would still be more appropriate to identify him as Vima Kadphises. This text may have mistaken the relationship of grandfather and grandson for that of father and son.[62]

[241] "He in his turn destroyed Tianzhu": This refers to the destruction and occupation for some time of the Hellenic kingdom in certain areas in the valley of the Indus by Yangaozhen, i.e., Vima Tak[to].

[242] "Since then the Yuezhi …": The *Xihou* of Guishuang was originally subject to the Da Yuezhi; its land, in a sense, was a part of the state of the Da Yuezhi. Therefore, it may be taken as the succession of different political powers inside the state of the Da Yuezhi that Guishuang replaced the Da Yuezhi. Perhaps for this reason, after the Eastern Han the Chinese continued to call it the state of the Da Yuezhi. In fact, the *Xihou* of Guishuang might have used the name of the Da Yuezhi when he "attacked and destroyed the four other *Xihou*". What is meant by "following its old appellation" in this text is following the old appellation of Guishuang.

高附國，在大月氏西南，亦大國也。[243] 其俗似天竺，而弱，易服。善賈販，內富於財。所屬無常。天竺、罽賓、安息三國強則得之，弱則失之，而未嘗屬月氏。[244]《漢書》以爲五翖侯數，非其實也。[245] 後屬安息。及月氏破安息，始得高附。[246]

The state of Gaofu 高附: It is to the southwest of the Da Yuezhi, and is also a large country.[243] Its way of life resembles that of Tianzhu, and [the people] are weak and easily conquered. They excel in commerce, and internally they are very wealthy. Their [political] allegiance has never been constant: the three states of Tianzhu, Jibin, and Anxi have possessed it when they were strong, and have lost it [again] when they were weak. But it had never belonged to the Yuezhi.[244] The *Hanshu* treats Gaofu as one of the five *Xihou*, but this was not the actual situation.[245] It finally belonged to Anxi, and the Yuezhi obtained Gaofu only after they had defeated Anxi.[246]

[243] The state of Gaofu: It shares the same name as the *Xihou* of Gaofu 高附翕侯, one of the five *Xihou* of the Da Yuezhi in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu*, but they are actually not located in the same place. The state of Gaofu in this memoir was located in Paropamisadae in the upper reaches of the Kabul River.

[244] Gaofu refers to the upper reaches of the Kabul River. Of the history of this area in this period, not much is known for lack of hard data. The numismatic analysis reveals that the last king of the whole valley of the Kabul River was the Greek king Antialcidos. His last year could not be earlier than 129 BCE.[63] Later, Gaofu, i.e., the upper reaches of the Kabul River, could possibly have fallen into the sphere of influence of the regime of the Sakās in Eastern Iran, i.e., Vonones and his successors.[64] Lastly, Amyntas and Hermaeus, the father and the son, could possibly have resumed Greek control of Paropamisdae following the relative decline of Sakā rule after Azes I. By 19 CE at the latest, Gondophare, a native of Anxi in the east of Iran, occupied Paropamisadae.[65]

[245] The "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu* is not mistaken, but this memoir is, a result of the identical transcription of the two names.

[246] According to the Takht-i-Bāhī inscription, Gondophares reigned for at least 26 years. He is generally believed to have died around 50 CE.[66] The reigns of his successors in the northwestern subcontinent were rather short, and might have been nominal.[67] Thus, it was very likely that Qiujiuque started the war and invaded Anxi soon after the death of Gondophares, and took Paropamisdae from the successors of Gondophares.[68]

天竺國，一名身毒，在月氏之東南數千里 [247]。俗與月氏同，而卑溼暑熱。其國臨大水 [248]。乘象而戰。其人弱於月氏，脩浮圖道 [249]，不殺伐，遂以成俗。

The state of Tianzhu: Also named Shendu 身毒, it lies several thousand *li* [247] southeast of Yuezhi. Its customs are the same as those of Yuezhi, and it is low, damp, and very hot. It borders a large river[248]. The inhabitants ride on elephants in warfare; they are weaker than the Yuezhi. They practise the way of *Futu* 浮圖 (the Buddha)[249], [and therefore] it has become a custom [among them] not to kill or attack [others].

[247] "Several thousand *li*" (Distance 14): This figure follows the "Dayuan liezhuan" of *Shiji*.

[248] The "large river" refers to the Indus River.

[249] "The way of *Futu*" 浮圖道 refers to Buddhism; "*Futu*" is a transcription of "Buddha".

從月氏、高附國以西，南至西海，東至磐起國[250]，皆身毒之地。[251]身毒有別城數百，城置長。别國數十，國置王。雖各小異，而俱以身毒爲名，其時皆屬月氏。[252]月氏殺其王而置將，令統其人。

[The land] west of the states of Yuezhi and Gaofu, south to the Western Sea, and east to the state of Panqi 磐起[250] is all the territory of Shendu.[251] Shendu has several hundred separate towns, with a governor, and separate states which can be numbered in the tens, each with its own king. Although there are small differences among them, they all come under the general name of Shendu, and at this time all were subject to the Yuezhi.[252] The Yuezhi had killed their kings and established a general in order to rule over their people.

[250] The state of Panqi 磐起國 is located in present-day Myanmar (Burma). "Panqi" 磐起 [buan-khiə] is noted as "Panyue" 盤越 [buan-hiuat] in the "Xi Rong zhuan" of *Weilüe* 魏略; it should be a transcription of Pyū (Prū or Prome).

[251] Tianzhu 天竺 is Shendu 身毒, consisting mainly of the valleys of the Indus River. However, as is stated in this text, "[The land] west of the states of Yuezhi and Gaofu, south to the Western Sea, and east to the state of Panqi is all the territory of Shendu". If Panqi is present-day Myanmar (Burma), then the name must have a more general meaning.

[252] "All are subject to the Yuezhi": In reference to the text above, this refers to the *status quo* after Yangaozhen ascended the throne. It seems that the Guishuang influence extended to part of present-day Myanmar (Burma).

土出象、犀、瑇瑁[253]、金、銀、銅、鐵、鉛、錫，西與大秦通，有大秦珍物。又有細布、好毾㲪[254]、諸香、石蜜[255]、胡椒、薑、黑鹽。

The land produces elephants, rhinoceros, tortoise shell[253], gold, silver, copper, iron, lead, and tin. It communicates to the west with Da Qin, and (so) has the exotica of Da Qin. There are also fine cloth, good *tadeng* 毾㲪 (fine woolen blankets with decorative patterns)[254], all kinds of fragrant substances, crystal sugar[255], pepper, ginger, and black salt.

[253] "Tortoise shell" 瑇瑁, according to some scholars, refers to the shell of *Chelonia imbricate*.[69]

[254] "*Tadeng*" 毾㲪 is a kind of wool product. The Li Commentary quotes *Picang* 埤蒼, explaining it to be a "wool mat". Li also quotes *Shiming* 釋名, "It is spread on the stool in front of the couch; one reaches the couch by stepping on it". *Tadeng* 毾㲪 could be a transcription of the Middle Persian *tāpetān*.[70]

[255] "*Shimi*" 石蜜 should be crystal sugar. According to *Nanfang caomu zhuang (shang)* 南方草木狀上, "Among the various canes there is a kind of sugar cane. Those produced in Jiaozhi 交趾 are several *cun* 寸 in circumference, and over one *zhang* 丈 in height, like bamboo. They taste sweet when cut and chewed. When the juice is extracted and dried in the sun for several days, it becomes sugar. This type of sugar dissolves in the mouth. The people there call it *shimi*".[71]

和帝時，數遣使貢獻，[256] 後西域反畔，乃絕。至桓帝延熹二年、四年，頻從日南徼外來獻。[257]

During the reign of Emperor He 和 (89-105 CE) envoys were sent to present tribute time and again[256]. This was only interrupted later when the Western Regions rebelled. When we come to the second and fourth years of the Yanxi 延熹 reign-period of Emperor Huan 桓, they repeatedly came with tribute from beyond the frontier of Rinan 日南.[257]

[256] "Envoys were sent to present tribute time and again": There are no such records in the "Basic Annals" (*benji* 本紀) in *Hou-Han shu*.

[257] According to the "Huandi ji" 桓帝紀 in *Hou-Han shu*, in the twelfth month of the second year of Yanxi reign-period (159), "[an envoy from] the state of Tianzhu came to present tribute"; "in the tenth month in the winter [of the fourth year of the Yanxi reign-period, an envoy from] the state of Tianzhu came to present tribute". Since Shendu cut off communications with the Eastern Han because "the Western Regions rebelled", we know that the communications between Shendu and the Eastern Han must have been maintained along the Southern and Northern Routes in the Western Regions. As for the contacts after Emperor Huan, they must have been conducted via the Southern Sea.

世傳明帝夢見金人，長大，頂有光明，以問羣臣。或曰："西方有神，名曰佛，其形長丈六尺而黃金色。"帝於是遣使天竺問佛道法，遂於中國圖畫形像焉。[258]

It is handed down through generations that Emperor Ming 明 dreamed of a golden

person, who was of tall and sturdy stature. There was a halo on top of his head. The emperor asked his retinue of officials, and someone said, "There is a god in the west, whose name is *Fo* 佛 (Buddha). He is one *zhang* 丈 and six *chi* 尺 tall, and his color is golden". The Emperor thereupon sent envoys to Tianzhu to seek the Buddha *Dharma*, thus Buddha's image was illustrated in the Middle Kingdom.[258]

[258] The Li Commentary on the "Chuwang Ying zhuan" 楚王英傳 of *Hou-Han shu* quotes the *Hou-Han ji* 後漢紀 by Yuan Hong 袁宏: "*Futu* is Buddha; there is the Buddhist Way in state of Tianzhu 天竺 in the Western Regions. *Buddha* means the Awakened One, who will enlighten myriad beings. His teachings center on the cultivation of compassion, the prohibition of killing, and the promotion of pure and tranquil practice. The adepts are called *śramaṇa*, which means 'renunciants' in the Han language; i.e., they have renounced their mental faculty and desire so as to enter into non-action 無爲 [or *nirvāṇa*]. The practitioners believe that the spirit (or the mental function) is not extinguished at death; it will be endowed with a new form. For good or evil deeds there are rewards or retributions (*karma*); so what is valued is the cultivation of the good and the Way, so as to prepare the spirit for the entrance into the realm of non-life 無生 [*nirvāṇa*], and thus become a Buddha. The Buddha is one *zhang* and six *chi* in height, of golden color. On his neck the light of the sun and moon radiates; he is able to transform into myriad forms, and there is nowhere he is unable to penetrate; he tremendously benefits all forms of life. Formerly, Emperor Ming dreamed of a golden man of immense height, with the light of sun and moon radiating from his neck, and asked his ministers about the vision. There was someone who replied, 'There is a god in the West called Buddha. Could what Your Majesty dreamed of not be such?' Therefore an envoy was sent to Tianzhu to enquire about the Buddha's Way, and his image was illustrated". This is the story of Emperor Ming's quest for Buddhism inspired by a dream. Though the story is said to have been "handed down through generations", and there are details that are suspicious, it would still be difficult to conclude that it was completely fabricated. The story shows that both ruler and subjects of the Eastern Han Dynasty had some understanding of Buddhism at least by the time of Emperor Ming.[72]

楚王英始信其術，中國因此頗有奉其道者。[259]後桓帝好神，數祀浮圖、老子，百姓稍有奉者，後遂轉盛。[260]

Ying 英, the king of Chu 楚, first believed in the arts [of Buddhism], and therefore

there were people who believed in the [Buddha] *Dharma* in the Middle Kingdom.[259] Afterwards Emperor Huan was fond of god and frequently sacrificed to the *Futu* (Buddha) and Laozi 老子. Common people came to believe in the *Dharma* little by little, and later it became very popular.[260]

[259] According to the "Chuwang Ying liezhuan" 楚王英列傳 in *Hou-Han shu*, "Early in his life [Liu] Ying was fond of travelling as a knight-errant and making friends, but later he turned to the ways of the Yellow Emperor and Laozi, and learned to practice the fasting and sacrifice of the Buddhists".[73]

[260] In the section of the "Discussion" in the "Huandi ji" 桓帝紀 of *Hou-Han shu*, it is recorded that Emperor Huan "erected [shrines] with ornamental canopies to offer sacrifice to Buddha and Laozi".

東離國[261]，居沙奇城[262]，在天竺東南三千餘里[263]，大國也。其土氣、物類與天竺同。列城[264]數十，皆稱王。大月氏伐之，遂臣服焉。男女皆長八尺[265]，而怯弱。乘象、駱駞，往來鄰國。有寇，乘象以戰。[266]

The state of Dongli 東離[261]: It has its residence at the town of Shaqi 沙奇[262]. It lies more than 3,000 *li* [263] southeast of Tianzhu. It is a large country. Its climate and products are the same as those of Tianzhu. There are separate towns[264] which can be numbered in the tens, [the rulers of which] all call themselves "kings". The Da Yuezhi have attacked them, and consequently they have become subject to them. The men and women [of this state] are all eight *chi* 尺 [265] tall, but they are cowardly and weak. The people ride on elephants and camels to come and go to neighboring states. If there are brigands, they ride into battle on elephants.[266]

[261] "Dongli" 東離: The "Xi Rong zhuan" in *Weilüe* reads "Juli" 車離 [kia-liai]; it refers to the ancient state of Chola in the south of India.[74]

[262] "Shaqi" 沙奇 [shea-gia] should be identified with Kāñchi.[75]

[263] "More than 3,000 *li*" (Distance 15): The distance from the seat of the king's government of Dongli to that of Tianzhu.

[264] 列城 should be emended to 別城 in accordance with the text of the "Xi Rong zhuan" in

Weilüe.

[265] 八尺: Insert 一丈 in front of 八尺, to read 一丈八尺 (one *zhang* eight *chi*) in accordance with the text of the "Xi Rong zhuan" in *Weilüe*.

[266] This memoir can be divided into four sections: Section 1, from the first state, Jumi, to the thirteenth state, Dongli; section 2, from the 14th state, Suyi to the 16th state, Yancai; section 3, from the 17th state, Suoju, to the 19th state, Yanqi; section 4, from the 20th state, Pulei, to the 24th state, the Further Jushi. Section 1 is concerned with the states on the Southern Route, while the other three sections with the states on the Northern Route. The factors deciding the order of presentation is the same as in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu*, although in specific cases there are modifications. The organization based on the four roads in this memoir set a precedent for the "Xiyu zhuan" in *Weishu* 魏書.

粟弋國[267]，屬康居。[268]出名馬牛羊、蒲萄衆果，其土水美，故蒲萄酒特有名焉。

The state of Suyi 粟弋[267]: It is subject to Kangju 康居.[268] The land produces celebrated horses, cattle, sheep, grapes, and various fruits. The water and soil are good; therefore its wine made of grapes is very well-known.

[267] The state of Suyi 粟弋 is generally regarded as Sogdiana, the present valley of the Zarafshan River. "Suyi" 粟弋 [siok-jiək] is a transcription of Sugda. The "Sudu" 儌伌 in the biography of Du Du 杜篤 in the "Wenyuan zhuan" 文苑傳 of *Hou-Han shu* may be a variation in the transcription of that name.

[268] "It is subject to Kangju": This can be traced to Zhang Qian's first mission to the west at the earliest.[76]

嚴國[269]，在奄蔡北，屬康居，出鼠皮以輸之。

The state of Yan 嚴[269]: It is located to the north of Yancai, and is subject to Kangju. It produces the fur of martens (?), which is transported to Kangju.

[269] The state of Yan: Some scholars believe that it was located in the valley of the Kama River, a tributary of the Volga. "Yan" 嚴 [ngiam] is a transcription of Kama.[77]

奄蔡國，改名阿蘭聊國[270]，居地城[271]，屬康居。土氣溫和，多楨松、白草。民俗衣服與康居同。[272]

The state of Yancai 奄蔡: It has changed its name to the state of Alanliao 阿蘭聊[270]. It has its residence in the town of Di 地[271]. The state is subject to Kangju. The climate is warm. There is an abundance of glossy privets, pines, and white grass. The popular way of life and of dress is the same as that of Kangju.[272]

[270] "Alanliao" 阿蘭聊 is regarded by some scholars as an error, a result of confusing the "Alan" 阿蘭 and the state of "Liu" 柳 in the "Xi Rong zhuan" of *Weilüe*. "Alan" 阿蘭 [a-lan] is a transcription of Alan, while "Liu" 柳 [liəu], a transcription of Rha, an old name of the Volga. The Alans inhabited an area north of the Caucasus Mountains, to the north of the Caspian Sea in the east and the northeast of the Black Sea in the west.[78]

[271] The location of the town of Di 地 and the meaning of the name remain to be determined.

[272] Yancai and Kangju were both nomadic tribes; they go in search of water and pasture, and should have the same way of life and dress. Not only this; the name change of Yancai is most probably a result of the conquest by the Alans. Therefore, the people that share the same way of life and dress should also include the Alans, as well as the original people of Yancai.

莎車國西經蒲犁[273]、無雷[274]至大月氏，東去洛陽萬九百五十里[275]。

The state of Suoju 莎車: Going west from it, via Puli 蒲犁[273] and Wulei 無雷[274], one reaches Da Yuezhi. It is 10,950 *li*[275] from Luoyang.

[273] Puli 蒲犁 was an oasis state on the Southern Route of the Western Regions, first mentioned in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu*.

[274] Wulei 無雷 was an oasis state on the Southern Route of the Western Regions, first mentioned in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu*.

[275] "10,950 *li*" (Distance 16): The distance from the seat of the king's government of Suoju via that of Shule to Luoyang; i.e., the aggregate of 600 *li*, the distance between the seat of the king's government of Suoju and that of Shule (calculated according to the figures in the "Xiyuzhuan" of *Hanshu*), and 10,350 *li*, the distance between the latter and Luoyang. According to this memoir, "To

the northeast from Suoju one reaches Shule".

匈奴單于因王莽之亂，略有西域，唯莎車王延最強，不肯附屬。元帝時，嘗爲侍子，長於京師，慕樂中國，亦復參其典法。常勑諸子，當世奉漢家，不可負也。[276]天鳳五年，延死，謚忠武王，子康代立。

When the *Chanyu* of the Xiongnu occupied the Western Regions, taking advantage of the chaos at the time of Wang Mang, only the king of Suoju, Yan 延, who was the strongest, was not willing to submit. During the reign of Emperor Yuan 元, he had served as an attendant in court. He admired and took pleasure in the Middle Kingdom because of growing up in the capital city, and he also consulted the decrees and regulations there. He constantly exhorted his sons to serve the Han House for generations and not to betray it.[276] In the fifth year of the Tianfeng 天鳳 reign-period (18 CE), Yan died and was given the posthumous title of "King of Zhongwu" 忠武 [Loyal and Vigorous]. His son, Kang 康, was enthroned in his place.

[276] This shows the outcome of Han's request to the various states for their princes to serve as hostages and attendants. Although the main purpose of this measure was to build up Han's influence and foster pro-Han regimes, it was conducive, objectively, to the cultural exchanges between the Central Plains and the Western Regions.

光武初，康率傍國拒匈奴，擁衞故都護吏士妻子千餘口，檄書河西，問中國動靜，自陳思慕漢家。建武五年，河西大將軍竇融乃承制立康爲漢莎車建功懷德王、西域大都尉，五十五國皆屬焉。[277]

At the beginning of the reign of Emperor Guangwu 光武, Kang led the neighboring states to resist the Xiongnu, and he safeguarded the officers and soldiers and the wives and sons of the former Protector-General, totaling several thousand people. He sent a call-to-arms to the Hexi region to ask about the activity of the Middle Kingdom and expressed his own longing for the Han Dynasty. In the fifth year of the Jianwu 建武 reign-period (29 CE), the Supreme General in the Hexi region, Dou Rong 竇融, with an imperial decree, established Kang as the King of Jiangong Huaide 建功懷德 [Serving

Meritoriously and Leaning toward the Virtuous] of Suoju of Han and the Chief Commandant of the Western Regions; fifty-five states were under him.[277]

[277] Because of the pro-Han power of Suoju, the Xiongnu were unable to control the entire Western Regions; this is different from the situation at the beginning of the Western Han. Emperor Guangwu appointed Kang the King of Jiangong Huaide 建功懷德 and the Chief Commandant of the Western Regions, indicating his intention to control the area through Suoju.

九年，康死，謚宣成王。弟賢代立，攻破拘彌、西夜國，皆殺其王，而立其兄康兩子爲拘彌、西夜王。[278]十四年，賢與鄯善王安並遣使詣闕貢獻，於是西域始通。[279]葱領以東諸國皆屬賢。

In the ninth year (33 CE), Kang died, and was given the posthumous title of King of Xuancheng 宣成. His younger brother Xian 賢 succeeded to the throne. Xian attacked and crushed the states of Jumi and Xiye, killing both their kings and enthroning the two sons of his elder brother Kang as kings of Jumi and Xiye.[278] In the fourteenth year, both Xian and the king of Shanshan, An 安, sent envoys to go to the [Palace] Portal to offer tribute, whereupon the Western Regions began [once again] to communicate [with the Middle Kingdom].[279] East of the Cong Mountains, all the various states were subject to Xian.

[278] When Xian killed the kings of both Jumi and Xiye, his purpose was to enthrone the two sons of his elder brother. However, his action in fact constituted the beginning of Suoju wreaking havoc in the Western Regions. When he came to court in the fourteenth year (38 CE), Han praised him for opening up communications in the Western Regions, took no action against him for his role in the crime of killing the two kings, and gave tacit consent to his establishing himself as the successor to Kang. Xian subsequently behaved like a suzerain over the states to the east of the Cong Mountains.

[279] According to the "Guangwudi ji" in *Hou-Han shu*, in the fourteenth year of the Jianwu reign-period (38 CE), "the states of Suoju and Shanshan sent envoys to present tribute".

十七年，賢復遣使奉獻，請都護。[280]天子以問大司空竇融，以爲賢父子兄弟相約事漢，款誠又至，宜加號位以鎮安之。帝乃因其使，賜賢西域都護印綬，及車旗黃金錦繡。敦煌太守裴遵上言："夷狄不可假以大權，又令諸國失望。"詔

書收還都護印綬，更賜賢以漢大將軍印綬。其使不肯易，遵迫奪之，賢由是始恨。而猶詐稱大都護，移書諸國，諸國悉服屬焉，號賢爲單于。賢浸以驕橫，重求賦稅，數攻龜茲諸國，諸國愁懼。[281]

In the seventeenth year (41 CE), Xian again sent an envoy to present tribute and *to ask for the Protector-General to be sent.*[280] *The Son of Heaven asked the Grand* Minister of Works, Dou Rong 竇融, about it. [Dou Rong] thought, "The father and sons, elder and younger brothers of Xian have made pledges to each other to serve Han and also reached the height of sincerity. We should bestow titles and positions to pacify and comfort them". The Emperor thus granted Xian the seal and ribbons for the Protector-General of the Western Regions and sent carriages, flags, gold, silk, and flowered silk through his envoy. The Administrator of Dunhuang, Pei Zun 裴遵, sent a memorial to the throne, saying, "The barbarians should not be given full rights, because the other states would despair". An imperial edict was issued taking back the seal and ribbons of the Protector-General and bestowing on Xian in their stead the seal and ribbons of the Supreme General of Han. The envoy was not willing to make the exchange. Pei Zun took it by force. Xian thereupon began to hate Han, arrogated the title of Grand Protector-General to himself, and sent a letter to the various states. The states all submitted to him and called Xian *Chanyu*. Xian was generally arrogant and imperious, asked for heavy taxes, and frequently attacked Qiuci and other states. The various states were anxious and fearful.[281]

[280] According to the "Guangwudi ji" of *Hou-Han shu*, in the seventeenth year of the Jianwu reign-period (41 CE), "the state of Suoju sent an envoy to present tribute".

[281] Suoju was the first state of the Western Regions "to ask for the Protector-General to be sent". From the acts of Suoju before and after this mission to Han, it is possible that its petition for the appointment of a Protector-General was simply a trial balloon released by Xian. The fact that Emperor Guangwu gave Xian the seal and ribbons of the Protector-General of the Western Regions and then, soon after, revoked them played a role in catalyzing his wild ambition. One important reason why the King of Suoju, Xian, was able to terrorize the Western Regions was that the Xiongnu declined in power, and the Eastern Han ignored the Western Regions. According to the "Nan Xiongnu zhuan" 南匈奴傳 in *Hou-Han shu*, around 49 CE (the twenty-second year of the Jianwu reign-period), the

Xiongnu suffered even more "withering drought and plagues of locusts in successive years that seared vast expanses of farmland. All grass and trees were dried up, and the greater part of the people and livestock died because of starvation and epidemic disease". In the end, they divided into the two tribes of the South and North. This was of course an opportune moment for Suoju to expand its influence. It was at the end of the Jianwu reign-period that Xian sent his son, Bujuzheng 不居徵, as a hostage to the Xiongnu, when the countrymen of Qiuci killed their king who had been installed by Suoju and submitted to the Xiongnu, and then the Xiongnu, with Qiuci, launched an attack on Suoju. At this time Xian became a spent force, and was soon killed by the King of Yutian, Guangde 廣德, with his state annexed. In sum, from the time when Xian was enthroned to the fifth year of the Yongping 永平 reign-period (62 CE) when he died, he had wrought havoc in the Western Regions for about thirty years. Although the title of "Grand Protector-General" which he had appropriated misled the various states for a brief time, "the seal and ribbons of the Supreme General of Han" undoubtedly added to his arrogance.

二十一年冬，車師前王、鄯善、焉耆等十八國俱遣子入侍，獻其珍寶。及得見，皆流涕稽首，願得都護。天子以中國初定，北邊未服，皆還其侍子，厚賞賜之。[282]

In the winter of the 21st year, the eighteen states, consisting of the king of the state of Nearer Jushi 車師, Shanshan 鄯善, Yanqi 焉耆, and others, all sent their sons to attend at the court and offered their treasure. They all bent their heads to the ground with tears falling, wishing that a Protector-General would be sent. The Son of Heaven had all of their sons return and bestowed on them lavish rewards because the Middle Kingdom had just been stabilized, and the northern borders had not yet submitted to Han.[282]

[282] The record in the "Guangwudi ji" 光武帝紀 of *Hou-Han shu* is almost identical to this memoir, except that "the king of Jushi" and "eighteen states" in the latter read "the king of the state of Nearer Jushi" and "sixteen states" respectively in the former. The state of Jushi was divided into the state of Nearer Jushi and the state of Further Jushi in the Western Han, and it was the same case in the Eastern Han. Only the king of the state of Nearer Jushi is mentioned, but not the king of Further Jushi. It is possible that there was no king of the state of Further Jushi among the "sixteen states" or "eighteen states". If the king of the state of Further Jushi came to present tribute at that time, the text should

refer to "the kings of the states of Nearer and Further Jushi", as was the case in the "Hedi ji" of *Hou-Han shu* under the second year of the Yongyuan 永元 reign-period. The reason why the king of the state of Nearer Jushi and other kings sent their sons to attend at the court was that Suoju was powerful and wanted to annex the various states. Since the Protector-General was not appointed, the king of the state of Nearer Jushi had to attach himself to the Xiongnu. The fact that the king of the state of Further Jushi was not among the states that came to court in the winter of the twenty-first year of the Jianwu reign-period (45 CE) shows that he had become the subject of the Xiongnu at that time. While the Eastern Han fought against the Northern Xiongnu for Yiwu 伊吾 and Pulei 蒲類, Han power could have penetrated into Jushi, since only when Jushi was reined in was it possible to exert further control over the Northern Route. Shanshan and some other states submitted to the Xiongnu because they could not bear the invasion and oppression of Suoju.

是時，賢自負兵強，欲并兼西域，攻擊益甚。諸國聞都護不出，而侍子皆還，大憂恐，乃與敦煌太守檄，願留侍子以示莎車，言侍子見留，都護尋出，冀且息其兵。裴遵以狀聞，天子許之。二十二年，賢知都護不至，遂遺鄯善王安書，令絕通漢道。安不納而殺其使。賢大怒，發兵攻鄯善。安迎戰，兵敗，亡入山中。賢殺略千餘人而去。其冬，賢復攻殺龜兹王[283]，遂兼其國。鄯善、焉耆諸國侍子久留敦煌，愁思，皆亡歸。鄯善王上書，願復遣子入侍，更請都護。都護不出，誠迫於匈奴。天子報曰："今使者大兵未能得出，如諸國力不從心，東西南北自在也。"於是鄯善、車師復附匈奴，[284]而賢益橫。

At that time, relying on his well-trained troops and wanting to annex the Western Regions, Xian's attacks became more powerful. The [kings of] the various states were extremely worried and afraid when they heard that the Protector-General would not be sent out and the sons who were attending at court would all return. They thus sent a call-to-arms to the Administrator of Dunhuang and said that they desired to have their sons remain in attendance at court to show Suoju that their sons would be left and the Protector-General would be sent out. They hoped that this would cause [Suoju] to cease hostilities. Pei Zun described the circumstances [in a formal document] and the Son of Heaven gave his approval. In the 22nd year Xian knew the Protector-General would not come there, and sent a letter to the king of Shanshan, An 安, ordering him to cut off the route to Han. An did not accept the order and killed his envoy. Xian was enraged

and sent out a force to attack Shanshan. An met the enemy head-on but his forces were defeated, and he escaped into the mountains. In that winter, Xian also attacked and killed the king of Qiuci and then annexed his state.[283] The princes from the states of Shanshan, Yanqi, and others who had [formerly] been in attendance at court all fled and returned [to their states], because living at Dunhuang for a long time had made them melancholy. The king of Shanshan sent a written message to the emperor, again requesting to send his son to attend at court, and once more asking for the [appointment of a] Protector-General. This was because they would be pressured by the Xiongnu if the Protector-General were not sent out. The Son of Heaven replied: "The envoy and the main forces cannot be sent out now. The various states will be unconstrained in all directions if their ability falls short of their desire to meet their wishes". Thereupon Shanshan and Jushi again submitted to the Xiongnu,[284] and Xian was much more arrogant.

[283] According to the "Xibei zhu Rong zhuan" 西北諸戎傳 of *Liangshu* 梁書, the king of Qiuci who was killed by the king of Suoju was named Hong 弘.

[284] According to the "Ban Chao zhuan" in *Hou-Han shu*, in the sixteenth year of the Yongping 永平 reign-period (73 CE), Han sent Ban Chao on a mission to the Western Regions. "After [Ban] Chao's arrival in Shanshan, its king, Guang 廣, waited upon [Ban] Chao with perfect courtesy, but after some time suddenly slighted him". Ban Chao believed that this was because the Xiongnu envoy had arrived and the king of Shanshan "hesitated, not knowing what course to follow". Thereupon Ban Chao, with "his thirty-six officers and soldiers", killed the Xiongnu "envoy and his followers" under the cover of darkness. "[Ban] Chao then summoned the king of Shanshan, Guang, and showed him the head of the savages' envoy, and the whole state trembled with fear. [Ban] Chao reasoned with and assured [the king], who sent his son to be a hostage [to Han]". Shanshan had been completely cut off from Han for nearly thirty years, since the twenty-first year of the Jianwu reign-period of Emperor Guangwu (45 CE), when it had presented tribute. Thus, when the Han envoy suddenly arrived, Shanshan was naturally suspicious. It was in order to strengthen Shanshan's determination to submit to Han that Ban Chao beheaded the Xiongnu envoy.

嬀塞王[285]自以國遠，遂殺賢使者，賢擊滅之，立其國貴人駟鞬爲嬀塞王。賢又自立其子則羅爲龜茲王。賢以則羅年少，乃分龜茲爲烏壘國[286]，徙駟鞬爲

烏壘王，又更以貴人爲嬀塞王。數歲，龜兹國人共殺則羅、駟鞬，而遣使匈奴，更請立王。匈奴立龜兹貴人身毒[287]爲龜兹王，龜兹由是屬匈奴。

The king of Gui Sai 嬀塞[285], considering himself far enough away, subsequently killed Xian's envoy. Xian attacked and destroyed him and established a nobleman, Sijian 駟鞬, as king of Gui Sai. Xian also established his own son, Zeluo 則羅, as king of Qiuci. Because Zeluo was young, Xian divided Qiuci into [the states of Qiuci and] Wulei 烏壘[286], and moved Sijian to be the king of Wulei, establishing a nobleman as king of Gui Sai. Several years later the people of Qiuci together killed Zeluo and Sijian, and sent envoys to the Xiongnu to request the establishment of a king [of Qiuci]. The Xiongnu established a nobleman of Qiuci, Shendu 身毒[287], as king of Qiuci. Qiuci henceforth became subject to the Xiongnu.

[285] The king of Gui Sai 嬀塞 should be a king of the Sai in the valley of the Gui River 嬀水 (Oxus), i.e., the Amu Darya.

[286] Wulei 烏壘 was originally an oasis state on the Northern Route, first mentioned in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu*.

[287] The nobleman in Qiuci was named Shendu 身毒, an instance of the influence of the Indian culture.

賢以大宛貢稅減少，自將諸國兵數萬人攻大宛，大宛王延留迎降，賢因將還國，徙拘彌王橋塞提爲大宛王。而康居數攻之，橋塞提在國歲餘，亡歸，賢復以爲拘彌王，而遣延留還大宛，使貢獻如常。賢又徙于寘王俞林爲驪歸王，立其弟位侍爲于寘王。歲餘，賢疑諸國欲畔，召位侍及拘彌、姑墨[288]、子合王，盡殺之，不復置王，但遣將鎮守其國。位侍子戎亡降漢，封爲守節侯。

Xian took personal command of men numbering several tens of thousands from the various states to attack Dayuan 大宛, for Dayuan's tribute amounts and taxes had decreased. Yanliu 延留, the king of Dayuan, met him and surrendered. So Xian took [Yanliu] back to his state and moved Qiaosaiti 橋塞提, the king of Jumi, to be king of Dayuan. Qiaosaiti remained inside the state for more than a year but then fled back, as Kangju attacked him frequently. Xian made him king of Jumi again and sent Yanliu

back to Dayuan, making him pay tribute as usual. Xian also moved Yulin 俞林, the king of Yutian, to be king of Ligui 驪歸 and established his younger brother Weishi 位侍 as king of Yutian. Over a year later, Xian suspected that the various states wanted to revolt against him. He summoned Weishi, and the kings of Jumi, Gumo 姑墨[288], and Zihe, and killed all of them. He no longer established kings in these states, but only sent generals to guard them. The son of Weishi, Rong 戎, ran away and surrendered to Han. He was appointed the Marquis of Shoujie 守節 (Preserving Probity) [by Han].

[288] Gumo 姑墨 was an oasis state on the Northern Route, first mentioned in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu*.

莎車將君得在于寘暴虐，百姓患之。明帝永平三年（60 年），其大人都末出城，見野豕，欲射之，豕乃言曰："無射我，我乃爲汝殺君得。"都末因此卽與兄弟共殺君得。而大人休莫霸復與漢人韓融等殺都末兄弟，自立爲于寘王，復與拘彌國人攻殺莎車將在皮山者，引兵歸。於是賢遣其太子、國相，將諸國兵二萬人擊休莫霸，霸迎與戰，莎車兵敗走，殺萬餘人。賢復發諸國數萬人，自將擊休莫霸，霸復破之，斬殺過半，賢脫身走歸國。休莫霸進圍莎車，中流矢死，兵乃退。[289]

Junde 君得 , a general of Suoju, acted brutally in Yutian, and the common people were troubled by him. In the third year of the Yongping 永平 reign-period of Emperor Ming, a nobleman, Dumo 都末, saw a wild boar when he went out of the town and wanted to shoot it. The boar said, "Don't shoot me! I will kill Junde for you". Thus, Dumo, together with his brothers, killed Junde. A nobleman, Xiumoba 休莫霸, together with Han Rong 韓融, a man of Han, and others in turn killed Dumo and his brothers. Xiumoba established himself as king of Yutian, and, with countrymen of Jumi, attacked and killed the generals who had been dispatched by Suoju to guard Pishan 皮山, then returned leading their troops. Thereupon Xian sent his crown prince and the Prime Minister to lead a troupe of 20,000 men to attack Xiumoba. [Xiumo] ba met him head-on, the forces of Suoju were defeated and ran away, while over 10,000 men were killed. Xian proceeded to call up forces numbering several tens of thousands from the various states, and personally led them to attack Xiumoba. [Xiumo] ba also defeated him, beheading

and killing more than half of his men. Xian extricated himself and returned to his state. Xiumoba advanced and besieged Suoju, but was shot by a stray arrow and died, whereupon his troops retreated.[289]

[289] At that time Han's power was insufficient to reach to the Western Regions, and the Xiongnu's power had waned, so the states on the oases were embroiled in conflict among themselves for influence.

于窴國相蘇榆勒等共立休莫霸兄子廣德爲王。匈奴與龜茲諸國共攻莎車，不能下。廣德承莎車之敝，使弟輔國侯仁將兵攻賢。賢連被兵革，乃遣使與廣德和。先是廣德父拘在莎車數歲，於是賢歸其父，而以女妻之，結爲昆弟，廣德引兵去。明年，莎車相且運等患賢驕暴，密謀反城降于窴。于窴王廣德乃將諸國兵三萬人攻莎車。賢城守，使使謂廣德曰："我還汝父，與汝婦，汝來擊我何爲？"廣德曰："王，我婦父也，久不相見，願各從兩人會城外結盟。"賢以問且運，且運曰："廣德女婿至親，宜出見之。"賢乃輕出，廣德遂執賢。而且運等因內于窴兵，虜賢妻子而幷其國。鎖賢將歸，歲餘殺之。[290]

Suyule 蘇榆勒, the Prime Minister of the state of Yutian, and others together established Guangde 廣德, the son of Xiumoba's elder brother, as king. The Xiongnu attacked Suoju together with Qiuci and other states, but was unable to capture it. Taking advantage of Suoju's decline, Guangde sent his younger brother, Ren 仁, the noble of Support of the State, to lead a force to attack Xian. Being ravaged by successive wars, Xian had to send an envoy to make peace with Guangde.. Previous to this, Guangde's father had been detained in Suoju for several years. As a result, Xian sent his father back, married his daughter to Guangde, and established brotherly relations. Leading his forces, Guangde returned. In the next year, Suoju's Prime Minister Qieyun 且運 and others feared Xian's overbearing tyranny and secretly plotted to betray the town to Yutian. Yutian's king Guangde thus led 30,000 soldiers from the various states to attack Suoju. Defending himself inside the walls of his town, Xian sent an envoy to tell Guangde: "I have sent your father back, and married my daughter to you. Why do you come and attack me?" Guangde said, "You, King, are the father of my wife. We have not met for a long time. I desire to meet with you, each of us followed by two men,

to make a pact outside the town". Xian asked Qieyun's opinion, and Qieyun replied, "Guangde, as your son-in-law, is a very close relative. You should go out to meet him". Xian thus went out with some light cavalry, and Guangde then seized Xian. Qieyun and others admitted the troops of Yutian into the town. [Guangde] captured Xian's wives and sons and swallowed up his state. Binding him in chains, Guangde took Xian back [to Yutian], and killed him over a year later.[290]

[290] The Xiongnu led Qiuci and other states to attack Suoju, only to take advantage of the resentment against Suoju on the part of the various states, in order to control the Western Regions through Qiuci. The king of Suoju, unable to fight on two fronts, had no choice but to settle peacefully with Guangde, marrying his daughter to him. The alliance between Guangde and Xian was a temporary tactic; as soon as Qieyun was ready, Suoju was taken.

匈奴聞廣德滅莎車，遣五將發焉耆、尉黎、龜茲十五國兵三萬餘人圍于窴，廣德乞降，以其太子爲質，約歲給罽絮。冬，匈奴復發兵將賢質子不居徵立爲莎車王，廣德又攻殺之，更立其弟齊黎爲莎車王，章帝元和三年也。[291]時長史班超發諸國兵擊莎車，大破之，由是遂降漢。[292]事已具"班超傳"。

When they heard that Guangde had destroyed Suoju, the Xiongnu sent five generals to call up a force of more than 30,000 men from 15 states of Yanqi 焉耆, Weili 尉黎, Qiuci 龜茲, and others to besiege Yutian. Guangde begged to surrender and sent his crown prince to be a hostage. He reached an agreement with the Xiongnu to present woolens and silk floss each year. In the winter, the Xiongnu further sent troops to establish Xian's son, Bujuzheng 不居徵, who was serving as a hostage, as king of Suoju. In turn, Guangde attacked and killed him, and reestablished his younger brother, Qili 齊黎, as king of Suoju. [These events occurred] in the third year of the Yuanhe 元和 reign-period of Emperor Zhang 章.[291] At that time, the Chief Official Ban Chao led troops from the various states to attack Suoju, and inflicted heavy losses on it, whereupon it surrendered to Han.[292] The account is given in "The Biography of Ban Chao".

[291] The Xiongnu call to the troops of Yanqi, Weili, Qiuci, and other states to besiege Yutian is dated in the "Hanji" 漢紀 of *Zizhi tongjian* to the fourth year of the Yongping reign-period (61 CE).

This memoir has the third year of the Yuanhe reign-period (86 CE) of Emperor Zhang, which seems to be incorrect.

[292] According to the "Zhangdi ji" 章帝紀 in *Hou-Han shu*, in the first year of the Zhanghe 章和 reign-period (87 CE), "The Chief Official of the Western Regions, Ban Chao, attacked and defeated Suoju". According to the "Ban Chao zhuan" in *Hou-Han shu*, "In the following year [the first year of the Zhanghe reign-period], [Ban] Chao mobilized the troops of Yutian and other states, totaling 25,000 persons, for another expedition against Suoju. The king of Qiuci sent his General of the Left to call out the troops of Wensu 溫宿, Gumo 姑墨 and Weitou 尉頭, totaling 50,000 persons, to serve as reinforcement. [Ban] Chao gathered his officers as well as the king of Yutian for a meeting, saying, 'Our force not large enough to match the enemies, the best strategy is to disperse in different directions. Yutian is to go east from here, and the Chief Official, to go west. We will depart at night when the drums beat'. The captives were secretly released. The king of Qiuci was overjoyed when he heard this. He took 10,000 troops to intercept [Ban] Chao at the western border, and the king of Wensu took 8,000 troops to intercept [the force of] Yutian at the eastern border. When [Ban] Chao learned that the two forces of the savages had set out, he gave orders to the various divisions in secret. They galloped to the camp of Suoju at cock's crow, and the savages fled in disarray. [Ban Chao's forces] pursued them, beheading over 5,000 and seizing a great number of horses and stock animals as well as a large quantity of valuables and other goods. Suoju therefore surrendered, and Qiuci and other states retreated and dispersed. Since then he has held the Western Regions in awe".

莎車東北至疏勒。

To the northeast from Suoju one reaches Shule 疏勒.

疏勒國，去長史所居五千里[293]，去洛陽萬三百里[294]。領戶二萬一千，勝兵三萬餘人。[295]

The state of Shule 疏勒: It is 5,000 *li*[293] from the seat of the government of the Chief Official, and is 10,300 *li*[294] from Luoyang. There are 21,000 households, including over 30,000 persons able to bear arms.[295]

[293] "5,000 *li*" (Distance 17.1): This should be the distance from the seat of the king's

government of Shule via that of Weitou to Liuzhong. According to this memoir, "To northeast [from Shule], via Weitou, Wensu 溫宿, Gumo, and Qiuci, one reaches Yanqi". If one takes the Northern Route to go from Shule to Liuzhong, then this figure is not correct.

[294] "10,300 *li*" (Distance 17.2): The distance from the seat of the king's government of Shule via that of Gumo to Luoyang. The distance between Luoyang and Chang'an is about 1,000 *li,* and that between Shule and Chang'an is 9,350 *li* according to the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu*; the sum of the two is 10,350 *li*. The figure "10,300" is an error for "10,350".

[295] The numbers of households and those able to bear arms here are 13.9 and 15 times those recorded in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu*. The figures here must include those of the smaller states subject to Shule.

明帝永平十六年，龜茲王建攻殺疏勒王成，自以龜茲左侯[296]兜題爲疏勒王。冬，漢遣軍司馬班超劫縛兜題，而立成之兄子忠爲疏勒王。[297]忠後反畔，超擊斬之。事已具超傳。[298]

In the 16th year of the Yongping 永平 reign-period of Emperor Ming, the king of Qiuci, Jian 建, attacked and killed the king of Shule, Cheng 成, and by himself established the Marquis of the Left[296] of Qiuci, Douti 兜題, as king of Shule. In this winter, Han sent the Army Major, Ban Chao, to capture and bind Douti, and he enthroned Cheng's elder brother's son, Zhong 忠, as king of Shule.[297] Zhong later rebelled, so [Ban] Chao attacked and beheaded him. The account is given in "The Biography of [Ban] Chao".[298]

[296] 左侯 (the Marquis of the Left), according to some, is an error for 左將 (the General of the Left) or 左候 (the Captain of the Left).[79]

[297] According to the "Ban Chao zhuan" of *Hou-Han shu*, "At that time, Jian, the king of Qiuci who was established by the Xiongnu, controlled the Northern Route, relying on the support of the Xiongnu. He breached [the defense of] Shule, killed its king, and established Douti, a native of Qiuci, as the king of Shule. In the spring of the next year, Ban Chao reached Shule by a desolate and out-of-the-way path. When he was ninety *li* from the town of Pantuo 盤槖,[80] in which Douti dwelt, he sent an officer, Tian Lü 田慮, ahead to subdue him, saying, 'Douti was originally not of the race of Shule. The countrymen [of Shule] would not enthusiastically serve him, so, if he was not willing to surrender at once, he could easily be caught'. When [Tian] Lü reached him, Douti saw that [Tian]

Lü was armed lightly, and did not want to surrender at all. [Tian] Lü, seizing the opportunity when he was unprepared, advanced and kidnapped Douti. Because it was unexpected, those around him were alarmed and ran away. [Tian] Lü sent someone on horseback to report it to [Ban] Chao. [Ban] Chao immediately went there, called together all the generals and officers of Shule, told them how unprincipled Qiuci was, and then established the son of the elder brother of the former king, Zhong 忠, as king [of Shule]. The countrymen of Shule were exultant. Zhong and his officers all begged to kill Douti. [Ban] Chao did not allow them to, but set him free to show [Han's] power and good faith. From then on enmity developed between Shule and Qiuci". It is also recorded that in the eighteenth year of the Yongping reign-period (75 CE), Qiuci, Yanqi, and other states attacked and killed the Protector-General, Chen Mu 陳睦. "[Ban] Chao was isolated and cut off from reinforcements, while Qiuci and Gumo sent out forces to attack Shule frequently. [Ban] Chao defended the town of Pantuo, and he and Zhong 忠 supported each other. His soldiers and officers were few, but they resisted for more than a year. Emperor Suzong 肅宗 had only rencently been enthroned. The emperor, feeling that [Ban] Chao was in an isolated and perilous position, and fearing that he was unable to defend it, issued an edict recalling [Ban] Chao. When [Ban] Chao set out to return, the whole state of Shule was thrown in apprehension and fear. Its Chief Commandant, Lihe 黎弇, said, 'If the Han Envoy abandons us, we will be destroyed by Qiuci. In truth I cannot bring myself to see the Han Envoy leave', and so he killed himself, cutting his throat with his knife. When [Ban] Chao reached Yutian, its king, nobles and those lower in rank wailed and said, 'We have depended on the Han Envoy in the same way as we have depended on our parents. The Han Envoy should not leave'. They clasped the hooves of [Ban] Chao's horse, so [Ban Chao] was unable to go. [Ban] Chao thought that [Yutian] would not allow him to return eastwards and he also wanted to finish his original plan, so he again went back to Shule. After [Ban] Chao had left, two towns of Shule surrendered to Qiuci and united with the troops of Weitou. [Ban] Chao captured and beheaded the rebels, destroyed Weitou, and killed more than 600. Shule saw peace again".

Qiuci had been a large state among the oasis states since the Western Han Dynasty. The numbers of its households, individuals, and persons able to bear arms were far more numerous than those of the other states. Therefore, it had the power to invade its neighbors. Since it was supported by the Xiongnu, it acted even more willfully. To establish Douti as the king of Shule was tantamount to taking Shule as its dependency. From the viewpoint of Ban Chao, since the various states in the Western Regions were all subject to Han, the behavior of Qiuci was intolerable. However, Ban Chao's forces were insufficient to chastise Qiuci at that time, so he ordered Tian Lü to kidnap Douti. What he

relied on was merely the fact that Douti was not of the race of the Shule, and that the countrymen of Shule would not defend him.

As Weili 尉犂, Weixu 危須, and other states followed Yanqi to oppose Han, Gumo 姑墨, Wensu 溫宿, Weitou 尉頭, among others, followed Qiuci. This is because the larger oasis states possessed spheres of influence when they did not submit to Han. However, from Ban Chao's petition recorded in the same biography, we know that "both the king of Gumo and the king of Wensu had merely been established by Qiuci. The people, not of the same race [as the Qiuci], were suppressed and harassed. The situation was bound to lead to defection and mutiny". This shows that Gumo and other states were accomplices only under duress.

[298] As is recorded in the "Ban Chao zhuan" of *Hou-Han shu*, in the first year of the Yuanhe 元和 reign-period (84 CE), "[the Emperor] again sent the Acting Major, He Gong 和恭, and three other officers to lead 800 troops to join [Ban] Chao. [Ban] Chao then called out the troops of Shule and Yutian to attack Suoju. [The king of] Suoju secretly sent an envoy to the king of Shule, Zhong 忠, and lured him by the promise of gain. Zhong therefore rebelled and, following [the king of Suoju], went west to guard the town of Wuji 烏即.[81] [Ban] Chao thus established the Assistant to [the king of Shule], Chengda 成大, as the king of Shule, and called out all those who did not rebel to attack Zhong. [The battle] lasted for half a year. Kangju dispatched its best troops to its aid and [Ban] Chao was unable to breach its defense. At that time the royal families of the Yuezhi and Kangju intermarried, and thus were close to each other. [Ban] Chao sent an envoy to the king of the Yuezhi, offering him a handsome present of brocade and silk and asking him to give explicit notice to the king of Kangju. The king of Kangju disbanded his troops, and, capturing Zhong, returned to his state. The town of Wuji thus surrendered to [Ban] Chao". In the third year of the Yuanhe 元和 reign-period (86 CE), "Zhong was able to persuade the king of Kangju to lend him troops, then returned and occupied Sunzhong 損中.[82] He plotted with Qiuci in secret and sent an envoy to [Ban] Chao, feigning surrender. [Ban] Chao knew his evil plan but outwardly pretended to agree. Zhong was delighted, and, being followed by light cavalry, went to meet with [Ban] Chao. [Ban] Chao ordered his troops to await him in secret. [When Zhong reached him, Ban Chao] gave a banquet and arranged a band for him. When wine was poured, [Ban Chao] shouted to his officers to bind Zhong and behead him. [Ban Chao] then defeated the rest, killing more than 700. Thus, all blocks on the Southern Route were cleared". As is recorded in the "Zhangdi ji" 章帝紀 of *Hou-Han shu*, in the third year of the Yuanhe reign-period, "Ban Chao, the Chief Official of the Western Regions, attacked and killed the king of Shule". According to the petition to the throne by Ban Chao in the third year of the Jianchu

建初 reign-period (78 CE), Kangju belonged to the various states he said were "willing to pledge allegiance" to Han. However, it supported Shule, betraying Han. The king of Shule, Zhong, even though he was established by Ban Chao, went so far as to oppose Han out of greed. These examples show that Ban Chao's petition was deliberately exaggerated, which was possibly to strengthen the determination of the imperial court in the management of the Western Regions.

安帝元初中，疏勒王安國以舅臣磐有罪，徙於月氏，月氏王親愛之。後安國死，無子，母持國政，與國人共立臣磐同産弟子遺腹爲疏勒王。臣磐聞之，請月氏王曰："安國無子，種人微弱，若立母氏，我乃遺腹叔父也，我當爲王。"月氏乃遣兵送還疏勒。國人素敬愛臣磐，又畏憚月氏，卽共奪遺腹印綬，迎臣磐立爲王，更以遺腹爲磐槀城侯。後莎車連畔于窴，屬疏勒，疏勒以強，故得與龜茲、于窴爲敵國焉。[299]

In the Yuanchu 元初 reign-period of Emperor An 安, the king of Shule, Anguo 安國, banished his maternal uncle Chenpan 臣磐 to the Yuezhi on account of some crime, and the king of the Yuezhi was on very good terms with Chenpan. Later, Anguo died without having a son, and his mother exercised the government in the state. Together with the countrymen, she set up Yifu 遺腹, the son of a younger full brother of Chenpan, as king of Shule. When Chenpan heard about this, he [submitted] a request to the king of the Yuezhi, saying: "Anguo [has died] without a son, and his kinsmen are [still] young and weak. If they [plan to] enthrone a member of his mother's clan, I ought to be king instead, since I am Yifu's paternal uncle." Then the Yuezhi sent soldiers to escort him back to Shule. The countrymen had always respected and loved Chenpan, and moreover they feared the Yuezhi. Hence they jointly deprived Yifu of his [royal] seal and ribbon and welcomed Chenpan, whom they made their king. They made Yifu Noble of the Town of Pangao 磐槀. Afterwards, Suoju rebelled against Yutian repeatedly and became subject to Shule. As a result, Shule became powerful and was a match for Qiuci and Yutian.[299]

[299] Although the Yuezhi (i.e., Guishuang) were defeated and pushed back by Ban Chao in 90 CE, they did not give up their plan to expand their influence to the east of the Cong Mountains. During the Yuanchu 元初 reign-period of Emperor An (114-120 CE), when the Eastern Han abandoned the

Western Regions, Guishuang propped up a Shule puppet regime, which was pro-Guishuang, taking advantage of the vacuum after the withdrawal of Han. From this, the gestures of good will to Chenpan on the part of the king of the Yuezhi were extremely calculated. The countrymen of Shule, fearing the Yuezhi, welcomed Chenpan back to be their king, indicating the strong influence of Guishuang in the areas east of the Cong Mountains.

順帝永建二年，臣磐遣使奉獻，帝拜臣磐爲漢大都尉，兄子臣勳爲守國司馬。[300] 五年，臣磐遣侍子與大宛、莎車使俱詣闕貢獻。[301] 陽嘉二年，臣磐復獻師子、封牛。[302] 至靈帝建寧元年（168 年），疏勒王漢大都尉於獵中爲其季父和得所射殺，和得自立爲王。[303]

In the second year of the Yongjian 永建 reign-period of Emperor Shun 順, Chenpan sent an envoy to present tribute. The emperor made Chenpan the Chief Commandant of Han, and the son of his elder brother, Chenxun 臣勳, the Major of Shouguo 守國 [Guard of the State].[300] In the fifth year, Chenpan sent his son, who had served as an attendant in court, with envoys from Dayuan and Suoju to go to the [Palace] Portal to present tribute.[301] In the second year of the Yangjia 陽嘉 reign-period, Chenpan presented a lion and humped cattle.[302] Up to the first year of the Jianning 建寧 reign-period of Emperor Ling 靈 (168 CE), the king of Shule, the Han Chief Commandant, was struck and killed by the youngest brother of his father, Hede 和得, when he went hunting. Hede established himself as king.[303]

[300] According to the "Shundi ji" 順帝紀 in *Hou-Han shu*, in the third month of the second year of the Yongjian 永建 reign-period (127 CE), "the state of Shule sent an envoy to present tribute". At the beginning of the reign of Emperor Shun, the Eastern Han managed the Western Regions with concentrated attention, but the Chief Official, Ban Yong 班勇, who was stationed in Liuzhong, sensed that the western end of the Southern and Northern Routes was ultimately beyond the reach of his power. Therefore, Eastern Han made Chenpan "the Han Chief Commandant", an attempt to maintain order through Shule.

[301] The event occurred in the first month of the fifth year (130 CE) according to the "Shundi ji" in *Hou-Han shu*.

[302] According to the "Shundi ji" in *Hou-Han shu*, in the sixth month of the second year of the

Yangjia 陽嘉 reign-period (133 CE), "the state of Shule presented a lion and humped cattle".

[303] There are some differences in the details in the record of this event inscribed on the Cao Quan Stele 曹全碑: "the Wu Major, Cao Kuan 曹寬" is noted as "the Major of the Wu Division, Cao Quan" in the inscription. Chenpan was killed by the youngest brother of his father, Hede 和得, as is recorded in *Hou-Han shu*, but according to the inscription, "Hede 和德 murdered his father and usurped the throne". According to *Hou-Han shu*, the Han forces, unable to take the town, retreated, without accomplishing anything. According to the inscription, "Hede 和德 surrendered with his hands tied behind his back and received capital punishment". It is suggested that we should follow the inscription.[83] In any case, however, the loss in the death of Chenpan was irrevocable.

三年，涼州刺史孟佗遣從事任涉將敦煌兵五百人，與戊司馬曹寬、西域長史張晏，將焉耆、龜茲、車師前後部，合三萬餘人，討疏勒，攻楨中城[304]，四十餘日不能下，引去。[305]其後疏勒王連相殺害，朝廷亦不能禁。

In the third year (170 CE), the Governor of Liang 涼 Province, Meng Tuo 孟佗, sent the Attendant Official, Ren She 任涉, to lead a force of 500 men from Dunhuang and the troops of Yanqi, Qiuci, the Nearer and Further tribes of Jushi 車師, totaling more than 30,000 men, with the Wu 戊 Major, Cao Kuan 曹寬, and the Chief Official of the Western Regions, Zhang Yan 張晏, to chastise Shule and attack the town of Zhenzhong 楨中[304], but they were unable to capture it for more than 40 days, and led away [their troops].[305] After that the kings of Shule were killed one after another, and the imperial court was unable to stop it.

[304] The town of Zhenzhong 楨中 should be in the state of Shule; its specific location is unknown. Zhenzhong 楨中 [tieng-tiuəm], Shanshan 鄯善 and Jingjue 精絕 could be seen as variant transcriptions of the same name.

[305] The fact that the Governor of Liang Province, but not the Administrator of Dunhuang, moved troops to chastise Shule shows that the Western Regions was under the jurisdiction of Liang Province at the time. After Ban Yong, examples appear again and again showing that the Administrator of Dunhuang settled the affairs of the Western Regions on his own authority. Among the examples, in the fourth year of the Yongjian reign-period (129 CE), Xu You 徐由, the Administrator of Dunhuang, led a punitive expedition against Yutian; in the fourth year of the Yangjia reign-period (135 CE), the

Administrator of Dunhuang was ordered to call out troops for the rescue of the six states of Jushi and others, and launch a surprise attack on the Huyan 呼衍 King of the Northern Xiongnu. The Chief Official of the Western Regions became, in essence, a subordinate to the Administrator, while the Administrator of Dunhuang, in fact, became the supreme executive of the Western Regions. In the last years of the Eastern Han Dynasty, the power of the Provincial Governor increased day by day, so that the Administrator became in effect a subordinate to the Provincial Governor. The affairs of the Western Regions then fell under the jurisdiction of the Governor of Liang Province; they were no longer managed by the Administrator of Dunhuang.[84]

According to the inscription on the Cao Quan Stele, the king of Shule "surrendered with his hands tied behind his back and accepted capital punishment"; this is an exaggerated account.

東北經尉頭[306]、溫宿[307]、姑墨、龜茲至焉耆。

To the northeast [from Shule], via Weitou 尉頭[306], Wensu 溫宿[307], Gumo 姑墨, and Qiuci, one reaches Yanqi 焉耆.

[306] Weitou 尉頭 was an oasis state on the Northern Route, first mentioned in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu*.

[307] Wensu 溫宿 was an oasis state on the Northern Route, first mentioned in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu*.

焉耆國，王居南河城[308]，北去長史所居八百里[309]，東去洛陽八千二百里[310]。戶萬五千，口五萬二千，勝兵二萬餘人。[311]其國四面有大山[312]，與龜茲相連，道險阸易守。有海水曲入四山之內，[313]周匝其城三十餘里。

The state of Yanqi 焉耆: It has its residence in the town of Nanhe 南河[308], which is 800 *li* [309] from the seat of the government of the Chief Official, and 8,200 *li* [310] from Luoyang. There are 15,000 households, 52,000 individuals, including over 20,000 persons able to bear arms.[311] The state is surrounded by large mountains on four sides[312]; the roads that lead to Qiuci are treacherous and easily guarded. Lake water enters from the ring of mountains by a twisting path[313] and flows all around the town for a distance of over 30 *li*.

[308] "Nanhe" 南河 is suspected to be a corruption of "Yuanqu" 員渠. "Yuanqu" 員渠 is first seen in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu*; it was the seat of the king's government of Yanqi.

[309] "800 *li*" (Distance 18.1): The distance between Nanhe and Liuzhong.

[310] "8,200 *li*" (Distance 18.2): The figure is based on the distance between Yuanqu, the seat of the king's government of Yanqi, and Chang'an as is recorded in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu*; i.e., the aggregate of 7,330 *li,* the distance between Yuanqu and Chang'an, and 1,000 *li*, the appropriate distance between Chang'an and Luoyang. The figure "8,200" should be a corruption of "8,330". This also proves that the town of Nanhe was Yuanqu.

[311] The numbers of households, individuals, and persons able to bear arms here are 3.75, 1.62, and 3.33 times those recorded in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu*. The figures here include those of the neighboring smaller states subject to this state; they should not be regarded as an increase in population.

[312] "The state is surrounded by large mountains on four sides": This is a description of the Yanqi Basin.

[313] "Lake water enters from the ring of mountains by a twisting path": This refers to the Bagrash kul and its system.

永平末，焉耆與龜茲共攻沒都護陳睦、副校尉郭恂，殺吏士二千餘人。至永元六年，都護班超發諸國兵討焉耆、危須、尉黎、山國，遂斬焉耆、尉黎二王首，傳送京師，縣蠻夷邸。[314] 超乃立焉耆左候元孟爲王，尉黎、危須、山國皆更立其王。[315] 至安帝時，西域背畔。延光中，超子勇爲西域長史，復討定諸國。元孟與尉黎、危須不降。永建二年，勇於敦煌太守張朗擊破之，元孟乃遣子詣闕貢獻。[316]

At the end of the Yongping 永平 reign-period, Yanqi, together with Qiuci, attacked and killed the Protector-General, Chen Mu 陳睦, the Deputy Colonel, Guo Xun 郭恂, and 2,000 officers and soldiers. In the sixth year of the Yongyuan 永元 reign-period (94 CE), the Protector-General, Ban Chao, led soldiers from the various states to chastise Yanqi, Weixu 危須, Weili 尉黎, and the state of Shan 山, and the heads of the kings of Yanqi and Weili were cut off and transported to the capital and hung in the Barbarians' Residence.[314] [Ban] Chao then enthroned Yuanmeng 元孟, the Left Captain of Yanqi, as king. The kings of Weili, Weixu, and the state of Shan were reestablished.[315] Toward

the reign of Emperor An, the Western Regions betrayed Han. During the Yanguang 延光 reign-period (122-125 CE) the son of [Ban] Chao, Yong, was appointed the Chief Official of the Western Regions, who again went on a punitive expedition to the various states to put them down. Only Yuanmeng, and [the kings of] Weili and Weixu, did not surrender. In the second year of the Yongjian 永建 reign-period (127 CE), [Ban] Yong and the Administrator of Dunhuang [Prefecture], Zhang Lang 張朗, attacked and routed them. Yuanmeng thus sent his son to the [Palace] Portal to present tribute.[316]

[314] The Li Commentary: "Barbarians were escorted to their temporary abode to reside, which is like the present-day State Guesthouse 鴻臚寺".

[315] As is recorded in the "Ban Chao zhuan" in *Hou-Han shu*, "In the autumn of the sixth year of the [Yongyuan] reign-period (94 CE), [Ban] Chao called out the troops of the eight states including Qiuci, Shanshan, among others, totaling 70,000 men, with 1,400 officers, clerics and merchants, to attack Yanqi. When the army reached the boundary of Weili, [Ban Chao] sent envoys to persuade [the kings of] Yanqi, Weili, and Weixu, saying, 'The Protector-General has come to pacify the three states. If [the three states] are willing to repent, mend their evil ways, and turn over a new leaf, they should send their noblemen to welcome [the Protector-General], who will reward their kings, noblemen, and those lower in rank. When this is completed, he will return. A gift of 500 rolls of silk will be presented to the kings'. The king of Yanqi, Guang 廣, sent his General of the Left, Beijianzhi 北鞬支, to meet [Ban] Chao, bringing oxen and wine. [Ban] Chao questioned [Bei]jianzhi closely, saying, 'You, as a prince, had attended at the Xiongnu court, and now exercise state power. When the Protector-General arrived in person, your king did not meet him in time. This is all your guilt'. There were people who asked [Ban Chao] to have him killed conveniently. 'This is something you cannot see', replied [Ban] Chao. 'The person wields more power than the king. If we kill him now before we have entered that state, the people there will become suspicious and, arming themselves, will occupy all the strategically important places. How can we reach their capital?' [Ban Chao] thus sent him away with presents. Guang and his noblemen welcomed [Ban] Chao at Weili, presenting valuables and rarities. There was a strategic position called the Wei 葦 Bridge. Guang, not wanting the Han army to be in his state, had the bridge destroyed. [Ban] Chao crossed the river by another route. On the last day of the seventh month, [Ban Chao] arrived at Yanqi, encamping in a large marsh 20 *li* from the town. Guang, surprised and overwhelmed with fear, wanted to drive all his people into the mountains and defend his state from there. Yanqi's Captain of the Left, Yuanmeng 元孟, who had formerly

served as a hostage in the [Han] capital, sent a messenger to [Ban] Chao in secret to inform him of the situation, but [Ban] Chao had the messenger killed, showing everyone that he did not believe it. Then [he] set a date for a large-scale assembly of kings and openly talked about granting handsome rewards. Thus more than thirty persons, including Guang, the king of Yanqi, Fan 汎, the king of Weili as well as Beijianzhi 北鞬支, called on [Ban] Chao one by one. [Yanqi's] Chancellor, Fujiu 腹久, among others, numbering seventeen, feared that they would be killed and fled to the lakes; nor did the king of Weixu come. When they were seated, [Ban] Chao angrily chastised Guang: 'Why did the king of Weixu fail to come? Why did Fujiu and others flee?' At that moment, [Ban] Chao shouted to his officers and soldiers to arrest Guang, Fan and the others and to behead them in the town where Chen Mu 陳睦 had formerly lived; their heads were sent to the capital. His troops were not forbidden to plunder and pillage, who killed more than 5,000 persons and captured 15,000, and taking more than 300,000 horses, stock-animals, oxen, and sheep. [Ban] Chao then established Yuanmeng as the new king of Yanqi. [Ban] Chao remained in Yanqi for half a year, pacifying and assuring the people there. Since then, all the states in the Western Regions, more than fifty, have sent hostages and pledged allegiance to Han". Yuanmeng, who was established by Ban Chao, "had served as a hostage at the [Han] capital". When Ban Chao advanced, he sent an envoy in secret to inform Ban Chao of the activities of Guang. In a word, he was a person who appeared to enjoy friendly relations with Han. From this there is no harm in considering that the kings of the states of Weili, Weixu and Shan, established by Ban Chao, were all characters similar to Yuanmeng. Those former kings who were replaced all enjoyed friendly relations with the Xiongnu.

[316] According to the "Ban Yong zhuan" in *Hou-Han shu*, "In the second year [of the Yongjian 永建 reign-period (127 CE)], [Ban] Yong asked to attack Yuanmeng. [Han] then sent the Administrator of Dunhuang, Zhang Lang, to lead 3,000 troops from the four prefectures in the Hexi region to coordinate with [Ban] Yong. They mobilized more than 40,000 troops from the various states, and divided the cavalry to march along two routes, to launch the attack. [Ban] Yong went by the Southern Route and [Zhang] Lang, the Northern Route. Both intended to reach Yanqi at the same time and had a date fixed. [Zhang] Lang, who had committed offenses previously, wanted to ransom himself by meritorious service, and thus reached the Jueli 爵離 Barrier ahead of the appointed time. He sent a major to lead the troops to fight, and they killed and took prisoner more than 2,000 persons. Yuanmeng feared for his life, so he sent an envoy beforehand, begging to be allowed to surrender. Zhang Lang entered Yanqi directly to accept his surrender and made his way back. Unexpectedly, Yuanmeng was unwilling to surrender with his hands tied behind his back in the end, and simply sent

his son to the Palace to pay tribute". In the management of the Western Regions by Ban Chao and Ban Yong, the last to be pacified were the three states of Yanqi, Weixu, and Weili.

蒲類國，居天山西疏榆谷[317]，東南去長史所居千二百九十里[318]，去洛陽萬四百九十里[319]。戶八百餘，口二千餘，勝兵七百餘人。廬帳而居，逐水草，頗知田作。有牛、馬、駱駞、羊畜。能作弓矢。國出好馬。

The state of Pulei 蒲類: It has its residence in the Shuyu 疏榆 valley[317] to the west of the Tianshan Mountains. To the southeast it is 1,290 *li* [318] from the seat of the government of the Chief Official, and 10,490 *li* [319] from Luoyang. There are over 800 households with over 2,000 individuals, including over 700 persons able to bear arms. [The inhabitants] dwell in tents, and go in search of water and pasture, but know quite well how to work at cultivating the fields. There are cattle, horses, camels, sheep, and other livestock. They can make bows and arrows. The country produces fine horses.

[317] The Shuyu valley 疏榆谷: The seat of the king's government of Nearer Pulei, first mentioned in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu*.

[318] "1,290 *li*": (Distance 19.1): The distance between the Shuyu valley and Liuzhong.

[319] "10,490 *li*": (Distance 19.2): The distance from the Shuyu valley to Luoyang via Liuzhong and the seat of the king's government of Nearer Jushi; i.e., the aggregate of 1,290 *li*, the distance between the Shuyu valley and Liuzhong; 80 *li*, the distance between Liuzhong and the seat of the king's government of Nearer Jushi; and 9,120 *li*, the distance between the latter and Luoyang.

蒲類本大國也，前西域屬匈奴，而其王得罪單于，單于怒，徙蒲類人六千餘口，內之匈奴右部阿惡[320]地，因號曰阿惡國。南去車師後部馬行九十餘日。人口貧羸，逃亡山谷閒，故留爲國云。[321]

Pulei was originally a large state. When, formerly, the Western Regions had been subject to the Xiongnu, the king offended the *Chanyu*. The *Chanyu* got angry and moved over 6,000 of the Pulei people to settle in the land of Awu 阿惡 [320] that lay to the right. To the south after 90 days' journey one reaches the tribe of Further Jushi. The population is poor and weak. They were exiled among the mountain valleys, whereupon

they remained and formed a state.[321]

[320] The location of Awu 阿惡 is not known. "Awu" 阿惡 [a-ak] and "Huhu" 孤胡 [kua-ha] might be variant transcriptions of the same name.

[321] The large state of Pulei here may not be related to the states of Nearer and Further Pulei in terms of heritage. After its removal, its land should be to the west (the right) of the Xiongnu, over 9,000 *li* to the north of Further Jushi.

移支[322]國，居蒲類地。戶千餘，口三千餘，勝兵千餘人。其人勇猛敢戰，以寇鈔爲事。皆被髮[323]，隨畜逐水草，不知田作。所出皆與蒲類同。

The state of Yizhi 移支[322]: It has its residence in the land of Pulei. There are over 1,000 households with over 3,000 individuals, including more than 1,000 persons able to bear arms. The people are bold and powerful, daring warriors, and take robbery as their business. With hair hanging down[323] and in company with their stock animals [the inhabitants] all go in search of water and pasture, and do not know how to engage in agricultural work. Their products are all the same as those found in Pulei.

[322] Yizhi 移支 is a branch of the Jushi tribe, probably residing by the Barkul Lake. "Yizhi" 移支 [jiai-tjie] and Jushi should be variant transcriptions of the same name.

[323] "With hair hanging down" 被髮: Some scholars believe that since Yizhi is a branch of the Jushi tribe, the text here emphasizes that they keep their hair hanging down, implying other groups of the Jushi tribe do not keep their hair hanging down. This may not necessarily be the case. There are scholars who believe 被髮 ("with hair hanging down") probably means 辮髮 ("having their hair braided").[85]

東且彌國[324]，東去長史所居八百里[325]，去洛陽九千二百五十里[326]。戶三千餘，口五千餘，勝兵二千餘人。廬帳居，逐水草，頗田作。其所出有亦與蒲類同。所居無常。

The state of Eastern Qiemi 且彌[324]: To the east it is 800 *li* [325] from the seat of the government of the Chief Official, and 9,250 *li* [326] from Luoyang. There are over 3,000

households with over 5,000 individuals, including over 2,000 persons able to bear arms. [The inhabitants] dwell in tents, and go in search of water and pasture, but know quite well how to work at cultivating the fields. Their products are also the same as those found in Pulei. The places where they dwell are not fixed.

[324] The state of Eastern Qiemi 東且彌國 was first mentioned in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu*. However, the state in this memoir does not seem to be the same as the state in *Hanshu*. It should be to the north of the Bogda Mountain.[86]

[325] "800 *li*" (Distance 20.1): The distance on the road from the seat of the king's government of Eastern Qiemi to Liuzhong.

[326] "9,250 *li*" (Distance 20.2): The figure is based on the distance between the seat of the king's government of Eastern Qiemi and Chang'an; i.e., the aggregate of 8,250 *li*, the distance between the seat of the king's government of Eastern Qiemi and Chang'an, and 1,000 *li*, the approximate distance between Chang'an and Luoyang.

車師前王居交河城[327]，河水分流繞城，故號交河。去長史所居柳中八十里[328]，東去洛陽九千一百二十里[329]。領戶千五百餘，口四千餘，勝兵二千人。

The king of Nearer Jushi 車師 has his residence at the town of Jiaohe 交河[327]. The river divides and flows round the walls, and the town is therefore named Jiaohe [Crossed Rivers]. To the east it is 80 *li*[328] from the seat of government of the Chief Official, and is 9,120 *li*[329] from Luoyang. There are over 1,500 households, over 4,000 individuals, including 2,000 persons able to bear arms.

[327] The town of Jiaohe 交河: The seat of the king's government of Nearer Jushi, first mentioned in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu*.

[328] "80 *li*" (Distance 21.1): The distance between Jiaohe and Liuzhong.

[329] "9,120 *li*" (Distance 21.2): The figure here is probably based on the distance between Jiaohe and Chang'an in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu*; i.e., the aggregate of 8,150 *li*, the distance between Jiaohe and Chang'an, and 1,000 *li*, the approximate distance between Chang'an and Luoyang. If this is the case, the figure "9,120" should be an error for "9,150". However, in view of Distance 19.2, the error is a long-standing one.

後王居務塗谷[330]，去長史所居五百里[331]，去洛陽九千六百二十里[332]。領戶四千餘，口萬五千餘，勝兵三千餘人。[333]

The king of Further [Jushi] has his residence in the valley of Wutu 務塗[330]. [His capital] is 500 *li*[331] from the seat of the government of the Chief Official, and 9,620 *li*[332] from Luoyang. There are over 4,000 households with more than 15,000 individuals, including over 3,000 persons able to bear arms.[333]

[330] The valley of Wutu 務塗 is the seat of the king's government of Further Jushi, first mentioned in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu*.

[331] "500 *li*" (Distance 22.1): The distance between the valley of Wutu to Liuzhong via the seat of the king's government of Nearer Jushi; i.e., the aggregate of 500 *li*, the distance between the valley of Wutu and the seat of the king's government of Nearer Jushi, and 80 *li*, the distance between the latter and Liuzhong. The figure "500" should be an error for "580". What is noteworthy is that the distance between the seats of the king's governments of Nearer and Further Jushi is noted as 500 *li*, closer to reality than the 800 *li* as noted in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu*.

[332] "9,620 *li*" (Distance 22.2): The distance between the valley of Wutu to Luoyang via the seat of the king's government of Nearer Jushi; i.e., the aggregate of 500 *li*, the distance between the valley of Wutu and the seat of the king's government of Nearer Jushi, and 9,120 *li*, the distance between the latter and Luoyang.

[333] The numbers of the households, individuals, and persons able to bear arms in this memoir are 6.72, 3.14, and 1.59 times those recorded in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu*, because the figures here include those of neighboring smaller states subject to Further Jushi; the difference should not be regarded as the increase of the population.

前後部及東且彌、卑陸、蒲類、移支，是爲車師六國，[334]北與匈奴接。前部西通焉耆北道，後部西通烏孫。

The tribes of Nearer and Farther [Jushi], the Eastern Qiemi, Beilu 卑陸, Pulei, and Yizhi are the six states of Jushi,[334] which adjoin the Xiongnu in the north. To the west the tribe of Nearer [Jushi] connects with the northern route of Yanqi. To the west from the tribe of Further [Jushi] one reaches the Wusun.

[334] The Eastern Qiemi, Beilu and Pulei belong to the so-called "six states north of the mountains" in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu*, which broke away from Gushi. Thus, they, along with Yizhi, are listed among "the six states of Jushi".

建武二十一年，與鄯善、焉耆遣子入侍，光武遣還之，乃附屬匈奴。明帝永平十六年，漢取伊吾盧，通西域，車師始復内屬。[335]匈奴遣兵擊之，復降北虜。[336]

In the 21st year of the Jianwu reign-period, [the state of Nearer Jushi], with Shanshan and Yanqi, sent their princes to attend at court. Because Emperor Guangwu sent them back, these states submitted to the Xiongnu. It was not until the 16th year of the Yongping reign-period of Emperor Ming, when Han forces captured Yiwulu 伊吾盧 and opened up the Western Regions, that Jushi entered Han as tributary.[335] The Xiongnu sent forces to attack it (the state of Jushi), and it again surrendered to the northern savages.[336]

[335] As is recorded in the "Dou Gu zhuan" 竇固傳 of *Hou-Han shu*, in the seventeenth year of the Yongping reign-period (74 CE), "the army set out from the Yumen Barrier for an expedition in the Western Regions. The emperor ordered Geng Bing 耿秉 and Liu Zhang 劉張, the Commandant of Cavalry, to hand in their emblems of authority to [Dou] Gu [i.e., to receive orders from him]. [Dou] Gu dealt heavy blows to the enemy defense lines at the White Mountain and forced Jushi to surrender". According to the "Geng Bing zhuan" 耿秉傳 in *Hou-Han shu*, in the seventeenth year of the Yongping 永平 reign-period of Emperor Ming (74 CE), "in the summer, an imperial edict ordered [Geng] Bing to join his forces with [Dou] Gu, the combined army amounting to 14,000 cavalry, and to set out from the White Mountains to stage another assault on Jushi. In the state of Jushi there were a king of Nearer Jushi and a king of Further Jushi, the former being the son of the latter. There was more than 500 *li* between their courts. Thinking that the court of the king of the state of Further Jushi was at a greater distance, and that there were deep valleys on the way and the soldiers would suffer from the cold weather and other hardships, [Dou] Gu intended to attack the king of the state of Nearer Jushi first. But Geng Bing suggested that they first march to the court of the king of the state of Further Jushi and join forces to resolve the root-cause of the issue, and the king of the state of Nearer Jushi would automatically surrender on his own. [Dou] Gu hesitated. [Geng] Bing stood up abruptly, saying, 'May I be permitted to go ahead'. He mounted his horse and led the troops to

march to the north. The army had no choice but to follow him. The troops plundered and pillaged, killing several thousand persons and capturing more than 100,000 head of horses and oxen. The king of Further Jushi, Ande 安得, shocked and terrified, led several hundred horsemen to welcome [Geng] Bing. Su An 蘇安, [Dou] Gu's Major, wanted [Dou] Gu to reap all the credit, so he galloped ahead and said to Ande, 'The most honored general of Han is only the Commandant-in-Chief of Chariots—the Son of Heaven's brother-in-law, a Marquis of the first order. You should first surrender to him'. Ande therefore returned, ordering his generals to meet with [Geng] Bing in his stead. [Geng] Bing was enraged and mounted his horse in full armory, leading his best troops straight into [Dou] Gu's camp, saying, 'The king of Jushi has surrendered, but he has not showed up in person yet. I ask your permission to go and behead him!' [Dou] Gu, surprised, said, 'Halt! You will make things worse!' [Geng] Bing said sternly, 'Dealing with a surrender is like facing the enemy [attack] '. With that, he galloped forward. Ande, terrified, rushed out of the town gate, and, taking off his hat and clasping the hooves [of Geng Bing's] horse, surrendered. [Geng] Bing brought him to [Dou] Gu. The king of the state of Nearer Jushi also surrendered. They then stabilized the state of Jushi and made their way back".

According to "Geng Gong zhuan" 耿恭傳 in *Hou-Han shu*, "in the winter of the seventeenth year of the Yongping reign-period (74 CE), the Commandant of Cavalry, Liu Zhang, begging [the throne] to appoint [Geng] Gong as Major, launched an attack on Jushi. He, together with the Commandant-in-Chief of Chariots, Dou Gu, and the Commandant-escort, Geng Bing (Geng Gong's cousin), breached [Jushi's] defenses and forced it to surrender. The Protector-General of the Western Regions and the Wuji 戊己 Colonels were first established then. [Geng] Gong was appointed the Wuji Colonel and stationed at the town of Jinpu 金蒲 [87] in the tribe of the king of the state of Further Jushi. The Internuncio, Guan Chong 關寵, was appointed the Wuji Colonel and stationed at the town of Liuzhong in the tribe of the king of the state of Nearer Jushi. In each post several hundred persons were stationed".

Since Jushi had been attacked and reduced to submission in the summer of the seventeenth year (74 CE), it should not have been attacked in the winter of the same year once again. Therefore, "the summer [of the seventeenth year]" in the "Geng Gong zhuan" must have been the time when the imperial edict was issued. The time that Liu Zhang, Geng Gong, Dou Gu, and Geng Bing attacked Jushi was in fact the winter of the same year. It is stated in "Geng Gong zhuan" that the Han troops intended to launch an assault on the king of the state of Further Jushi, and the soldiers "would suffer from the cold weather and other hardships", indicating that the war took place in winter. In

the "Mingdi ji" in *Hou-Han shu*, cited in the previous section, the war is recorded under the entry of the seventeenth year of the Yongping reign-period, "in the winter, the eleventh month", which is consonant with the record in "Geng Gong zhuan".

It is also stated in "Geng Gong zhuan" that the king of the state of Nearer Jushi was the son of the king of the tribe of Further Jushi. This seems to show that the state of Nearer Jushi had been annexed by the tribe of Further Jushi at that time. If it were true, the event would have taken place after the twenty-first year of the Jianwu 建武 reign-period (45 CE). The reason that the tribe of Further Jushi was able to annex the tribe of Nearer Jushi was that the former had gained the support of the Xiongnu.

[336] According to the "Geng Gong zhuan" in *Hou-Han shu*, in the eighteenth year of the Yongping reign-period (75 CE), "in the third month, the *Chanyu* of the Northern Xiongnu sent the Luli 谷蠡 King of the Left to lead 20,000 cavalry to attack Jushi. [Geng] Gong sent a Major to lead 300 soldiers to its aid. The Han army encountered Xiongnu cavalrymen on the way, and were overwhelmed by them. The Xiongnu thus destroyed the state of Further Jushi, killing its king, Ande, and attacked the town of Jinpu.... [Geng] Gong, taking it into consideration that there was a ravine with water in the town of Shule,[88] and that he could build his defenses there, led the forces to occupy it in the fifth month. In the seventh month, the Xiongnu arrived and attacked [Geng] Gong once again. [Geng] Gong conscripted several thousand persons to fight in the van; they galloped right to the [battle formation] of the Xiongnu. The Hu horsemen scattered and ran away. The Xiongnu then obstructed the water of the gully below the town walls. [Geng] Gong had his soldiers dig well in the town. They had dug as deep as fifteen *zhang* without reaching water. The officers and soldiers suffered from thirst, and pressed the horse dung to drink the moisture therein. [Geng] Gong raised his head and sighed: 'I have heard that the Ershi 貳師 General stabbed the mountain with the sword he carried, and water gushed from there. Now Han's virtue is illustrious and it is divinely inspired; how can we be at a dead end?' He tidied his clothes and bowed to the well twice, and prayed for the officers and soldiers. A moment later, water sprang, and all cried '*Wansui*!' He had his officers and soldiers pour the water to show the savages.[89] The savages were surprised, thinking that they were divinely helped, and therefore left".

和帝永元二年，大將軍竇憲破北匈奴，車師震慴，前後王各遣子奉貢入侍，並賜印綬金帛。[337] 八年，戊己校尉索頵欲廢後部王涿鞮，立破虜侯細致。涿鞮忿前王尉卑大賣己，因反擊尉卑大，獲其妻子。[338] 明年，漢遣將兵長史王林，

發涼州六郡兵及羌胡二萬餘人，以討涿鞮，獲首虜千餘人。涿鞮入北匈奴，漢軍追擊，斬之，立涿鞮弟農奇爲王。[339]

In the second year of Yongyuan reign-period of Emperor He 和, the Supreme General, Dou Xian 竇憲, crushed the Northern Xiongnu. Jushi was terrified, and the kings of Nearer and Further Jushi each sent a son, presenting tribute, to attend at the court. The emperor granted seals and ribbons, and gifts of gold and silk stuffs respectively.[337] In the eighth year [of the Yongyuan reign-period] (65 CE) the Wuji 戊己 Colonel, Suo Yun 索頵, wanted to dismiss the king of tribe of Further Jushi, Zhuoti 涿鞮, and establish the Noble of Polu 破虜 [Routing the Savages], Xizhi 細致, as king. Zhuoti become indignant because Weibeida 尉卑大, the king of the state of Nearer Jushi, had betrayed him, and therefore counterattacked Weibeida, capturing his wife and son(s).[338] The next year, Han sent the Chief Official [with the authority to] Lead Troops, Wang Lin 王林, to call out the troops of six prefectures in Liang Province, together with more than 20,000 people of the Qiang 羌 and Hu 胡, and attacked Zhuoti, cutting off heads, taking prisoners, and inflicting altogether more than a thousand casualties. Zhuoti entered the territory of the Xiongnu. The Han army pursued, attacked, and beheaded him, then established the younger brother of Zhuoti, Nongqi 農奇, as king.[339]

[337] As is recorded in the "Hedi ji" of *Hou-Han shu*, in the fifth month of the second year of the Yongyuan reign-period (90 CE), "the kings of the tribes of Nearer and Further Jushi both sent their sons to attend at the court". This is the earliest instance that the kings of the tribes of Nearer and Further Jushi sent their sons to attend at the court or to be hostages. But it is also possible that such practice started during the reign of Emperor Ming.

[338] According to the "Hedi ji" of *Hou-Han shu*, in the seventh month of the eighth year of the Yongyuan reign-period (96 CE), "The king of Further Jushi rebelled, attacking the king of Nearer Jushi".

[339] According to the "Hedi ji" of *Hou-Han shu*, in the third month of the ninth year of the Yongyuan reign-period (97 CE), "The Chief Official of the Western Regions, Wang Lin 王林 , attacked the king of Further Jushi and had him beheaded".

至永寧元年，後王軍就及母沙麻反畔，殺後部司馬及敦煌行事。[340] 至安帝延光四年，長史班勇擊軍就，大破，斬之。[341]

In the first year of the Yongning 永寧 reign-period (120 CE), the king of Further Jushi, Junjiu 軍就, and his mother, Shama 沙麻, revolted and killed the Major of the tribe of Further Jushi and the Executive Official of Dunhuang [Prefecture].[340] In the fourth year of the Yanguang 延光 reign-period of Emperor An, the Chief Official Ban Yong attacked Junjiu, thoroughly defeated his forces, and beheaded him.[341]

[340] As is recorded in the "Andi ji" 安帝紀 of *Hou-Han shu*, in the third month of the first year of the Yongning reign-period (120 CE), "the king of Further Jushi rebelled, killing the Major of the Tribe".

[341] As is recorded in the "Ban Yong zhuan" of *Hou-Han shu*, "In the autumn of the fourth year of the Yanguang 延光 reign-period (125 CE), [Ban] Yong called out 6,000 cavalry from Dunhuang, Zhangye and Jiuquan, as well as the troops of Shanshan, Shule and the tribe of Nearer Jushi, to attack the king of the tribe of Further Jushi, Junjiu, and defeated him. [The Han army] killed and took prisoner more than 8,000 and, in addition, captured more than 50,000 head of horses and other animals. Junjiu and a Xiongnu envoy with emblem of authority were arrested and brought to the location where Suo Ban 索班 had been killed and were beheaded there, to avenge the humiliation of his murder, and their heads were relayed to the capital".

順帝永建元年，勇率後王農奇子加特奴及八滑等，發精兵擊北虜呼衍王，破之。勇於是上立加特奴爲後王，八滑爲後部親漢侯。[342] 陽嘉三年夏，車師後部司馬率加特奴等千五百人，掩擊北匈奴於閶吾陸谷[343]，壞其廬落，斬數百級，獲單于母、季母及婦女數百人，牛羊十餘萬頭，車千餘兩，兵器什物甚衆。[344] 四年春，北匈奴呼衍王率兵侵後部，帝以車師六國接近北虜，爲西域蔽扞，乃令敦煌太守發諸國兵，及玉門關候、伊吾司馬，合六千三百騎救之，[345] 掩擊北虜於勒山[346]，漢軍不利。秋，呼衍王復將二千人攻後部，破之。[347]

In the first year of the Yongjian 永建 reign-period of Emperor Shun (CE 126), [Ban] Yong, leading Jiatenu 加特奴, Bahua 八滑, and other sons of the king of Further Jushi, Nongqi 農奇, called out picked troops to attack the king of Huyan 呼延 of the northern savages and defeated him. [Ban] Yong sent a written message to the emperor, asking permission to establish Jiatenu as king of the Tribe of Further Jushi and Bahua as Marquis of Qin-Han 親漢 [Enjoying Friendly Relations with Han].[342] In the third

year of the Yangjia 陽嘉 reign-period (134 CE), in the summer, the Major of the Tribe of Further Jushi led Jiatenu and others, altogether 1,500 men, to launch a surprise attack on the Northern Xiongnu in the Changwulu 閶吾陸 Valley.[343] The Han troops destroyed the tents, cut off several hundred heads, and captured the mother and a wife of the younger brother of the *Chanyu*'s father and several hundred other women, in addition to taking one hundred thousand head of cattle and sheep, more than 1,000 carts, and a very large number of weapons and sundries.[344] In the fourth year, in the spring, the king of Huyan of the Northern Xiongnu led troops to invade the Tribe of Further [Jushi]. Thinking that the six states of Jushi were near to the northern savages and thus provided a defense for the Western Regions, the emperor ordered the Administrator of Dunhuang to call out the troops of the various states, under the captains from the Yumen Barrier and the majors from Yiwu, totaling 6,300 persons, to rescue it.[345] The Han forces launched a surprise attack on the northern savages at Mount Le 勒[346], but were unsuccessful. In the autumn, the king of Huyan again led two thousand men to attack the Tribe of Further [Jushi] and routed it.[347]

[342] As is recorded in the "Ban Yong zhuan" of *Hou-Han shu*, "In the first year of the Jianyuan reign-period (126 CE), [Ban Yong] established Jiatenu, son of the former king of the tribe of Further Jushi, as king. [Ban] Yong also sent another colonel to behead the king of the state of Eastern Qiemi, and established a man from the same royal family as king. Thereupon the six states of Jushi were all stabilized. In the winter, [Ban] Yong mobilized the troops of the various states to attack the Huyan King of the Xiongnu. The Huyan King fled, and his mass of 20,000 men all surrendered. The cousin of the *Chanyu* was arrested, and [Ban] Yong ordered Jiatenu to behead him with his own hands, so as to sow enmity between them. The *Chanyu* of the Northern Xiongnu personally led more than 10,000 cavalry to invade the tribe of Further Jushi and arrived in the Jinqie 金且 Valley [its present location unknown]. [Ban] Yong ordered the Acting Major, Cao Jun 曹俊, to ride to its aid on horseback. As the *Chanyu* led [his troops] away, Cao Jun pursued him and beheaded one of his noblemen, the Marquis of Gudu 骨都. The Huyan King relocated to the Kuwu 枯梧 River.[90] After that there was no trace of the savages in the state of Jushi, and all the walled towns were made safe. Only the king of Yanqi, Yuanmeng, did not surrender". Ban Yong called Nongqi 農奇 "the former king of tribe of Further Jushi". Since the king was established by Han, it is possible that Junjiu was established by the Xiongnu after Emperor An had abolished the post of Protector-General. This shows the reason

why Junjiu revolted soon after he surrendered to Suo Ban. Moreover, the king of the state of Eastern Qiemi, who was killed by Ban Yong, had also been established by the Xiongnu, and he was not of the Jushi race. On the basis of this memoir, the six states must have been formed in the course of division and incorporation among the eight states of Jushi in the era of the Western Han. Since the tribes of Nearer and Further Jushi had surrendered, the other four states must have submitted to Han following them. When the Xiongnu lost Jushi, they were bound to fight to regain it. Ban Yong thus advanced and attacked the Huyan King in the wake of his victory, in order to ensure the safety of Jushi. As for the Jinqie 金且 Valley, it must have been the "Huanqie 桓且 Valley" in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu*. Ban Yong ordered Cao Jun to ride to its aid, which was similar to the situation in which the Wuji Colonel "sent his aide Chen Liang 陳良 to camp in the Huanqie valley", as a precautionary measure against Xiongnu raids in the era of the Western Han. The valley should therefore be located on the route by which the Xiongnu went to the tribe of Further Jushi.

[343] The location of the Changwulu 閶吾陸 Valley is unknown.

[344] As is recorded in the "Shundi ji" 順帝紀 of *Hou-Han shu*, "On the day *bingyin* 丙寅 in the fourth month in the summer [of the third year in the Yangjia 陽嘉 reign-period (134 CE)], the Major of Further Jushi led Jiatenu, the king of the Further Tribe, among others, to launch a surprise attack on the Xiongnu and defeated them, capturing the wife of the younger brother of the *Chanyu*'s father".

[345] The reason that the Administrator of Dunhuang sent out a force to rescue the tribe of Further Jushi was that there was no Protector-General in the Western Regions at that time. This is the beginning of the Administrator of Dunhuang's jurisdiction over affairs in the Western Regions.

[346] Mount Le 勒 should be near Further Jushi, but its specific location is unknown.

[347] The defeat of Jushi by the Huyan King in the autumn of the fourth year was the last time that the Xiongnu occupied Jushi. In the second year of the Yonghe reign-period (137 CE), the Administrator of Dunhuang killed the Huyan King, and Jushi again submitted to Han.

桓帝元嘉元年，呼衍王將三千餘騎寇伊吾，伊吾司馬毛愷遣吏兵五百人於蒲類海[348]東與呼衍王戰，悉爲所沒，呼衍王遂攻伊吾屯城。[349]夏，遣敦煌太守司馬達將敦煌、酒泉、張掖屬國吏士四千餘人救之，出塞至蒲類海，呼衍王聞而引去，漢軍無功而還。

In the first year of the Yuanjia 元嘉 reign-period of Emperor Huan 桓 (151 CE),

the king of Huyan led over 3,000 cavalrymen to invade Yiwu. The Major of Yiwu, Mao Kai 毛愷, sent 500 officers and soldiers to fight with the king of Huyan to the east of the Pulei Sea,[348] but they all perished in the fight. Thereupon the king of Huyan 呼衍 attacked the town of Yiwu, which the troops of the agricultural garrison defended.[349] In summer, [Han] sent the Administrator of Dunhuang, Sima Da 司馬達, to lead over 4,000 officers and soldiers from the dependencies of Dunhuang, Jiuquan, and Zhangye to its rescue. When the Han troops came out from the barrier and reached the Pulei Sea, the king of Huyan heard of it and retreated. The Han troops returned without exploit.

[348] The Huyan King invaded Yiwu, and Han troops and the Huyan King fought to the east of the Pulei Sea. The Pulei Sea should be the present-day Barkul Lake. This is the last time that the Eastern Han and the Northern Xiongnu fought over the area of Yiwu and Pulei in the available historical records.

[349] According to the "Stele of Pei Cen" 裴岑, which was originally erected on the mountain of Songshutang 松樹塘 to the east of the Barkul, "In the eighth month of the second year of the Yonghe reign-period of Han (137 CE), the Administrator of Dunhuang [Prefecture], Pei Cen, who was from Yunzhong 雲中, led 3,000 troops of the prefecture and killed the Huyan King, among others. The soldiers, killing the foes and cutting off their ears, overcame the whole army of the enemy. They rid the Western Regions of the pest, and removed the harm affecting the four prefectures. With the borders finally stabilized, they demonstrated Han's strength, which extended to this place. The great memorial temple was built to commend his deeds for all ages". It shows that Pei Cen had utterly defeated the Northern Xiongnu to the north of Yiwu, killed the Huyan King himself, and secured the stability of the area.

永興元年，車師後部王阿羅多與戊部候[350]嚴皓不相得，遂忿戾反畔，攻圍漢屯田且固城[351]，殺傷吏士。後部候炭遮領餘人畔阿羅多詣漢吏降。阿羅多迫急，將其母妻子從百餘騎亡走北匈奴中，敦煌太守宋亮上立後部故王軍就質子卑君爲後部王。

In the first year of the Yongxing 永興 reign-period [of Emperor Huan 桓] (153 CE), the king of the tribe of Further Jushi, Aluoduo 阿羅多, who did not get along well with the Captain of the Wu 戊 Division[350], Yan Hao 嚴皓, revolted angrily and

besieged the town of Qiegu 且固[351], where Han soldiers were stationed to set up an agricultural colony, killing and wounding officials and soldiers. [However], a captain of the tribe of Further Jushi, named Tanzhe 炭遮, led the other men left behind in rebellion against Aluoduo and came to the Han officials to surrender. Being pressed, leading his mother, wives and sons, Aluoduo, with over 100 cavalry, escaped to the Northern Xiongnu, while the Administrator of Dunhuang, Song Liang 宋良, sent a written message to the emperor asking permission to establish Beijun 卑君, the son of the former king of the Tribe of Further Jushi, Junjiu 軍就, who had been a hostage, as king of the Tribe of Further [Jushi].

[350] The seat of the Captain of the Wu Division 戊部侯 was the Town of the Captain of Further Jushi, probably the town of Jinpu 金蒲.

[351] The location of the town of Qiegu 且固 is unknown. It is, however, probably in the same area as the "northern Xujian" 北胥鞬 mentioned in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu*, which had been an agricultural colony. "Qiegu" 且固 [tzia(gia)-ka] and "Xujian" 胥鞬 [sia-kian] can be seen as variations in the transcription of the same name.

後阿羅多復從匈奴中還，與卑君爭國，頗收其國人。戊校尉閻詳慮其招引北虜，將亂西域，乃開信告示，許復爲王，阿羅多乃詣詳降。於是收奪所賜卑君印綬，更立阿羅多爲王，仍將卑君還敦煌。以後部人三百帳別屬役之，食其稅。[352]帳者，猶中國之戶數也。[353]

Later Aluoduo came back from among the Xiongnu and contended for the state with Beijun, recruiting a considerable number of countrymen to his side. Worried that he would attract the northern savages and disturb the Western Regions, the Wu Colonel Yan Xiang 閻詳 openheartedly gave him explicit instructions and promise to make him king again. Aluoduo then came over to submit to [Yan] Xiang. Thereupon Han recaptured Beijun's seal and ribbons, and reestablished Aluoduo as king, and Beijun was brought back to Dunhuang, 300 tents of the Tribe of Further Jushi being designated to serve him separately. That is, he lived on taxes collected from them.[352] "Tents" are just like "households" in the Middle Kingdom.[353]

[352] According to the "Stele of the Temple of the Supreme Commander, Qiao" 太尉橋公廟碑: "The Revered Sir was appointed the Governor of Liang Province. When this prestigious name was proclaimed, the ferocious savages had a change of heart; it was like the breeze blowing—wherever it spreads there is peace. Aduoluo and Beijun of Further [Jushi] had vied with each other for the state, *resorting to military strife and hence wreaking havoc. The Revered Sir dispatched his Attendant* Officials, Niu Cheng 牛稱 and He Chuan 何傳, to chastise them with a light cavalry, delivering his words; they arrested Aluoduo and Beijun, and took them to Dunhuang. [The Revered Sir] dealt with this with justice and reported it [to the throne]: Aluoduo should be the king and Beijun, a nobleman. [Niu] Cheng was to be appointed Deputy Envoy to be stationed in the Town of the Captain there. The matter was settled without resorting to military measure, and affairs in the Western Regions were decided with a wave of a horsewhip: the story has been circulated as an anecdote worthy of emulation".[91] Considering the circumstances and the common sense, we should follow the account in this memoir.

[353] After the Aluoduo incident, Jushi was subject to Han. The "Zhao Dian zhuan" 趙典傳 in *Hou-Han shu* alludes to the fact that "the son of Jushi's king who was attending at court was loved by Dong Zhuo 董卓". This shows that Jushi sent its princes to attend at the court until the end of the Eastern Han Dynasty.

論曰：西域風土之載，前古未聞也。漢世張騫懷致遠之略[354]，班超奮封侯之志，[355]終能立功西遐，羈服外域。自兵威之所肅服，財賂之所懷誘，莫不獻方奇，納愛質，露頂肘行，東向而朝天子。故設戊己之官，分任其事；建都護之帥，總領其權。先馴則賞籯金而賜龜綬[356]，後服則繫頭顙而釁北闕。立屯田於膏腴之野[357]，列郵置於要害之路。

Discussion: In antiquity, the customs and topography of the Western Regions were not known. In Han times, Zhang Qian 張騫 conceived a plan to attract the distant [states],[354] and Ban Chao 班超 resolved to take the title of marquis.[355] After all, both made contributions in the distant Western Regions, convinced the outer countries, and brought them to submission. Those states that were defeated and conquered by military power, and those that were conciliated and lured by wealth and goods all presented rare local products, and offered their beloved princes as hostages, exposing the tops of their heads and walking upon their elbows, turning eastwards, and paying their respects to the

Son of Heaven. Therefore, the office of Wuji 戊己 [Colonel] was established to manage various matters, the commander of the Protector-General was set up to be in full charge of power. Those who submitted early were rewarded with gold in bamboo boxes and presented with seals bearing tortoise knobs and ribbons.[356] Those who were vanquished later had their heads bashed in and suspended at the Northern Tower. Agricultural colonies were set up in fertile wildernesses,[357] and post stations were arranged on vital routes.

[354] The life and works of Zhang Qian can be found in the "Dayuan liezhuan" 大宛列傳 of *Shiji* and in "Zhang Qian, Li Guangli zhuan" 張騫李廣利傳 of *Hanshu*.

[355] The "Ban Chao liezhuan" 班超列傳 of *Hou-Han shu*: "Ban Chao came to Luoyang with his mother. His family being poor, he was often employed by officials to copy documents, in order to support his mother. The job was time-consuming and arduous, and he often cast his writting brush [to the floor], sighing: 'Even without other ambitions and means to realize them, a man should emulate Fu Jiezi 傅介子 and Zhang Qian 張騫 to accomplish something in other lands, so as to be ennobled. How could he be a copyist, amidst brushes and inkstones, for long?' Others laughed at him. [Ban] Chao replied, 'How could little men know the ambition of a hero?' Later he visited a physiognomist, who said, 'The Libationer is an educated commoner, but he will be ennobled for his deeds in lands thousands of *li* away'. [Ban] Chao asked him to comment on his physical characteristics. 'You have the chin of a swallow and the neck of a tiger—you can fly and eat the prey', the physiognomist replied. 'This is the look of someone who will be ennobled for his accomplishments ten thousand *li* away'".

[356] "Seals with tortoise knobs and ribbons" 龜綬: The Li Commentary: "*Gui* 龜 refers to the inscription of the seal". He quotes *Han jiu yi* 漢舊儀: "Silver seals all have tortoise knobs; the inscription reads, 'The seal of ... (official title)'"

[357] The Eastern Han began to set up agricultural colonies in the Western Regions in the sixteenth year of the Yongping reign-period of Emperor Ming (73 CE). In this year, Han forces captured the land of Yiwulu and established "the Chief Commandant of Yihe" 宜禾 to set up an agricultural colony. In the following year, the Eastern Han attacked and defeated Jushi and established the Wu Colonel and the Ji Colonel respectively in the town of Jinpu of the tribe of Nearer Jushi and the town of Liuzhong of the tribe of Further Jushi to manage the colonies in both places. The "Yang Zhong zhuan" 楊終傳 in *Hou-Han shu* records a memorial to the Emperor in the first year of the Jianchu 建初 reign-period (76 CE): "Since the Yongping reign-period (58-75 CE) ... to the

north we went on a campaign against the Xiongnu; to the west we opened up the route to the thirty-six states. Enlisting men in military service for many years, transporting them here and there, which is troublesome and expensive, setting up the agricultural colonies in such faraway places as Yiwu, Loulan, and Jushi, and [establishing] the Wuji Colonel—the people are homesick and are filled with resentment at the border towns". From this, it can be seen that the Eastern Han set up an agricultural colony at Loulan after the sixteenth year of the Yongping reign-period (73 CE). On the colonies at Loulan, there is a record in the "Heshui (er)" 河水二 of *Shuijing zhu* 水經注: "Suo Mai 索勱, a native of Dunhuang, whose courtesy name was Yanyi 彥義, had ability and vision. The Provincial Governor, Mao Yi 毛奕, sent a written message to the emperor, who ordered Suo Mai to perform the duties of the Ershi 貳師 General and lead a force of 1,000 men from Jiuquan and Dunhuang to Loulan to set up an agricultural colony. Suo Mai built white houses [of wood without color] and mobilized the troops of Shanshan, Yanqi and Qiuci, each state providing 1,000 men, to block the Zhubin 注濱 River. On the day the river was blocked, the current ran strong and fast, overflowing the banks and levees. [Suo] Mai said in a stern voice, 'When Wang Zun 王尊 held the emblem of authority, the river did not spill over its banks. When Wang Ba 王霸 showed good faith, the Hutuo 呼沱 River did not overflow. The virtue of water and its deities have been the same from the past to the present'. [Suo] Mai personally prayed and offered sacrifices, but the flow of water did not decrease, so he positioned the troops, carrying weapons, in battle formation; they, beating drums and shouting, shot arrows and stabbed [at the river]. After they had been combating like this for three days, the water subsided and turned around, flowing into the fertile fields. The Hu people believed this to be supernatural. The men worked the land hard for three years and stored up a million [piculs] of grain. The high prestige of this awed the outer states". There is a biography of Wang Ba, referred to above, in the *Hou-Han shu*, indicating that the colonies could not have been established earlier than the era of the Eastern Han.[92] It should not be taken to refer to the colonies of the Yongping reign-period (58-75 CE) because neither Yanqi nor Qiuci had submitted to Han then, and Suo Mai could not have called them out for service. Therefore, it is possible that the above-mentioned record is about the happenings in the time of Emperor He 和.

馳命走驛，不絕於時月；商胡販客，日款於塞下。其後甘英乃抵條支而歷安息，臨西海以望大秦，拒玉門、陽關者四萬餘里，靡不周盡焉。若其境俗性智之優薄，產載物類之區品，川河領障之基源，氣節涼暑之通隔，梯山棧谷繩行沙度之道，身熱首痛風災鬼難之域[358]，莫不備寫情形，審求根實。

Dispatch bearers and post runners came and went uninterruptedly in every season and month. Hu merchants and foreigners engaged in trade knocked daily at the gate of the barrier. Only after this did Gan Ying reach Tiaozhi and cross Anxi. Overlooking the Western Sea, he gazed out at Da Qin in the distance. For more than 40,000 *li* beyond the Yumen and Yang Barriers, there were no (areas) that had not been completely explored: good and bad local customs, endowment, ability, and wisdom; distinctions and grades in products and goods; sources of rivers and foundations of the defenses in mountains; similarities and dissimilarities in seasons and air temperatures; routes on which people scaled high mountains, traversed deep valleys, pulled each other along with ropes and crossed deserts; and, areas in which there were the slopes of the Fevers of the Body, the Hills of Headaches, disasters caused by windstorms, and calamities caused by evil spirits.[358] All circumstances were reported; their beginning and end were examined.

[358] "Routes on which people scaled high mountains…": The "Xiyu zhuan (shang)" of *Hanshu*: "But starting in the area south of Pishan, one passes through some four or five states which are not subject to Han.… In addition, they pass over the ranges [known as the hills of the] Greater and the Lesser Headache, and the slopes of the Red Earth and the Fever of Body. These cause a man to suffer fever; he has no color, his head aches and he vomits; asses and stock animals all suffer in this way. Furthermore, there are the Three Pools and the Great Rock Slopes, with a path that is a foot and six or seven inches wide, but leads forward for a length of thirty *li*, overlooking a precipice whose depth is unfathomed. Travelers passing on horse or foot hold on to one another and pull each other along with ropes; and only after a journey of more than 2,000 *li* do they reach the Suspended Crossing. When animals fall, before they have dropped half-way down the chasm they are shattered into pieces, and when men fall, the situation is such that they are unable to rescue one another. The danger of these precipices beggars description". (Hulsewé and Loewe, *China in Central Asia*, pp. 110-111.)

至於佛道神化，興自身毒，而二漢方志莫有稱焉。[359]張騫但著地多暑溼，乘象而戰，班勇雖列其奉浮圖，不殺伐，而精文善法導達[360]之功靡所傳述，余聞之後說也。

When it comes to the miraculous way of Buddhism, it rose from Shendu, but there was no mention of it in the local records during both the [Former and Later] Han

Dynasties.[359] Zhang Qian only recorded that most of the land was warm and damp, and the people rode on elephants to fight their battles. Ban Yong merely enumerated that they practiced the way of the Buddha, [and therefore] did not kill or attack [others]. However, there was no mention of their achievements in fine writing [Sanskrit], their excellent *Dharma*, and Yogic attainments[360], all of which I heard about later.

[359] "When it comes to the miraculous way of Buddhism…": This shows that the records about Buddhism in the local histories of the Western and Eastern Han times were rather superficial. Actually, if we compare the historical records with works such as *Faxian zhuan* 法顯傳 and *Luoyang qielan ji* 洛陽伽藍記 , it is not difficult to discover that the records about Buddhism in the memoirs on the Western Regions in the official histories in the periods of the Wei, Jin, and Southern-Northern Dynasties were also very careless, not only in the periods of Western and Eastern Han. There is no mention of the Buddhist belief in Wumi 扜彌 during the Northern Wei; nor is the Buddhist belief in Gaochang 高昌 seen in the memoirs on the Western Regions in various histories. There are other examples which will not be enumerated here.

[360] "Their excellent *Dharma*, and Yogic attainments" 善法導達: To teach the people to do good and to enlighten them.[93]

其國則殷乎中土，玉燭和氣[361]，靈聖之所降集，賢懿之所挺生[362]，神迹詭怪，則理絕人區[363]，感驗明顯，則事出天外。[364]而騫、超無聞者，豈其道閉往運，數開叔葉乎？不然，何誣異之甚也！

The state is more substantial than the Middle Land, with its seasons of peace and prosperity.[361] This is where holy saints descend in clusters, where persons of exemplary virtue are born outright.[362] The gods' traces are mysterious, their principles transcend those of the human world,[363] and their efficacy is clear and obvious, although their affairs go beyond heaven.[364] However, [Zhang] Qian and [Ban] Chao did not hear of this. Isn't this because the way was closed in the past, and their fate came to a dead end? Otherwise, why were their reports so untrue and different [from what we know now]!

[361] "The state is more substantial than the Middle Land…": The Li Commentary: "According to *Tianzhuguo ji* 天竺國記, 'The people of Middle Tianzhu are happy and prosperous; they do not

have household registers, and those who work on the king's land pay taxes. Moreover, the land is mild and conducive to agriculture. Without the extremes of summer and winter, the plants and trees are lush all the year round. One could sow any time; there is no need to follow the growing season'. According to *Erya* 爾雅, '*Yuzhu* 玉燭 means four seasons in harmony'."

[362] "This is where holy saints descend in clusters, where persons of exemplary virtue are born outright": The Li Commentary quotes *Benxing jing* 本行經 (*Buddhapūrvacaryā-sūtra*): "'Bodhisattva Śākya was preaching the *Dharma* to a boundless and endless audience of heavenly beings in the Tuṣita heaven. In his meditation he sought to see where to enter into the Way so as to benefit myriad lives. He saw that it would be most beneficial to myriad lives to be born in southern Jambudvīpa'. 'Among the beings there, who should be my parents? He saw that King Suddhodana and Queen Maya at Kapilavastu in Tianzhu, of the kṣatriya caste, could be his parents'. 'Among the four forms of birth in life, what kind of birth should be most beneficial to the myriad beings? He saw that he should be born from the womb like the sentient beings. If I were born miraculously, various non-Buddhist ways will slander me, saying that I merely practice magic. At that time the Bodhisattva observed himself, and demonstrated to the heavenly beings five signs of decay. He asked for his companions to be reborn among King Prasenajit and others, to be kings and my donors; for Ānanda and others to be born at the same time with me so as to be my disciples; for Śāriputra and others to be born among practitioners of non-orthodox teachings—they will be converted to the right Way from evil practices by me after I have attained the Way. There is also an endless mass of sentient beings who will also be reborn with the Bodhisattva in India, which will bring great benefits.'" This means that India was the birthplace of the Buddhist sages. Note: Here as elsewhere, the commentator does not quote from the sūtras directly; many are his summaries and paraphrases.

[363] "The gods' traces are mysterious, their principles transcend those of the human world": The Li Commentary quotes *Weimo jing* 維摩經 (*Vimalakīrtti-sūtra*): "This bodhisattva can take the waters of the four great oceans and pour them into the opening that holds a single hair, without the fish, turtles, sea turtles, lizards, or other sea creatures being in any way troubled, and those great seas will still have their original form.... Or again, Shariputra, this bodhisattva who dwells in the emancipation Beyond Comprehension can slice off the thousand-millionfold world, grasp it in the palm of right hand like a potter's wheel, and toss it beyond lands numerous as the sands of the Ganges, and the beings in that world will not know or realize where they have gotten to. The bodhisattva can then bring it back and put it in its original place, and none of the people will have any idea they have gone somewhere and come back, and the world will have the same shape as before".

(Burton Watson, trans., *The Vimalakirti Sutra*, Columbia University Press, 1997, p. 78.)

[364] "Their efficacy is clear and obvious, though their affairs go beyond heaven" 感驗明顯，則事出天外: The Li Commentary quotes *Niepan jing* 涅槃經 (*Nirvāna-sūtra*), "King Ajātaśatru let loose a crazed and maddened elephant to trample the Buddha. The Buddha entered the samadhi of loving-kindness, held out his hand and opened it, bringing out five lions from his five fingers. The elephant, on seeing these was terrified and fled in panic. Also, there were five hundred robbers who plundered and wreaked much havoc. Worried over their misdeeds, King Prasenajit dispatched some soldiers, who caught the band. Having been caught, their eyes were taken out, and they were taken to a pit and left there. These robbers, in great pain, cried out: 'Namo Buddhaya!' On hearing their cry, loving-kindness overcame Buddha Tuodamo 陁達摩. Then a cool wind sprang up, which blew and filled the cavities of their eyes with fragrant medicine. Then their sight returned, and there was no difference from before". (Adapted from the translation by Kosho Yamamoto.)

漢自楚英始盛齋戒之祀，桓帝又修華蓋之飾。將微義未譯，而但神明之邪？詳其清心釋累之訓，空有兼遣之宗，道書之流也。[365] 且好仁惡殺，蠲敝崇善，所以賢達君子多愛其法焉。

From [Liu] Ying [劉] 英, the king of Chu 楚, the sacrifice called fasting started to be performed in Han times. Emperor Huan also embellished it with an ornamental canopy. (But) were the subtle meanings, left untranslated, (with attention paid) only to the spiritual? If we examine carefully their teachings about purifying the heart/mind and freeing oneself from encumbrances as well as their doctrines about dismissing both emptiness and existence, they are similar to what is found in Taoist writings and the like.[365] In addition, Buddhism is fond of benevolence and abhors killing; it eliminates meanness and esteems goodness, thus most of the élite and gentlemen love the *Dharma*.

[365] "If we examine carefully their teachings...": The Li Commentary: "'Purifying the heart/mind' means forgetting [the act of] thinking and 'freeing oneself from encumbrances' means elimination of desire. Non-attachment means emptiness; attachment means existence. 'Dismissing both emptiness and existence' means forgetting both vacuity and reality. Weimojie 維摩詰 (Vimalakirti) said, 'I and nirvana are both empty" 我及涅槃, 此二皆空 (Burton Watson, trans., *The Vimalakirti Sutra*, Columbia University Press, 1997, p. 68). Laozi 老子: 'Hence always rid yourself of desires in

order to observe its [the way's] secrets; / But always allow yourself to have desires in order to observe its manifestations'. (D. C. Lau, trans. *Tao Te Ching*, Penguin, 1963, p. 57.) Thus it is said that 'they are similar to what is found in Taoist writings and the like'".

然好大不經，奇譎無已，[366] 雖鄒衍談天之辯，莊周蝸角之論，[367] 尚未足以槩其萬一。又精靈起滅，因報相尋，[368] 若曉而昧者，故通人多惑焉。蓋導俗無方，適物異會，取諸同歸，措夫疑說，則大道通矣。

However, [Buddhist theory] is fond of exaggeration, illogical, and endlessly weird.[366] Even Zou Yan's 鄒衍 sophistry in his discussion of heaven and Zhuang Zhou's 莊周 allegory on a snail's antennae[367] are but a most inadequate summarization (of Buddhist extravagances). In addition, it seems to be apparently obvious, but actually unclear, that the spirit rises and disappears, and that retribution and cause are mutually linked.[368] Consequently, (even) most learned scholars are confounded by it. It seems that there is no definite prescription for guiding customs, which must be suitable to the characteristics of things and accommodate to their differences. If we can handle doubtful theories to reach the same goal, the Great Way would open up.

[366] "[Buddhist theory] is fond of exaggeration, illogical, and endlessly weird": The Li Commentary: "[For example.] There are such passages in *Weimo jing* 維摩經 (*The Vimalakīrtti-sūtra*): 'At that time a man named Jeweled Accumulation, son of a wealthy man of the city of Vaiśāli, along with five hundred other sons of wealthy men, had come to the place where the Buddha was, all of them bearing parasols adorned with the seven treasures. Bowing their heads in obeisance before the feet of Buddha, they joined in offering their parasols as alms to the Buddha. The Buddha in his supernatural powers then caused all the jeweled parasols to come together and form one single parasol that spread over … all the Mount Sumerus of the thousand-millionfold world … as well as the suns, moons, stars, constellations…. [a]nd the Buddhas of the ten directions, the Buddhas as they preached the Law—these too were visible within the jeweled parasol'. And Vimalakīrti's thirty-two thousand lion seats, eighty-four thousand jyjanas in height, adorned in the finest fashion, were brought into Vimalakīrti's room, without the slightest crowding or hindrance. Finally, the water of the four great oceans can be poured into the opening that holds a single hair, or Mount Sumeru can be put inside a mustard seed". (Quoted or adapted from Burton Watson, trans., *The Vimalakirti Sutra*, pp. 20, 76-77, 78.)

[367] "Even Zou Yan's sophistry in his discussion of heaven and Zhuang Zhou's allegory on a snail's antennae": The Li Commentary: "The *Shiji* states, 'Zou Yan discourses about heaven.' Liu Xiang's 劉向 *Bielu* 別錄: 'What Zou Yan has discoursed on is the cycles of five phases and the greatness of the heaven and earth. His book discusses things of heaven, hence the discourse on heaven'. Zhuangzi 莊子: "On top of its [the snail's] left horn is a kingdom called Buffet, and on top of its right horn is a kingdom called Maul. At times they quarrel over territory and go to war, strewing the field with corpses by the ten thousand, the victor pursuing the vanquished for half a month before returning home". (Burton Watson, trans., *The Complete Works of Chuang Tzu.*) … 'Discourse on heaven' refers to the infinitely great, whereas the 'snail antenna' refers to the infinitely small".

[368] The Li Commentary: "'The spirit rises and disappears': This refers to the endless cycle of life and death, i.e., the transmigration. 'Retribution and cause are mutually linked': This implies that human actions are characterized as good and evil, each according to the retributive *karma*".

贊曰：逷[369]矣西胡，天之外區。土物琛麗，人性淫虛。不率華禮，莫有典書。若微神道，何恤何拘。[370]

Appreciation: The western barbarians dwell in a distant place[369] beyond the horizon. The local produce is marvelous. Their character is to be showy and insubstantial. They do not follow the Hua 華 (Chinese) rites, and have no ancient codes and records. If it were not for [the assistance] of the gods, how could we sympathize with [the western barbarians] and restrain them.[370]

[369] The Li Commentary: "*Ti* 逷 means *yuan* 遠 (distant, far away)."

[370] The Li Commentary: "Had it not been for the assistance of the gods to control the Hu, with their ferocious nature, what could have intimidated them, and what could have restrained them?"

NOTES

1 Cf. Yu Taishan 余太山, *Liang Han Wei Jin Nanbeichao yu Xiyu guanxi shi yanjiu* 兩漢魏晉南北朝與西域關係史研究 (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 1995), pp. 233-257.

2 Cf. Yu Taishan, *Liang Han Wei Jin Nanbeichao yu Xiyu guanxi shi yanjiu*, pp. 258-270.

3 Wang Xianqian 王先謙, *Hou-Han shu jijie* 後漢書集解, ch. 88.

4 Cf. Yu Taishan, *Liang Han Wei Jin Nanbeichao zhengshi Xiyu zhuan yanjiu* 兩漢魏晉南北朝正史西域傳研究 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2003), pp. 495-507.

5 Xihe 西河 should be an error for Hexi 河西.

6 Wang Xianqian, *Hou-Han shu jijie*, ch. 88.

7 Juyan 居延 is the name of a county; its seat is in the southeast of present-day Ejin Banner.

8 Pingcheng 平城, name of a county; its seat is in the northwest of the present Datong 大同, Shanxi Province.

9 According to the "Dou Gu zhuan" 竇固傳 of *Hou-Han shu*, in the sixteenth year, "[Dou] Gu 竇固 and [Geng] Zhong 耿忠 arrived at the Tianshan Mountains, attacked the Huyan 呼延 King, and cut off more than 1,000 heads. The Huyan King ran away. [Dou Gu and Geng Zhong] pursued him and reached the Sea of Pulei 蒲類. They left officers and soldiers to set up an agricultural colony at the town of Yiwulu 伊吾盧".

10 The "Geng Bing zhuan" 耿秉傳 of the *Hanshu*: "In the autumn of the following year, when Emperor Suzong ascended the throne, [Geng] Bing was appointed the General Conquering the West. He was sent to the border area of Liang 涼 Province to reward the Qiang and Hu people working in border defense, then go to Jiuquan to be stationed there and bring reinforcements to the Wuji Colonel".

11 The Li Commentary: "According to *Dongguan ji*, 'The crown prince of Jushi, Bichizi 比持訾, surrendered'".

12 Gu Ji's 谷吉 life and works can be found in the "Chen Tang zhuan" 陳湯傳 of *Hanshu*.

13 "Who volunteered to serve" 義從 here refers to the armed personnel of the Qiang and Xiao Yuezhi.

14 Wang Xianqian, *Hou-Han shu jijie*, ch. 88.

15 Wang Xianqian, *Hou-Han shu jijie*, ch. 88.

16 For the studies on the distances recorded in this memoir, see Yu Taishan, *Liang Han Wei Jin Nanbeichao zhengshi Xiyu zhuan yanjiu*, pp. 135-180.

17 Cf. Yu Taishan, *Saizhong shi yanjiu* 塞種史研究 (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 1992), pp. 182-209.

18 *Cihai* 辭海 (Shanghai cishu chubanshe, 1979), p. 1627.

19 Wang Guowei 王國維, "Xi Hu kao" 西胡考, in *Guantang ji lin* 觀堂集林, ch. 13 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1984), pp. 613-614.

20 Youhai 尤還 is probably the descendant of Weituqi 尉屠耆 of the Western Han. Weituqi married a

maid in the Han palace; Ban Yong, therefore, called his descendants the "grandchildren of the Han on the maternal side". No marriage between the Eastern Han court and Shanshan was known.

21 " 三綬 " (three ribbons) is possibly a corruption of 王綬 (ribbons for kings).

22 Cf. Nagasawa Kazutoshi 長澤和俊, "Kanei no seishi ni tsuite" 甘英の西使について (On Gan Ying's Mission to the Western Regions), in *Shiruku rōdoshi kenkyū* シルク・ロード史研究 (Historical studies of the Silk Road) (Tokyo: Kokusho, 1979), pp. 398-414.

23 Cf. the textual notes on the "Xiyu zhuan" of the *Hanshu* and *Hou-Han shu* in the punctuated texts published by the Zhonghua shuju.

24 Liu Ban 劉攽, *Dong-Han shu kanwu* 東漢書刊誤.

25 Cf. Miyazaki Ichisada 宮崎市定, "Jyōshi to Daishin to Seikai" 條枝と大秦と西海 (Tiaozhi, Da Qin and the Western Sea), *Shirin* 史林 24.1 (1939): 55-86.

26 G. Downey, *A History of Antioch in Syria* (Princeton: 1961), pp. 143-162.

27 Yu Taishan, *Liang Han Wei Jin Nanbeichao yu Xiyu guanxi shi yanjiu*, p. 92.

28 Yu Taishan, *Saizhong shi yanjiu*, pp. 182-209.

29 For details, see Yu Taishan, "*Hou-Han shu, Weilüe* youguan Da Qin guo sangcansi de jizai" 後漢書魏略有關大秦國桑蠶絲的記載, in *Xiyu yanjiu* 西域研究 2004.2: 14-16.

30 D. D. Leslie and K. H. J. Gardiner, *The Roman Empire in Chinese Sources* (Roma: 1996), pp. 48, 113.

31 For details, see Shiratori Kurakichi 白鳥庫吉, "Daishinden ni arawaretaru Shina shisō" 大秦傳に現はれたる支那思想 (Chinese ideas reflected in "Da Qin zhuan"), in *Shiratori Kurakichi zensyū*, vol. 7: *Seiikishi kenkyū* (ge) 白鳥庫吉全集・西域史研究下 (Tokyo: Iwanami, 1971), pp. 237-302，esp. 271-281.

32 For detail, see Shiratori Kurakichi, "Daishinden ni arawaretaru Shina shisō", esp. pp. 268-271.

33 For detail, see Shiratori Kurakichi, "Daishinden ni arawaretaru Shina shisō", esp. pp. 265-268.

34 Yu Taishan, *Saizhong shi yanjiu,* pp. 182-209.

35 Zhang Hongzhao 章鴻釗, *Shi ya, Baoshi shuo* 石雅・寶石說 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji, 1993), pp. 102-103.

36 Zhang Hongzhao, *Shi ya, Baoshi shuo*, pp. 102-103.

37 Edward H. Schafer, *The Golden Peaches of Samarkand* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1963); trans. by Wu Yugui 吳玉貴, *Tangdai wailai wenming* 唐代外來文明 (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 1995), pp. 510-514.

38 Leslie and Gardiner, *The Roman Empire in Chinese Sources*, p. 202.

39 Zhang Hongzhao, *Shi ya, Baoshi shuo*, pp. 1-26.

40 Zhang Hongzhao, *Shi ya, Baoshi shuo*,pp. 27-34.

41 F. Hirth, *China and the Roman Orient* (Shanghai & Hong Kong: 1885; reprinted 1939), p. 41; Leslie and Gardiner, *The Roman Empire in Chinese Sources*, p. 49.

42 Zhang Hongzhao, *Shi ya, Baoshi shuo*, pp. 359-362.

43 F. Hirth, *China and the Roman Orient*, pp. 253-254.

44 Cf. Cai Hongsheng 蔡鴻生, *Tangdai jiuxing Hu yu Tujue wenhua* 唐代九姓胡與突厥文化 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1998), pp. 30-31.

45 Leslie and Gardiner, *The Roman Empire in Chinese Sources*, p. 215.

46 For details, see B. Laufer, *Sino-Iranica, Chinese Contributions to the History of Civilization in Ancient Iran, with Special Reference to the History of Cultivated Plants and Products* (Chicago: 1919); Lin Yunyin 林筠因, trans., *Zhongguo Yilang bian* 中國伊朗編 (Beijing: Shangwu, 1964), pp. 328-331; Schafer, *The Golden Peaches of Samarkand*; trans. by Wu Yugui, *Tangdai wailai wenming*, pp. 435-436; Zhang Hongzhao, *Shi ya, Baoshi shuo*, pp. 206-207.

47 For detail, see Schafer, *The Golden Peaches of Samarkand;* trans. by Wu Yugui, *Tangdai wailai wenming,* pp. 440-441. For other opinions concerning this issue, see Shiratori Kurakichi 白鳥庫吉, "Daishinkoku oyobi Futsurinkoku ni tsukite" 大秦國及び拂林國に就きて (On the states of Da Qin and Fulin), in *Shiratori Kurakichi zensyū*, vol. 7: *Seiikishi kenkyū* (ge), pp. 125-203, esp. 178-180.

48 H. Rackham, trans., *Natural History* by Pliny (Harvard University Press, 1947). C. H. Yule, trans. and ed., *Cathay and the Way Thither, being a Collection of Medieval Notes of China* (Paris: 1914); New Edition, revised throughout in the light of Recent Discoveries by Henri Cordier, Vol. I (Rpt. Peking: 1942). Zhang Xushan 張緒山, trans, *Dongyu jicheng lucong* 東域紀程録叢 (Yunnan renmin chubanshe, 2002), pp. 165-166.

49 For relevant studies, B. Laufer, *Sino-Iranica;* Lin Yunyin, trans., *Zhongguo Yilang bian,* pp. 282-285; Schafer, *The Golden Peaches of Samarkand;* trans. by Wu Yugui, *Tangdai wailai wenming,* p. 360; Leslie and Gardiner, *The Roman Empire in Chinese Sources*, p. 204.

50 H. B. Dewing, trans., *War of the Goths* by Procopius (London: Cambridge, 1957). C. H. Yule, trans. and ed., *Cathay and the Way thither, being a Collection of Medieval Notes of China* (Paris: 1914); New Edition, revised throughout in the light of recent discoveries by Henri Cordier, Vol. I (Rpt. Peking: 1942), pp. 203-204.

51 It is generally believed that Danguo 撣國 was located beside the northeastern border of present-day Myanmar.

52 Yu Taishan, *Saizhong shi yanjiu,* pp. 169-171, 187-188.

53 Shiratori Kurakichi, "Daishinden ni arawaretaru Shina shisō", esp. 280-282.

54 Cf. Yu Taishan, "Diyi Guishuang kao" 第一貴霜考, *Zhongya xuekan* 中亞學刊 4 (Beijing daxue chubanshe, 1995), pp. 73-94.

55 Cf. Yu Taishan, *Saizhong shi yanjiu,* pp. 53-61.

56 E.g., O. Maenchen-Helfen, "The Yüeh-chih Problem Re-Examined", *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 65 (1945): 71-81. Maenchen-Helfen thinks that although *Hou-Han shu* was composed later than *Hanshu*, its reliability is not necessarily lower than that of *Hanshu*, one example being its correction of an error concerning the *Xihou* of Gaofu 高附翖侯 in *Hanshu*.

57 This is put forward by Kuwabara Jitsuzo 桑原隲藏, "Chōken no ensei" 張騫の遠征 (Expedition of Zhang Qian), in *Tōzai kōtsūshi ronsō* 東西交通史論叢 (Studies on the history of East-West communications) (Tokyo: Kobundo, 1934), pp. 1-117. As is recorded in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu*, "In Kangju there are five lesser kings. The first is entitled the Suxie 蘇䪢 king and his seat of government is at the town of Suxie.... The second is entitled the Fumo 附墨 king.... The third is entitled the Yuni 窳匿 king.... The fourth is entitled the Ji 罽 king.... The fifth is entitled the Aojian 奧鞬 king and his seat of government is at the town of Aojian.... All five kings are subject to Kangju". The convention and style are the same, indicating that Kuwabara Jitsuzo's theory is inadequate.

58 E.g., Kuwabara Jitsuzo, in "Chōken no ensei", thinks that *Hou-Han shu* has unconsciously altered the meaning of the *Hanshu* when it abridges the latter, citing as an example *Hanji*: "Originally, the Daxia had no major overlord or chief. [Instead,] minor chiefs were frequently established. There were five *Xihou*". As a matter of fact, the compilers of *Hou-Han shu* did not misunderstand *Hanshu*. Kuwabara Jitsuzo's opinion is not completely right.

59 Cf. Yu Taishan, "Diyi Guishuang kao". For all the subsequent discussions on Guishuang, see also this article.

60 E. Chavannes, "Les pays d'occident d'après le *Wei-lio*", *T'oung Pao* 6 (1905): 519-571.

61 N. Sims-Williams and J. N. Cribb, "A New Bactrian Inscription of Kanishka the Great", *Silk Road Art and Archaeology* (1995/1996): 76-142.

62 Yu Taishan, "Xin faxian de Labadake mingwen he *Hou Hanshu* 'Xiyu zhuan' youguan Yangaozhen de jizai" 新發現的臘跋闥柯銘文和後漢書西域傳有關閻膏珍的記載 (The newly discovered Rabatak inscription and the records about Yangaozhen in *Hou-Han shu*, ch. 88), *Xinjiang wenwu* 2003.3-4: 43-47.

63 H. Raychaudhuri, *Political History of Ancient India* (Calcutta: 1953), pp. 438-439.

64 W. W. Tarn, *The Greeks in Bactria and India* (Cambridge: 1951), pp. 331-332. A. K. Narain, *The Indo-Greeks* (Oxford: 1957), pp. 154-155, thinks that Antialcidas inherited the regime directly from Amyntas, the father of Hermaeus.

65 F. W. Thomas, "Sakastana, Where Dwelt the Sakas Named by Darius and Herodotus?" *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 1906: 181-200; J. Marshall, *Taxila* (Cambridge: 1951), pp. 58-60.

66 According to Philostratos, in Tyana during the era of Appollonius (mid 1st century CE), the ruler of Taxila was Phraotes. E. Herzfeld, "Sakastan", *Archaeologische Mitteilungen aus Iran* 4 (1932): 1-116, thinks that Phraotes should be Gondophares, because a part of the royal title of Gondophares in the Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions on the coins is "apratihata". In light of the Takht-i-Bāhī inscription, Gondophares reigned in 45 CE.

67 Cf. J. Marshall, *Taxila*, p. 64; E. J. Rapson, *The Cambridge History of India* (Cambridge: 1951), 1: 580. Both think that Pacores is the sole inheritor of Gondophares.

68 J. Marshall, *Taxila*, p. 66, points out that a large quantity of Gondophares coins in Begrām and other ruins in the valley of the Kabul River, but no coins bearing the name of Pacores were discovered, indicating that the Anxi rule of Paropamisadae came to an end with the death of Gondophares.

69 Cf. Schafer, *The Golden Peaches of Samarkand*; trans. by Wu Yugui, *Tangdai wailai wenming*, pp. 463-464.

70 Cf. B. Laufer, *Sino-Iranica;* Lin Yunyin, trans., *Zhongguo Yilang bian,* p. 321.

71 For detail, see B. Laufer, *Sino-Iranica;* Lin Yunyin, trans., *Zhongguo Yilang bian,* pp. 201-203; Schafer, *The Golden Peaches of Samarkand;* trans. by Wu Yugui, *Tangdai wailai wenming,* pp. 326-327.

72 Cf. Tang Yongtong 湯用彤, *Han Wei Liangjin Nanbeichao Fojiao shi* 漢魏兩晉南北朝佛教史 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1983), 1: 15-21.

73 For detail, see Tang Yongtong, *Han Wei Liangjin Nanbeichao Fojiao shi,* 1: 37-39.

74 Yu Taishan, "Diyi Guishuang kao".

75 Yu Taishan, "Diyi Guishuang kao".

76 Cf. Yu Taishan, *Saizhong shi yanjiu,* pp. 98-101.

77 Shiratori Kurakichi, "Daishinden ni arawaretaru Shina shisō", pp. 303-402, esp. 305.

78 Shiratori Kurakichi, "Daishinden ni arawaretaru Shina shisō", esp. pp. 367-368.

79 Wang Xianqian, *Hou-Han shu jijie*, ch. 88.

80 The location of Pantuo 槃橐 is unknown.

81 The location of Wuji 烏卽 is unknown.

82 "Shunzhong" 損中 should be the "Zhenzhong" 楨中 in this memoir and the "Xi Rong zhuan" 西戎傳 of the *Weilüe* 魏略; the corruption is caused by the similarity in the form of the characters. Its specific location is unknown.

83 Ma Yong 馬雍, "Dong Han 'Cao Quan bei' zhong youguan Xiyu de zhongyao shiliao" 東漢《曹全碑》中有關西域的重要史料, in *Xiyu shidi wenwu congkao* 西域史地文物叢考 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1990), pp. 41-45.

84 Ma Yong 馬雍, "Dong Han houqi Zhongya ren lai Hua kao" 東漢後期中亞人來華考, in *Xiyu shidi wenxu congkao,* pp.46-59.

85 Yu Taishan, *Liang Han Wei Jin Nanbeichao zhengshi Xiyu zhuan yanjiu*, pp. 364-381.

86 Yu Taishan, *Liang Han Wei Jin Nanbeichao zhengshi Xiyu zhuan yanjiu*, pp. 198-253.

87 The Li Commentary: "The town of Jinpu 金蒲 is the royal court of Further Jushi, the present seat of Puchang 蒲昌 County of Ting 庭 Province". According to this, the site of the town is near present-day Shanshan County.

88 The town of Shule 疏勒 in the "Geng Gong zhuan" 耿恭傳 of *Hou-Han shu*, according to some scholars, is located southwest of the Ting Province of Tang. See Cen Zhongmian 岑仲勉, *Hanshu Xiyu zhuan dili jiaoshi* 漢書西域傳地里校釋 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1981), pp. 346-347.

89 The Li Commentary quotes *Dongguan ji* 東觀記: "[Geng] Gong carried the baskets himself. He then ordered the soldiers to refrain from drinking, but to mix water and earth, spread the cement on the wall, and pour the water for the enemy to see".

90 The location of the Kuwu 枯梧 River is unknown.

91 *Cai Zhonglang ji* 蔡中郎集, ch. 5.

92 Cf. Liu Guanghua 劉光華, *Handai xibei tuntian yanjiu* 漢代西北屯田研究 (Lanzhou: Lanzhou daxue chubanshe, 1988), pp. 168-169.

93 Wang Xianqian, *Hou-Han shu jijie*, ch. 88.

五 《魏略·西戎傳》(節錄)要注
A CONCISE COMMENTARY ON "THE MEMOIR ON THE WESTERN RONG" OF WEILÜE (EXCERPT)*

…………[1]

[1] In the official dynastic histories of the Western and Eastern Han, Wei, Jin, Southern and Northern Dynasties, the "Western Regions" is a broadly defined term, referring to the vast expanse of land west of Dunhuang 敦煌. However, the "Memoirs on the Western Regions" in which the term is broadly defined in this way only occur in *Weishu* 魏書, *Nanshi* 南史, and *Beishi* 北史, in addition to *Hanshu* 漢書 and *Hou-Han shu* 後漢書; in the remaining histories, even in *Jiu Tangshu* 舊唐書 and *Xin Tangshu* 新唐書 compiled in later ages, the records about this area are relegated to the "Memoirs on the Western Rong" 西戎傳. Among these histories, although *Suishu* and *Xin Tangshu* do contain sections specifically designated "Memoirs on the Western Regions", the scope of the contents therein is the same as "Memoirs on the Western Rong". This method of composition and organization is first seen in this memoir. This is not so much the application of a different historiographic principle but rather an expedient measure, a compromise for the convenience of writing. In short, in the Former and Later Han, as well as in the Northern Wei 北魏, there was an overwhelming amount of information about the Western Regions and the Western Rong, so there had to be separate memoirs in historiography. However, other historians did not have to handle so many materials, and they could combine the two memoirs into one. Here the Commentary is only concerned with the writings that are relevant to the Western Regions.

燉煌[2]西域之南山[3]中，從婼羌[4]西至葱領[5]數千里，有月氏餘種[6]、葱茈羌[7]、白馬[8]、黄牛羌[9]，各有酋豪，北與諸國接，不知其道里廣狹。[10]傳聞黄牛羌各有種類，孕身六月生，南與白馬羌鄰。

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* The memoir is translated by Yu Taishan and edited ty Victor H. Mair.

In the Southern Mountains of the Western Regions[3] (to the west) of Dunhuang 燉煌[2], several thousand *li* from the Ruo Qiang 婼羌[4] west to the Cong 葱 Mountains[5] there are remnant tribes of the Yuezhi 月氏[6], the Congci Qiang 葱茈羌[7], the Baima (White Horse) [Qiang] 白馬 [羌][8], and the Huangniu (Yellow Ox) Qiang 黃牛羌[9], each with their own chief. To the north their territories adjoin the various states, but the distances and dimensions of their territory are not known.[10] Rumor has it that the Huangniu Qiang, being constituted of various races, give birth after only six months of pregnancy. To the south their neighbors are the Baima Qiang.

[2] "Dunhuang" 燉煌 should be the same as "Dunhuang" 敦煌 in the "Dayuan liezhuan" 大宛列傳 of *Shiji* 史記. The toponym in this memoir refers to the Dunhuang Prefecture in the Cao Wei 曹魏 era; its seat of government was to the west of present-day Dunhuang 敦煌.

[3] "The Southern Mountains of the Western Regions" refers to the Altyn-tagh, Kunlun, and Karakoram Mountains; the term is in contrast to the "Southern Mountains of Han" 漢南山.

[4] Ruo Qiang 婼羌 was an oasis state on the Southern Route of the Western Regions, first mentioned in the "Xiyu zhuan" 西域傳 of *Hanshu*.

[5] "The Cong Mountains" 葱領 is first mentioned in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu*.

[6] "Remnant tribes of the Yuezhi": When the Yuezhi left the land they once owned between "Dunhuang 敦煌 and Qilian 祁連", a "small remnant" remained there, becoming a part of the group called the "Xiao Yuezhi" in the "Dayuan liezhuan" of *Shiji*. They are generally regarded as having been inhabitants of what are today termed the Qilian Mountains, but this is not accurate. The area inhabited by the Xiao Yuezhi might have spanned the territory from the present-day Qilian Mountains to the Southern Mountains of the Western Regions and the surrounding areas. According to the "Dayuan liezhuan" in *Shiji*, they "sought protection among the Qiang 羌 tribes of the Southern Mountains"—these Qiang tribes should also have included the Qiang of the Southern Mountains of the Western Regions, i.e., the Congci Qiang 葱茈羌, the Baima (White Horse) Qiang 白馬羌, and the Huangniu (Yellow Ox) Qiang 黃牛羌, as mentioned in this memoir, among others. The punctuated text reads, 有月氏餘種葱茈羌、白馬、黃牛羌, which does not seem to be correct. As is recorded in the "Dou Rong zhuan" 竇融傳 in *Hou-Han shu*, "In the summer of the eighth year, the emperor launched a punitive expedition against Wei Xiao 隗囂 in the west. [Dou] Rong 竇融, leading the Administrators of five prefectures and tens of thousands of foot soldiers and cavalrymen from the Qiang and Xiao Yuezhi 羌虜、小月氏, and over 5,000 vehicles carrying supplies and equipments, rendezvoused with the main army at the town of Diyi

第一 of Gaoping 高平". The punctuated text reads 羌虜小月氏, obviously taking the Xiao Yuezhi to be a group of the Qiang. Actually, there are often instances in *Hou-Han shu* where Qiang and Hu 胡 are mentioned together ("Dou Rong zhuan" and "Kong Fen zhuan" 孔奮傳, among others). In these contexts the "Xiao Yuezhi" refers to one kind of Hu, and "Qiang" does not seem to modify "Hu". This can be corroborated by the statement in the Li Commentary, "The 'Xiao Yuezhi' is the name of a Hu state in the Western Regions". In short, the Qiang and Hu are different, and the Xiao Yuezhi are often referred to as Hu. The Li Commentary on the "Dong Zhuo zhuan" 董卓傳 in *Hou-Han shu* quotes the *Xiandi ji* 獻帝紀, which mentions that at the headquarters of Niu Fu 牛輔 there was a certain "red-faced young man of the [Yue]zhi Hu" 支胡赤兒, an example of "Yuezhi" being interpreted as referring to a kind of "Hu".

[7] The Congci Qiang are a group of the Qiang; their residence is unknown.

[8] The Baima Qiang are a group of the Qiang; they mainly inhabited the northern part of present-day Mianyang 綿陽, Sichuan 四川 Province, and the southern part of Wudu 武都, Gansu 甘肅 Province.[1]

[9] The Huangniu Qiang are a group of the Qiang; they should have resided to the north of the Baima Qiang. Their specific residence is unknown.

[10] To sum up: At the time when this memoir was composed, in the area west of Dunhuang, which extended several thousand *li*, from Ruo Qiang along the Southern Mountains of the Western Regions to the Cong Mountains, there lived the remnant tribes of the Yuezhi, the Congci Qiang, the Baima Qiang, and the Huangniu Qiang, each adjoining the various states on the Southern Route to the north of their territory. In addition to the Sai 塞 race, the Qiang are another large ethnic group. Like the Sai, the various groups with the name Qiang are not a single ethnic entity.

西域諸國，漢初開其道，時有三十六，後分爲五十餘。[11] 從建武以來，更相吞滅，于今有二十。[12]

The routes to the various states in the Western Regions had been opened up at the beginning of the Han Dynasty. At that time there were thirty-six states, which subsequently divided into more than fifty states.[11] From the Jianwu 建武 reign-period, they successively annexed each other, so that now there are twenty states.[12]

[11] "At that time there were thirty-six states…": This follows the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu*.

[12] "Now there are twenty states": This refers to the hegemony by the large oasis states in the Western Regions during the Cao Wei era. The fact that only twenty states remained was an outcome of these large states annexing their smaller neighbors. However, the compilers of this memoir seem to mean that this phenomenon started at the beginning of the Eastern Han, not knowing that hegemony by the large states in the oases during the Cao Wei period was a result of the turmoil towards the end of the Eastern Han. Such a situation had once occurred in the Western Regions at the beginning of the Jianwu reign-period, but with inverventions from the Eastern Han, the trend was halted. The compilers of this memoir did not study this carefully, bluntly tracing hegemony by the large states during the Cao Wei period to the beginning of the Jianwu reign-period. This is obviously wrong. The punctuated text reads 于今有二十道 , which is not correct.

道從燉煌玉門關 [13] 入西域，前有二道，今有三道。

As for the routes which lead to the Western Regions from the Yumen 玉門 Barrier[13] in Dunhuang, there used to be two, but now there are three.

[13] "The Yumen Barrier" 玉門關 is first mentioned in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu*. It is the same as the "Yumen" 玉門 in the "Dayuan liezhuan" of *Shiji*.

從玉門關西出，經婼羌轉西，越葱領，經縣度 [14]，入大月氏 [15]，爲南道 [16]。

The Southern Route[16] is the one which, leaving the Yumen Barrier, goes out to the west, crosses the Ruo Qiang, turns to the west, crosses over the Cong Mountains and traverses the Suspended Crossing[14], and comes out at the Da Yuezhi 大月氏[15].

[14] "The Suspended Crossing" 縣度 is first mentioned in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu*.

[15] The "Da Yuezhi" 大月氏 here refers to the Guishuang kingdom, not the Da Yuezhi who migrated west from the valleys of the Ili and Chu rivers. For details on the Guishuang kingdom, see the Commentary on the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hou-Han shu*.

[16] According to the "Xiyu zhuan" of both *Hanshu* and *Hou-Han shu*, the Southern Route started at the Yumen Barrier or the Yang 陽 Barrier, stretched west to the town of Wuni 扜泥, the capital of Shanshan 鄯善, by skirting the northern edge of the Southern Mountains, then extended

further west to Qiemo 且末 and the various states to the west of Qiemo. However, according to this memoir, this route, after starting out from the Yumen Barrier, "goes out to the west and crosses the Ruo Qiang". In light of the "Xiyu zhuan" in *Hanshu*, the state of Ruo Qiang was "1,800 *li* from the Yang Barrier and 6,300 *li* from Chang'an 長安", and the state of Shanshan was "1,600 *li* from the Yang Barrier and 6,100 *li* from Chang'an". This shows that, at that time, travelers going to Shanshan did not pass the state of Ruo Qiang. It is clearly recorded there that the state of Ruo Qiang was "not situated on the main route". The record in this memoir indicates that the trajectory of the Southern Route in the Cao Wei period was different from that in the period of the Western and Eastern Han. A second possibility is that the location of the state of Ruo Qiang had changed. The state of Ruo Qiang, which was not situated on the main route according to the "Xiyu zhuan" in *Hanshu*, was only a branch of the Ruo Qiang in the Western Regions, its king bearing the title Quhulai 去胡來.[2] In fact, this branch of the Ruo Qiang had already disappeared by the end of the Western Han. It is possible that the region inhabited by the remainder of this branch was in fact located exactly on the route to Shanshan from the Yumen Barrier in the Cao Wei period.[3]

從玉門關西出，發都護井[17]，回三隴沙[18]北頭，經居盧倉[19]，從沙西井[20]轉西北，過龍堆[21]，到故樓蘭[22]，轉西詣龜茲[23]，至葱領，爲中道。[24]

The Middle Route[24] is the one which, leaving the Yumen Barrier by the west, starts from the Protector-General's Well[17], winds around the northern tip of the desert of Sanlong 三隴[18], passes by the granary of Julu 居盧[19], then, from the Sand-West Well[20], turns to the northwest, passes by Dragon Mounds[21], arrives at old Loulan 樓蘭[22], and, turning to the west, comes first to Qiuci 龜茲[23] and then to the Cong Mountains.

[17] "The Protector-General's Well" 都護井: Some scholars regard it as the Beidihou Well 卑鞮侯井.[4] "Beidi" could have been an indigenous name.

[18] "The desert of Sanlong" 三隴沙: According to the "Di (sanjiu)" 地三九 in *Taiping yulan* 太平御覽 (ch. 74), "The Flowing Sands is outside of the Yumen Barrier; it is 2,000 *li* from south to north, and several hundred *li* from east to west. There are three sections, called *sanlong* 三隴".

[9] "The granary of Julu" 居盧倉 was first mentioned in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu*.

[20] "The Sand-West Well" 沙西井: Its specific location is unknown.

[21] "Dragon Mounds" 龍堆 is the "White Dragon Mounds" 白龍堆 in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu*.

[22] Loulan 樓蘭 is first mentioned in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu*. It was a state on the oasis at the eastern end of the Southern Route; its name was later changed to Shanshan. The seat of its king's government was the ancient town of Quarklik near the seat of present-day Ruoqiang 若羌 County. The so-called "old Loulan" here is the ruins of the ancient Loulan located in the present-day Lop Nur; it is also the town of Loulan mentioned in *Shuijing zhu* 水經注. According to the "Heshui (er)" 河水二 in *Shuijing zhu*, "The [Yellow] River flows east and passes south of the town of Zhubin 注賓, and then flows farther east and passes south of the town of Loulan in its trajectory eastward. The town was stationed by officers who cleared the wilderness, and it therefore continued to use the name of the state 城禪國名. The River continues to flow east and pours into the You 泑 Marsh". "*Shan*" 禪 means to replace and to transfer. The name of the state of Loulan was changed to Shanshan, and the name of the state was transferred to the town, hence the town of Loulan.[5]

[23] Qiuci 龜茲 was a state on the Northern Route through the Western Regions, first mentioned in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu*.

[24] The so-called "Middle Route" in this memoir was opened up as early as the reign of Emperor Wu 武 of the Western Han. However, it is not recorded as a route to the Western Regions in the "Xiyu zhuan" of either *Hanshu* or *Hou-Han shu*. The fact that this memoir emphasizes the passage from the Yumen Barrier to "old Loulan" seems to show that the ruins of the former town of Loulan and the surrounding area were more important in the Cao Wei era than previously, evidently because the place had become the headquarters of the Chief Official of the Western Regions.[6]

從玉門關西北出，經橫坑 [25]，辟三隴沙及龍堆，出五船 [26] 北，到車師 [27] 界戊己校尉 [28] 所治高昌 [29]，轉西與中道合龜茲，爲新道 [30]。

The New Route[30] is the one which, leaving the Yumen Barrier, goes out to the northwest, crosses Hengkeng 橫坑[25], avoiding the desert of Sanlong 三隴 and the Dragon Mounds, comes out from north of Wuchuan 五船[26], and reaches Gaochang 高昌[29] on the frontier of Jushi 車師[27], where the Wuji 戊己 Colonel[28] had his headquarters, then turns west and joins up with the Middle Route at Qiuci 龜茲.

[25] The specific location of Hengkeng 橫坑 is unknown.

[26] The location of Wuchuan 五船 is unknown. There are scholars who believe that it is the "Yiwu" 伊吾 in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hou-Han shu*,[7] which does not seem to be indisputable. "Wuchuan" 五

船 [nga-zjiuan] could be named after the Gasiani, one group of the Sai. "Wuchuan" and "Jushi" could be seen as variations in the transcription of the same name.

[27] Jushi 車師 here means the state of Nearer Jushi, an oasis state on the Northern Route, first mentioned in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu*.

[28] "The Wuji Colonel" 戊己校尉: The title of an office in the Western Regions; for detail, see the Commentary on the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu*. According to the "Wendi ji" 文帝紀 in *Weishu* 魏書 (*Sanguozhi* 三國志, ch. 2), "in the second month of the third year of the Huangchu 黃初 reign-period (222 CE), three states, among them Shanshan, came to present tribute. An imperial edict was issued: 'The Western Rong 戎 were reduced to order and the Di 氐 and the Qiang 羌 came to seek acknowledgement. [Such behaviors] are praised in both the *Shijing* 詩經 and *Shujing* 書經. Recently, the outer barbarian [states] in the Western Regions all knocked at the barriers and acknowledged allegiance to the court. We should send envoys to express our appreciation'. Then communication with the Western Regions was opened, and the Wuji Colonel was established". From this, it can be discerned that the Cao Wei Dynasty established the post of the Wuji Colonel, sometime after the second month in the third year of the Huangchu reign-period. According to this memoir, the seat of the Wuji Colonel was Gaochang 高昌, which was on the border with Jushi. The first Wuji Colonel in the Cao Wei era was Zhang Gong 張恭. According to his biography in the *Weishu* of *Sanguo zhi*, when the Administrator of Dunhuang, Ma Ai 馬艾, died at his post, the people of the prefecture chose Zhang Gong to perform the duties of the Chief Official. "[Zhang] Gong sent his son, [Zhang] Jiu 張就, east to call on Emperor Taizu 太祖 [i.e., Cao Cao 曹操] and ask for the appointment of the [new] Administrator". At that time Huang Hua 黃華 in Jiuquan 酒泉 and Zhang Jin 張進 in Zhangye 張掖 rebelled in their respective prefectures, and they took [Zhang] Jiu prisoner. [Zhang] Gong led troops to attack Jiuquan and, at the same time, sent 200 armored horses and his official subordinates east along the northern barriers of Jiuquan to welcome the Administrator, Yin Feng 尹奉". "In the second year of the Huangchu reign-period (221 CE), an edict was issued to commend him, investing in him with the title of Marquis of the Interior (*Guannei hou* 關內侯) and appointing him the Wuji Colonel of the Western Regions". According to the same chapter, Zhang Gong as the Wuji Colonel was succeeded by his son, Zhang Jiu. Zhang Jiu's term as Wuji Colonel lasted at least until the fourth year of the Qinglong 青龍 reign-period of Emperor Ming 明 (236 CE). In the section treating "Liangzhou" 涼州 (Liang Province) in the "Dili zhi (shang)" 地理志上 of *Jinshu* 晉書, it is recorded that, in the Cao Wei era, "the Provincial Governor, holding concurrently the post of Wuji Colonel, protected the Western Regions as in Han times. This practice was maintained until the Jin

晉 Dynasty". From this it can be seen that the Wuji Colonel in the Cao Wei period took orders from the Governor of Liang Province for a time, as was the practice towards the end of the Eastern Han. In addition to the post of Wuji Colonel, the Cao Wei Dynasty also seems to have established that of *Chief Official in the Western Regions. The seat of the Chief Official was Loulan.*

[29] Gaochang 高昌: Its precursor was the Fortress of Gaochang 高昌壁 in the "Xiyu zhuan" of Hou-Han shu. Its site is present-day Gaochang, a town with a long history.

[30] It is generally believed that the "New Route" in this memoir is the same as the "Northern Route" in its counterparts in *Hanshu* and *Hou-Han shu*. This is, of course, correct. However, it should be pointed out that the "Northern Route" recorded in *Hanshu* and *Hou-Han shu* is not the exact equivalent of the "New Route". The "Northern Route" includes, in fact, both the Middle Route and the New Route as described in this memoir. What was new about the "New Route" was the passage connecting the Yumen Barrier with the "Northern Route". For the editor of *Hanshu*, the passage that had been newly opened by Xu Pu 徐普 had nothing to do with the main line of the Northern Route, which is why it is stated in the preface to *Hanshu* that "there are two routes which lead into the Western Regions". The editor of this memoir, not understanding this, asserts that "there used to be two, but now there are three [routes]".

凡西域所出，有前史已具詳，今故略說。[31]南道西行，且志國[32]、小宛國[33]、精絕國[34]、樓蘭國皆并屬鄯善[35]也。戎盧國[36]、扜彌國[37]、渠勒國[38]、皮山國[39]皆并屬于窴[40]。罽賓國[41]、大夏國[42]、高附國[43]、天竺國[44]，皆并屬大月氏。[45]

All products of the Western Regions are clearly given in the preceding historical books, therefore we shall now give only a brief account.[31] To the west, traveling along the Southern Route, one reaches the states of Qiezhi 且志[32], Xiao Yuan 小宛[33], Jingjue 精絕[34] and Loulan, which were all annexed and belonged to Shanshan 鄯善[35]; there were also the states of Ronglu 戎盧[36], Wumi 扜彌[37], Qule 渠勒[38] and Pishan 皮山[39], which were all annexed and belonged to Yutian 于窴[40]; and there were the states of Jibin 罽賓[41], Daxia 大夏[42], Gaofu 高附[43] and Tianzhu 天竺[44]; these were all annexed and belonged to the Da Yuezhi 大月氏.[45]

[31] Although the scale of the involvement in the Western Regions on the part of the Cao Wei

is not comparable to that in Han times, the economic contact between the Western Regions and the Central Plains was quite frequent in this period. According to the "Cui Lin zhuan" 崔林傳 in the *Weishu* of *Sanguo zhi*, in the reign of Emperor Wen 文, the merchants of the various states frequently posed as envoys in order to reach Wei. As is recorded in the "Su Ze zhuan" 蘇則傳 of the same book, after Jiuquan 酒泉 and Zhangye 張掖 were taken, "communications with the Western Regions were resumed. Dunhuang Prefecture presented to the court large pearls, each with a diameter of one *cun* 寸 ". According to the "Cang Ci zhuan" 倉慈傳 in the same book, while Cang Ci served as the Administrator of Dunhuang Prefecture, "the various Hu of the Western Regions intended to present tribute [to the court], but they were often deterred before their departure by the powerful families and great clans. When they were finally able to trade, they were swindled and bullied, and were often in the dark about how transactions were made. The Hu people were thus often resentful, and [Cang] Ci expressed sympathy and solicitude to them. He provided [border] passes for those who wanted to go to Luoyang 洛陽. For those who wanted to return home after transactions in the [Dunhuang] Prefecture, the government bought their goods at reasonable prices, always exchanging special products of the seat of government for their articles. He also ordered the officials and people to escort them along the roads. Therefore, the people and barbarians were in unison admiring his moral integrity and kindness". The merchants from the Western Regions at that time can be classified into two types: the first type comprises those who had Luoyang as their destination; all those who directly dealt with the imperial court can be classified into this category. The second type had Dunhuang as their destination, and they would return home after selling their goods in the Dunhuang Prefecture.[8]

[32] "Qiezhi" 且志 should be a corruption of "Qiemo" 且末, an oasis state on the Southern Route in the Western Regions mentioned in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu*.

[33] Xiao Yuan 小宛 was an oasis state on the Southern Route in the Western Regions, first mentioned in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu*.

[34] Jingjue 精絕 was an oasis state on the Southern Route in the Western Regions, also first mentioned in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu*.

[35] According to the "Wendi ji" of the *Weishu* in *Sanguo zhi*, "in the second month [of the third year of the Huangchu reign-period (222 CE), Shanshan … sent an envoy to present tribute". The the "Wuwan, Xianbei, Dong Yi zhuan" 烏丸鮮卑東夷傳 of the *Weishu* in *Sanguo zhi* also mentions Shanshan paying respects at the Wei court.

[36] Ronglu 戎盧 was an oasis state on the Southern Route in the Western Regions, first mentioned in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu*.

[37] Wumi 扜彌 was an oasis state on the Southern Route in the Western Regions. It should be the "Wumi" 扜罙 in the "Dayuan liezhuan" of *Shiji*, the "Wumi" 扜彌 or "Wumi" 杅彌 in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu*, and the "Jumi" 拘彌 in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hou-Han shu*. The seat of its king's government was located at the present site of Dandān-Uiliq, 90 kilometers to the northeast of Qira County.

[38] Qule 渠勒 was an oasis state on the Southern Route in the Western Regions, first seen in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu*.

[39] Pishan 皮山 was an oasis state on the Southern Route in the Western Regions, first seen in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu*.

[40] Yutian 于寘 was an oasis state on the Southern Route in the Western Regions. It should be the "Yutian" 于寘 in the "Dayuan liezhuan" of *Shiji*, and the "Yutian" 于闐 in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu*. The seat of its king's government was located in the vicinity of present-day Khotan 和闐, most probably in Yotkan. According to the "Wendi ji" of the *Weishu* in *Sanguo zhi*, "in the second month [of the third year of the Huangchu reign-period (222 CE), the king of Yutian … sent an envoy to present tribute".[9] The "Wuwan, Xianbei, Dong Yi zhuan" of the *Weishu* in *Sanguo zhi* also mentions Yutian paying respects at the Wei court.

[41] Jibin 罽賓 was first mentioned in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu*. Originally it referred to the regime of the Sai who migrated south; it was located approximately in the middle and lower reaches of the Kabul River. The Jibin in this memoir refers to the area of Gandhāra.

[42] Daxia 大夏 is first mentioned in the "Dayuan liezhuan" of *Shiji*, originally referring to the regime established by the Tochari who migrated south from north of the Amu Darya. The area under this regime was called Tukhārestān. The "Daxia" in this memoir refers to Tukhārestān.

[43] Gaofu 高附 was an oasis state on the Southern Route in the Western Regions, first mentioned in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu*.

[44] Tianzhu 天竺 should be the "Shendu" 身毒 in the "Dayuan liezhuan" of *Shiji*, the "Tiandu" 天篤 in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu*, and the "Tianzhu" 天竺 in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hou-Han shu*: they all refer to the South Asian subcontinent, centering on the valleys of the Indus River.

[45] The relationship between the Cao Wei and the Da Yuezhi (i.e., Guishuang 貴霜): According to the "Mingdi ji" 明帝紀 of the *Weishu* in *Sanguo zhi*, in the twelfth month of the third year of the Taihe 太和 reign-period (229 CE), "on the day *guimao* 癸卯, the king of the Da Yuezhi, Bodiao 波調, sent envoys to present tribute. [The Wei Dynasty] conferred on [Bo]diao the title of the "King of the Da Yuezhi Who Is Close to Wei". The "Wuwan, Xianbei, Dong Yi zhuan" of the *Weishu* in *Sanguo*

zhi also mentions that Da Yuezhi was among the states in the Western Regions that came to present tribute to Wei. The statement that Jibin and other states belonged to the Da Yuezhi means that, at the time when this memoir was composed, Tukhārestān, the valley of the Kabul River, and the valley of the Indus River were all subject to the Guishuang Kingdom. The Guishuang and the Da Yuezhi share the same origin, and "Yuezhi" and "Guishuang" were variant transcriptions of the same name; thus naming Bodiao the "King of the Da Yuezhi" was the same as naming him the "King of Guishuang".

臨兒國[46]，《浮屠經》云其國王生浮屠。[47]浮屠，太子也。父曰屑頭邪[48]，母云莫邪[49]。浮屠身服色黄，[50]髮青如青絲，乳青毛，蛉赤如銅。[51]始莫邪夢白象而孕，及生，從母左脅[52]出，生而有結，墮地能行七步。[53]此國在天竺城中。天竺又有神人，名沙律[54]。

The state of Linni 臨兒 (Lumbinī)[46]: The *Futujing* 浮屠經 (*Sūtra* about the Buddha) records: "Its king begot Futu 浮屠 (Buddha).[47] Futu was a crown prince. His father was called Xietouxie 屑頭邪 (Śuddhodana)[48], and his mother, Moxie 莫邪 (Māyā)[49]. Futu wore yellow clothes.[50] His hair was as black as black thread and he had black hair on his chest. His fingernails were as red as bronze.[51] At that time, Moxie dreamed of a white elephant and became pregnant. When he was born, the prince came out of the left side of the body[52] of his mother, with a natural hair coil. As soon as he touched the ground, he was able to walk seven steps.[53] This state is located in the city of Tianzhu 天竺. In the state of Tianzhu there is also an immortal, who is named Shalü 沙律[54]".

[46] "Linni" 臨兒 [liəm-njie] is believed by some to be the birthplace of the Buddha, Lumbini.[10] Others believe that it is Kapilavastu, where Śākyamuni lived in his early years; its site is in the border area between India and Nepal (present-day Piprahwa in Uttar Pradesh, India[11]). The etymological meaning of "Kapilavastu" is "where the yellow-headed persons live". *Dafangguangfo Huayanjing yinyi (xia)* 大方廣佛華嚴經音義下 (A dictionary on the pronunciation and meaning of *Mahā-vaipulya Avataṃsaka-sūtra)* by Huiyuan 惠苑 states: "It is said that in ancient times there were yellow-headed immortals, who cultivated the Way there; hence the name".[12]

[47] "Futu" 浮屠 is a transcription of "Buddha" in Chinese.

[48] "Xietouxie" 屑頭邪 (Śuddhodana): Generally noted as "Jingfanwang" 淨飯王 or "Baijingwang"

白淨王; the name is also transcribed as "Shoututuona" 首圖馱那. He is believed to have been the king of Kapilavastu 迦毗羅衛.

[49] "Moxie" 莫邪 (Māyā) is generally transcribed as "Moye" 摩耶.

[50] "Futu wore yellow clothes" 身服色黃: Cassocks are yellow in color.

[51] "His hair was as black as black thread…" 髮青如青絲, 乳青毛, 蛉赤如銅: Another edition reads: 髮如青絲, 爪如銅.[13]

[52] "The left side of the body" 左脅: The *Weilüe*, as quoted in the "Xi Rong (liu)" 西戎六 of the "Si Yi (yiba)" 四夷一八 section of *Taiping yulan* 太平御覽 reads " 右脅 ", which means "the right side of the body".

[53] *Shiji zhengyi* 正義 in its commentary on "Dayuan liezhuan" quotes *Futujing* 浮屠經 (Sūtra about the Buddha): "The crown prince, Yintu 隱屠, was born to the King of Linni. The father's name was Tutouxie, and the mother's name, Moxietu. His body was yellow, his hair was as black as black thread, he had black hair on his chest, and his fingernails were as red as bronze. Formerly, Moxie dreamed of a white elephant and became pregnant. When he was born, the prince emerged from the left side of the body of his mother, with hair. As soon as he touched the earth, he was able to walk seven steps".

[54] "Shalü" 沙律 (Śāriputra): one of the ten disciples of Buddha, generally known as "Shelifo" 舍利弗 or "Qiuluzi" 鶖露子.[14]

昔漢哀帝元壽元年，博士弟子景盧受大月氏王使伊存口受《浮屠經》[55] 曰復立 [56] 者其人也。《浮屠》所載臨蒲塞 [57]、桑門 [58]、伯聞、疏問、白疏閒 [59]、比丘 [60]、晨門 [61]，皆弟子號也。《浮屠》所載與中國《老子經》相出入，蓋以爲老子西出關，過西域之天竺，教胡。[62] 浮屠屬弟子別號，合有二十九，不能詳載，故略之如此。

In the past, in the first year of the Yuanshou 元壽 reign-period of the Emperor Ai 哀 of the Han Dynasty (2 BCE), a student of the Imperial Academy, Jing Lu 景盧, received orally [a] Buddhist *sūtra*[55] from Yicun 伊存, an envoy, who had been sent by the king of Da Yuezhi. The *sūtra* stated, "Fuli 復立 [56] is that immortal". Linpusai 臨蒲塞[57], Sangmen 桑門 (Śramaṇa)[58], Bowen 伯聞, Shuwen 疏問, Baishujian 白疏閒[59], Biqiu 比丘 (Bhikṣu)[60], and Chenmen 晨門[61], recorded in the Buddhist *sūtra*, are the titles for students. The records in the Buddhist *sūtra* vary from those in *Laozijing* 老

子經 (The scripture on Laozi). Probably it was believed that Laozi went west beyond the barrier, passing through Tianzhu in the Western Regions, and gave instruction to the barbarians.[62] Futu figures among the informal titles of the students [of Laozi], who numbered twenty-nine in all. We cannot record them in detail; thus we give a summary as above.

[55] Concerning this event, the records in various works are different: not only is the recipient of the sūtra different, but the place where the event occurred is not the same. As is recorded in *Bianzheng lun* 辯正論 (A treatise on the explication of the truth), "Qin Jing 秦景 went to the state of the Yuezhi, and the king there ordered the crown prince to transmit the *Futujing* orally". If we rely on this record, then it was in the state of the Yuezhi that the sutra was received.[15]

[56] "Fuli" 復立 is a transcription of "Buddha" in Chinese. For "Fuli" 復立, another edition reads "Fudou" 復豆.[16]

[57] "Linpusai" 臨蒲塞: The character *lin* 臨 is a corruption of *yi* 伊. "Yipusai" 伊蒲塞 should be the transcription of *upāsaka* in Chinese.

[58] "Sangmen" 桑門 is the transcription of *śramaṇa* in Chinese.

[59] "Bowen 伯聞, Shuwen 疏問, Baishujian 白疏間": There are no plausible explanations of these terms as yet.

[60] "Biqiu" 比丘 is the Chinese transcription of *bhikṣu*.

[61] "Chenmen" 晨門 should be "sangmen" 桑門, an error in this memoir, mistaking one term for two.

[62] In addition to this memoir, the stories about Laozi going west beyond the barrier include the "Wenxue pian" 文學篇 in *Shishuo xinyu* 世說新語 (particularly its commentary), the "Shi Lao zhi" 釋老志 in *Weishu*, the "Jingji zhi" 經籍志 in *Suishu* 隋書, *Bianzheng lun* 辯正論 (ch. 5) by Falin 法琳, the "Renshi bu" 人事部 and "Si Yi bu" 四夷部 sections of *Taiping yulan* 太平御覽, and *Shiji zhengyi* 史記正義 (ch. 130, "Dayuan liezhuan"), among others.

車離國[63]一名禮惟特，一名沛隸王，[64]在天竺東南三千餘里，其地卑溼暑熱。其王治沙奇[65]城，有別城數十[66]。人民怯弱，月氏、天竺擊服之。其地東南西北數千里，人民男女皆長一丈八尺，乘象、橐駞以戰，今月氏役稅之。[67]

The state of Juli 車離[63]: Also named Liweite 禮惟特 or the "king of Peili" 沛隸,[64]

it lies more than 3,000 *li* to the southeast of Tianzhu. The land is low, damp and very hot. The seat of the king's government is the town of Shaqi 沙奇[65]. There are separate towns which can be numbered in the tens[66]. Its population is cowardly and weak; [both] Yuezhi and Tianzhu have attacked and subdued it. Its territory stretches from east to west and from north to south over several thousand *li*. The people, both men and women, are all eighteen [*sic*!] *chi* 尺 tall. They ride on elephants and camels in warfare. At present the Yuezhi have made them their subject and tributary.[67]

[63] "Juli" 車離 should be the "Dongli" 東離 mentioned in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hou-Han shu*. "Dongli" 東離 should be emended to "Juli" 車離 [kia-liai] after this text. The state of Juli refers to the ancient state of Chola in southern India.

[64] "Liweite" 禮維特 [lyei-jiuəi-dək] and "Peili" 沛隸 [phat-lat] are probably transcriptions of Drāvia and Palār, respectively.

[65] "Shaqi" 沙奇 [shea-gia] is the transcription of Kāñchi. Others believe that "Shaqi" is Śāketa.[17]

[66] Following 別城數十 (There are separate towns which can be numbered in the tens), 皆稱王 ([the rulers of which] all call themselves "kings") should be added, after the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu*.

[67] "[T]he Yuezhi have made them its subject and tributary": The influence of Guishuang extended to southern India at that time.

盤越國[68]，一名漢越王[69]，在天竺東南數千里，與益部[70]近，其人小與中國人等，蜀人賈似至焉。南道而西極轉東南盡矣。

The state of Panyue 盤越[68]: Also named the "king" of Hanyue 漢越[69], it lies several thousand *li* to the southeast of Tianzhu, and is close to Yi 益 Prefecture[70]. The people are small and equal the people of the Middle Kingdom in height. It seems that merchants of Shu 蜀 had reached there. The Southern Route runs to the extreme west then turns southeast, where one reaches the end of the road.

[68] "Panyue" 盤越 should be the "Panqi" 磐起 in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hou-Han shu*. "Panqi" 磐起 [buan-khiə] and "Panyue" 盤越 [buan-hiuat] can be seen as transcriptions of Pyū (Prū and Prome).

[69] "Hanyue" 漢越 is suspected of being an error of "Dianyue" 滇越, first seen in the "Dayuan liezhuan" of *Shiji*.

[70] "Yibu" 益部 is the same as "Yizhou" 益州; its seat of government was located to the east of present-day Jinning 晉寧, Yunnan 雲南 Province.

中道西行尉梨國[71]、危須國[72]、山王國[73]皆并屬焉耆[74]，姑墨國[75]、溫宿國[76]、尉頭國[77]皆并屬龜茲也，[78]楨中國[79]、莎車國[80]、竭石國[81]、渠莎國[82]、西夜國[83]、依耐國[84]、滿犂國[85]、億若國[86]、榆令國[87]、捐毒國[88]、休脩國[89]、琴國[90]皆并屬疏勒[91]。

To the west, traveling along the Middle Route, one reaches the states of Weili 尉梨[71], Weixu 危須[72], and the kingdom of Shan 山[73], which were all annexed and belonged to Yanqi 焉耆[74]. Then one reaches the states of Gumo 姑墨[75], Wensu 溫宿[76], and Weitou 尉頭[77], which were all annexed and belonged to Qiuci 龜茲[78]; and the states of Zhenzhong 楨中[79], Suoju 莎車[80], Jieshi 竭石[81], Qusuo 渠莎[82], Xiye 西夜[83], Yinai 依耐[84], Manli 滿犂[85], Yiruo 億若[86], Yuling 榆令[87], Juandu 捐毒[88], Xiuxiu 休脩[89] and Qin 琴[90], which were all annexed and belonged to Shule 疏勒[91].

[71] "Weili" 尉黎 was an oasis state on the Northern Route in the Western Regions; it should be the "Weili" 尉犂 in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu*.

[72] "Weixu" 危須 was an oasis state on the Northern Route in the Western Regions, first seen in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu*. According to the "Xuandi ji" 宣帝紀 in *Jinshu* 晉書, in the first month of the first year of the Zhengshi 正始 (240 CE) of the King of Qi 齊王, Fang 芳, "Xuwei and other states … all sent envoys to present tribute".

[73] "The kingdom of Shan" 山王國 is an oasis state on the Northern Route in the Western Regions; it should be the state of Shan 山國 in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu*.

[74] "Yanqi" 焉耆: an oasis state on the Northern Route in the Western Regions, first seen in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu*. According to the "Mingdi ji" of the *Weishu* in *Sanguo zhi*, on the day *bingyin* 丙寅 in the tenth month of the first year of the Taihe 太和 reign-period (227 CE), "the king of Yanqi sent his son to attend at [the Wei] court". As is recorded in the "Xuandi ji" of *Jinshu*, in the first month of the first year of the Zhengshi (240 CE) reign-period of the King of Qi, Fang, "Yanqi [and other states] … all sent envoys to present tribute".

[75] "Gumo" 姑墨: an oasis state on the Northern Route in the Western Regions, first seen in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu*.

[76] "Wensu" 溫宿: an oasis state on the Northern Route in the Western Regions, first seen in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu*.

[77] "Weitou" 尉頭: an oasis state on the Northern Route in the Western Regions, first seen in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu*.

[78] On the relationship between Qiuci and the Cao Wei: As is recorded in the "Wendi ji" 文帝紀 of the *Weishu* in *Sanguo zhi*, "in the second month [of the third year of the Huangchu 黄初 reign-period (222 CE)] … Qiuci … each sent envoys to present tribute". According to the "Cui Lin zhuan" 崔林傳 of the *Weishu* in the *Sanguo zhi*, while Cui Lin served as the Superintendent of State Visits, "The King of Qiuci sent his son to pay respects and attend at the court. The Imperial Court commended the mission from afar and rewarded the king well. The other states, respectively, sent their sons to the court, and the envoys made their way without interruption. [Cui] Lin was afraid that those who were sent might not be true princes, but simply distant relatives or Hu merchants instead. The interest [of these states] was in gaining official seals and ribbons through diplomatic contact, but the expenses to escort the envoys were too great. Exhausting the people, who should be nurtured, in wasteful endeavors would make [Wei] look ridiculous to the barbarians, something that had in the past led to misfortune. [The Wei court] therefore sent a message to Dunhuang 燉煌, outlining [the emperor's] intentions and providing an account of how previous dynasties treated [envoys from] the various states, lavishly or simply, so that there would be certain criteria [with regard to hospitality]". The event recorded here, i.e., the king of Qiuci sending his son to attend at the court, might be the same as the event recorded in the "Wendi ji", i.e., the king of Qiuci sending envoys to present tribute. One can thus conclude that tribute missions from the various states were rather frequent at the beginning of the Wei Dynasty at least. The reason why not all missions were recorded in the basic annals of *Sanguo zhi* is probably not so much the result of careless omission as the suspicion that those sent might have simply been distant relatives or Hu merchants. The king of Qiuci sent his son to attend at court and was thus well rewarded, but "Mingdi ji" only mentions that he came "to present tribute" rather than "to attend at the court", revealing that Wei suspected that "those who were sent might be not true princes". The "Wuwan, Xianbei, Dong Yi zhuan" of the *Weishu* in *Sanguo zhi* also mentions Qiuci's missions to Wei.

[79] "The state of Zhenzhong 楨中 ": This would have been the town of Zhenzhong in the state of Shule 疏勒 as referred to in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hou-Han shu*. Since the state of Zhenzhong "belonged to Shule", it should have been near the town of Shule. "Zhenzhong" 楨中 [tieng-tiuəm], "Shanshan" 鄯善, and "Jingjue" 精絕 can all be seen as variations in the transcription of the same name.

[80] "Suoju" 莎車: an oasis state on the Northern Route in the Western Regions, first seen in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hou-Han shu*.

[81] The seat of the king's government of the state of "Jieshi" 竭石, according to some, was located in present-day Tashkurghan.[18] Jieshi should be the state of Jiasheluoshi 迦舍羅逝 mentioned in the "Heshui (er)" 河水二 section of *Shuijing zhu* 水經注. "Jieshi" 竭石 [keai-sjya] and "Jiashe" 迦舍 [keai-sjya] are variations in the transcription of the same name, i.e., the Gasiani, a Sai tribe.

[82] "Qusha" 渠沙 [gia-shea] can also be seen as a transcription of "Gasiani". In light of the record in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Weishu* ("The state of Qusha was formerly the town of Suoju"), the possibility cannot be ruled out that one state was mistaken for two, because the state of Suoju was founded by Sai tribes, including both the Sacarauli and the Gasiani.[19]

[83] "Xiye" 西夜: the name of an ethnic group, first seen in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu*. "Xiye" in this memoir seems to indicate the state of Piaosha 漂沙 mentioned in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hou-Han shu*. The specific location of the seat of its king's government is unknown.

[84] "Yinai" 依耐: an oasis state on the Southern Route in the Western Regions, first seen in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu*.

[85] "Manli" 滿犁 should be a corruption of the "Puli" 蒲犁 in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu*. "Puli" was an oasis state on the Southern Route in the Western Regions, i.e., the state of Jieshi in this memoir. This text mistakes one state for two.

[86] "Yiruo" 億若 [iək-njiak] is the "Wucha" 烏秅 in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu* and the "Deruo" 德若 in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hou-Han shu*.[20]

[87] "Yuling" 榆令 [jiuo-lieng] has not been seen in the previous histories. "Yuling", as well as "Weitou" 尉頭 [iuət-do] and "Weili" 尉犁 [iuət-lyei] in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu*, can be seen as abbreviated transcriptions of the same name, i.e., Gasiani. The specific location of the state of Yuling is unknown.

[88] "Juandu" 捐毒: an oasis state in the Pamirs, first seen in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu*.

[89] "Xiuxiu" 休脩: an oasis state in the Pamirs. It should be the "Xiuxun" 休循 mentioned in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu*.

[90] The state of Qin 琴國 has not been mentioned in the previous histories; its specific location is unknown. Since it belonged to Shule, it should be close to the Pamirs (Cong 葱 Mountains). It was also founded by the Sai. "Qin" 琴 [giəm] can be seen as an abbreviated transcription of Sakā.

[91] "Shule" 疏勒: an oasis state on the Northern Route in the Western Regions first seen in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu*. The "Wuwan, Xianbei, Dong Yi zhuan" of the *Weishu* in *Sanguo zhi* also

mentions a tribute mission from Shule to Wei. The states in the Western Regions that presented tribute to the Cao Wei were only eight in number: Shanshan 鄯善, Qiuci 龜茲, Yutian 于闐, Yanqi 焉耆, Weixu 危須, Da Yuezhi 大月氏, Kangju 康居, and Dayuan 大宛. Even if Wusun 烏孫, Shule 疏勒 and Jushi 車師, referred to in the "Wuwan, Xianbei, Dong Yi zhuan" of the *Weishu* in *Sanguo zhi*, are added, they amount to only eleven states. However, it is notable that, except for Weixu, the other ten of these states were the "large states" in the Western Regions at that time. At the time described in this memoir, seven of the ten states—Shanshan, Yutian, Da Yuezhi, Yanqi, Qiuci, Shule, and the state of [Further] Jushi—were "overlords" who had their own spheres of influence. If the records in this memoir are not incorrect, it appears that the ten states that presented tribute to Wei in fact represented most of the Western Regions at that time. It was not only possible but even inevitable that, as at the end of the Western Han and the beginning of the Eastern Han, Shanshan and other large states once again annexed and enslaved the adjacent states and carved up the spheres of influence, a result of the turmoil at the end of the Eastern Han as well as the Cao Wei's temporary inability to penetrate into the region after it had replaced Han. The states that sent envoys to pay tribute to Wei as recorded in *Sanguo zhi* are mainly the large states that were able to annex and enslave the smaller ones. This can be regarded as evidence that the scenario at the beginning of the Eastern Han reappeared in the Cao Wei era.

自是以西，大宛[92]、安息[93]、條支[94]、烏弋[95]。烏弋一名排特[96]，此四國次在西，本國也，無增損。

From here the states to the west are Dayuan 大宛[92], Anxi 安息[93], Tiaozhi 條支[94], and Wuyi 烏弋[95]. Wuyi is also named Paite 排特[96]. These four states follow one another in the west; their territories are as they originally were and have neither been added to nor subtracted from.

[92] Dayuan 大宛, located in the Ferghāna area, is first seen in the "Dayuan liezhuan" of *Shiji*. Concerning its relationship with the Cao Wei, the "San shaodi ji" 三少帝紀 of the *Weishu* in *Sanguo zhi* has this record: In the intercalary tenth month of the second year of the Xianxi 咸熙 reign-period (265 CE), "on the day *gengchen* 庚辰 … Dayuan presented famous horses".

[93] Anxi 安息 here refers to the Parthian Empire of Persia, first mentioned in the "Dayuan liezhuan" of *Shiji*.

[94] Tiaozhi 條支 refers to Seleucid Syria, first seen in the "Dayuan liezhuan" of *Shiji*. In this memoir it mainly refers to the Syrian areas that used to be under the Seleucids.

[95] "Wuyi" 烏弋 should be the abbreviation of the "Wuyishanli" 烏弋山離 in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu*.

[96] "Wuyi is also named Paite": The "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hou-Han shu* reads, "At this time, its name has been changed to Paichi 排持 [should be Paite 排特]". The text in this memoir is more plausible, for "Paite" 排特 [buəi-dək] is an abbreviated transcription of Prophthasia—there is no name change involved.

前世謬以爲條支在大秦西，今其實在東。[97] 前世又謬以爲彊於安息，今更役屬之，號爲安息西界。[98] 前世又謬以爲弱水在條支西，今弱水在大秦西。[99] 前世又謬以爲從條支西行二百餘日，近日所入，[100] 今從大秦西近日所入。

Former generations erred in considering Tiaozhi as being situated west of Da Qin 大秦; the truth as now known is that it is east of it. [97] Former generations likewise erred in considering it stronger than Anxi 安息; now we know that it is on the contrary subject to it, and is called the western frontier of Anxi. [98] Former generations also erred in considering the Weak Water as situated west of Tiaozhi; now we know that the Weak Water is west of Da Qin. [99] Former generations also erred in thinking that by traveling more than two hundred days westward from Tiaozhi one draws near to the place where the sun sets;[100] now we know that it is from west of Da Qin that one draws near to the place where the sun sets.

[97] "Former generations erred in considering Tiaozhi as situated west of Da Qin": There are no such records in extant works. We do not know to what the compiler of this memoir was referring.

[98] "Former generations likewise erred in considering it stronger than Anxi; now we know that it is on the contrary subject to it, and is called the western frontier of Anxi": Soon after the founding of Anxi, it was under constant threat from Tiaozhi, i.e., Seleucid Syria, until Anxi's strength rose steadily with Mithridates I's ascension to the throne. In other words, Tiaozhi once *was* stronger than Anxi, and the records of "former generations" are not completely wrong. It was during the era of Zhang Qian that Tiaozhi became subject to Anxi. Over sixty years after Zhang Qian, Tiaozhi was conquered by Rome; it was hence out of the question for it to be subject to Anxi. Thus, the statement

that "it is on the contrary subject to it [Anxi]" in this text should be something learned during the era of Zhang Qian, and should not be seen as the reality of the times of Yu Huan 魚豢. Of the things in the Western Regions recorded in this memoir, many are from the Eastern Han; so are the records about Tiaozhi, Lixuan 黎軒, and Da Qin—many were incorporated by Fan Ye 范曄 into the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hou-Han shu*. There are even things from before the Eastern Han; the statement under consideration in this note is among them. In the statement in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hou-Han shu* quoted earlier, that "Anxi … later subjugated Tiaozhi", the word "later" was a result of the influence of the following view: "Former generations likewise erred in considering it [Tiaozhi] stronger than Anxi; now we know that it is on the contrary subject to it". The statement that Tiaozhi "is called the western frontier of Anxi" undoubtedly describes the historical reality when it was subject to Anxi. Since it is "*called* the western frontier of Anxi", it should not be regarded as the western frontier in reality; nor should one try to locate Tiaozhi within the boundaries of Anxi. The "western frontier" here may be taken as the dependency, or tributary state, in the west, which testifies to the nature of the relationship between Anxi and Tiaozhi in the era of Zhang Qian—that is, when Tiaozhi was subject to Anxi, and Anxi treated Tiaozhi as a dependency or tributary state. Later, Tiaozhi was conquered by Rome, but the people in Central Asia, particularly the people in Anxi, continued to use the "western frontier of Anxi" as a synonym for Tiaozhi.

[99] The "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu* states: "The elders of Anxi have learned by hearsay that in Tiaozhi there is the Weak Water" (A. E. P. Hulsewé and M. A. N. Loewe, *China in Central Asia*, p. 114).

[100] The "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu* states: "If you travel by water westward from Tiaozhi for more than a hundred days you draw near the place where the sun sets" (Hulsewé and Loewe, *China in Central Asia*, p. 114). The "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hou-Han shu* records: "…the *Hanshu* says, 'If you travel from Tiaozhi for more than 200 days you draw near the place where the sun sets'". "The place where the sun sets" and the location of the Weak Water are pushed further and further westward, a result of the broadening understanding of the Chinese about the geography of the lands to the west.

大秦國一號犂靬[101]，在安息、條支西大海之西，[102]從安息界安谷城乘船，直截海西，遇風利二月到，風遲或一歲，無風或三歲。[103]其國在海西，故俗謂之海西。[104]有河出其國，西又有大海。[105]海西有遲散城，從國下直北至烏丹城，[106]西南又渡一河，乘船一日乃過。西南又渡一河，一日乃過。[107]凡有大都三。[108]

The state of Da Qin 大秦: It is also named Lijian 犂靬[101]. It lies to the west of

the great sea which is west of Anxi and Tiaozhi.[102] From the town of Angu 安谷 on the frontier of Anxi, one travels by boat directly across to the west of the sea. If one meets with favorable winds, it takes two months, but with delaying winds, it takes perhaps one year, and with no wind at all, perhaps three years.[103] As this state lies west of the sea, it is popularly called "West of the Sea".[104] There is a river which comes out from this state. To the west, there is also a great sea.[105] To the west of the sea is the town of Chisan 遲散. From below the state, going due north one reaches the town of Wudan 烏丹.[106] To the southwest again crossing a river, only after traveling for one day by boat does one cross over. To the southwest, again crossing a river, only after one day does one cross over.[107] There are in all three large capital cities.[108]

[101] "Lijian" 犁靬 should be the "Lixuan" 黎軒 in the "Dayuan liezhuan" of *Shiji*, the "Lijian" 犁靬 in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu*, and the "Lijian" 犁鞬 in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hou-Han shu*; all are abbreviated transcriptions of [A]lexan[dria] in Egypt. However, the Lixuan 黎軒 and the Lijan 犁靬 in the *Shiji* and *Hanshu* refer to Ptolemaic Egypt, whereas the Lijian 犁鞬 and Lijian 犁靬 in *Hou-Han shu* and this memoir have objectively become synonymous with Da Qin.[21]

[102] "It lies to the west of the great sea which is west of Anxi and Tiaozhi": This refers to the fact that the Roman Empire lies to the west of Anxi and Tiaozhi (Syria), i.e., west of the "great sea" (the Mediterranean).

[103] "From the town of Angu on the frontier of Anxi, one travels by boat directly…": From Antiochia in Syria, one can cross the Mediterranean towards the west to reach Da Qin, i.e., the Roman Empire proper—the Italian Peninsula. The so-called "Angu on the frontier of Anxi" should be "Angu on the western frontier of Anxi". As discussed above, "the western frontier of Anxi" has become synonymous with Tiaozhi in this memoir. "Angu" 安谷 [an-kok] is undoubtedly an abbreviated transcription of Antiochia, so is also the "Tiaozhi" above. As is recorded in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hou-Han shu*, when Gan Ying 甘英 was about to cross the sea from Tiaozhi, the sailors of "the western frontier of Anxi" told him, "The sea is vast. With favorable winds it is still only possible for travelers to cross in three months. But if one meets with unfavorable winds, it may even take two years. It is for this reason that those who go to sea always take on board three years' provisions". In terms of the time it takes to reach Da Qin from Angu, that passage is almost identical to the account here, indicating that "Angu" and "Tiaozhi" are in the same location.

[104] "As this state lies west of the sea, it is popularly called 'West of the Sea'": The Roman

Empire proper lies west of the Mediterranean; hence the term, the state of "West of the Sea".

[105] "There is a river which comes out from this state. To the west, there is also a great sea": The river refers to the Tiber; the sea, the Tyrrhenian Sea on the western side of the Italian Peninsula.

[106] 海西有遲散城 should be 海西國有遲散城. "Chisan" 遲散 and "Wudan" 烏丹 and "Wuchisan" 烏遲散 below should all be corruptions of "Wuchisandan" 烏遲散丹. For the sentence in the subsequent text, "Continuing on due south one gets to the town of Wuchisan" 復直南行經之烏遲散城, the quotation in *Xu Hou-Han shu* 續後漢書 (ch. 80) by Hao Jing 郝經 (1223-1275) reads, "one gets to the town of Wudanchisan" 經烏丹遲散城, with the four characters all written together. They should be Wuchisandan 烏遲散丹, however; the mistake is caused by the "Wudan" 烏丹 and "Chisan" 遲散, and should be corrected. "Wuchisandan" 烏遲散丹 [a-diei-san-tan] is a transcription of Alexandria. The statement, "From below the state, going due north one reaches the town of Wudan 烏丹", means that one can travel north, from the southern end of Da Qin, to Alexandria in Egypt.

[107] "To the southwest again crossing a river, only after traveling for one day by boat does one cross over. To the southwest, again crossing a river, only after one day does one cross over": This repeats what is stated in the subsequent text, and is therefore redundant.

[108] "There are in all three large capital cities" 凡有大都三: It is suspected that something is missing. The "three capital cities" refers to the three metropolises in the Roman Empire: Rome in Italy, Antioch in Syria, and Alexandria in Egypt.

卻從安谷城陸道直北行之海北，復直西行之海西，[109] 復直南行經之烏遲散城 [110]，渡一河，[111] 乘船一日乃過。周迴繞海，凡當渡大海六日乃到其國。[112] 國有小城邑合四百餘，東西南北數千里。[113]

Now, from the town of Angu 安谷, going due north by land one reaches the lands north of the sea. Continuing on due west one reaches the country west of the sea.[109] Continuing due south one reaches the town of Wuchisan 烏遲散.[110] Crossing a river[111], only after one day's journey by boat does one get across. Going all the way round the sea, one must still always cross a great expanse of sea, and only after six days does one arrive at this state.[112] The [larger] state has a total of more than four hundred small towns and settlements. Its territory stretches from east to west and from north to south for several thousand *li*.[113]

[109] "Now, from the town of Angu, going due north by land one reaches the lands north of the sea. Continuing on due west one reaches the country west of the sea": By travelling north from Antiochia in Syria one can reach "the lands north of the sea", i.e., the north of the Mediterranean: Asia Minor and the Balkans. If one travels further west one can reach the country "west of the sea", i.e., Da Qin proper.

[110] 復直南行經之烏遲散［丹］城: " 復 " and " 經 " are redundant. Travelling south from Antiochia along the shores of the Mediterranean one reaches Alexandria.

[111] "Crossing a river": This river refers to the Nile. "Going all the way round the sea" 周迴繞海: Alexandria is on the Nile delta, which protrudes into the Mediterranean.

[112] "One must still always cross over a great sea, and only after six days does one arrive at this state": It takes six days for one travelling by sea from Antiochia in Syria to reach Alexandria. The "state" here refers to Da Qin's dependency, the state of Zesan 澤散. It has been stated above that the journey to Da Qin from the town of Angu takes two months at the speediest and three years at the slowest, indicating that the "state" here does not refer to Da Qin.

[113] "The state has a total of more than four hundred small towns and settlements": Here the state of Da Qin refers to the Roman Empire in its entirety, not an isolated area of the empire.

其王治濱側河海，以石爲城郭。其土地有松、柏、槐、梓、竹、葦、楊柳、梧桐[114]、百草。民俗，田種五穀，畜乘有馬、騾、驢、駱駝。桑蠶。[115]俗多奇幻，口中出火，自縛自解，[116]跳十二丸巧妙。[117]

The king's seat of government overlooks a river and the sea. The city walls are made of stone. Its soil produces pine, cypress, the sophora tree, the *zhi* 梓 (*Catalpa Kaempferitrae*); bamboos, rushes, poplars, willows, the *wutong* 梧桐 (phoenix tree, *Calophyllum inophyllum*),[114] and all manner of plants. Its customs are the following: they are agriculturalists and grow the five grains. For domestic animals, they have horses, donkeys, mules, camels, and the mulberry silkworm.[115] They practise much unusual magic: they can spit fire from their mouths, bind and release themselves,[116] juggle twelve balls with their feet, and do marvelous tricks.[117]

[114] "Pine, cypress, the sophora tree, the *zhi* 梓 (*Catalpa Kaempferitrae*); bamboos, rushes, poplars, willows, the *wutong* 梧桐 (phoenix tree, *Calophyllum inophyllum*)": These are trees and plants with

strong spiritual connotations in China, especially the sophora tree, the *zhi* (*Catalpa Kaempferitrae*), the bamboo, and the *wutong* (phoenix tree, *Calophyllum inophyllum*). These are not necessarily grown in Da Qin; the emphasis on them is a result of the idealization of Da Qin by the Chinese of that time.[22]

[115] "The mulberry silkworm": There are similar descriptions in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hou-Han shu*.

[116] The text quoted from this memoir in *Shiji suoyin* 史記索隱 (ch. 123) reads: "In Lijin 犂靳 there are people who practise much unusual magic: they can spit fire from their mouths, bind and release themselves". "Lijin" 犂靳 should be a corruption of "Lijian" 犂靬.

[117] "They practise much unusual magic…": This is what is meant by "magicians" 幻人 from Da Qin in the "Xinan Yi zhuan" 西南夷傳 of *Hou-Han shu*. The magicians (眩人 or 幻人) should have come from Lixuan, i.e., Alexandria of Egypt.[23]

其國無常主，國中有災異，輒更立賢人以爲王，而生放其故王，王亦不敢怨。[118] 其俗人長大平正，似中國人而胡服，自云本中國一別也。[119] 常欲通使於中國，而安息圖其利，不能得過。[120] 其俗能胡書。其制度，公私宮室爲重屋，旌旗擊鼓，白蓋小車，郵驛亭置如中國。

They have no fixed ruler. Whenever there is a calamity or uncanny event in the state, they immediately change the ruler, establishing a worthy man as king, dismissing the former king but letting him live. He does not dare complain.[118] The people are generally tall and straight featured with faces resembling those of the Middle Kingdom, but they wear Hu 胡 clothes. They themselves say that they stem from the Middle Kingdom as one of its branches.[119] They always wanted to have diplomatic relations with the Middle Kingdom, but because Anxi looked to its own profits, they could not get through.[120] They are able to write in Hu script. Their institutions are as follows: they have public and private palaces and houses with multiple storeys. Their flags and drums, the white canopies over their small chariots, and their postal stations are just like those in the Middle Kingdom.

[118] "They have no fixed ruler…": There are similar descriptions in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hou-Han shu*.

[119] "The people are generally tall and straight featured…": This shows that the people at that time called the Roman Empire Da Qin because it "resembles the Middle Kingdom". Qin was a

name for the Middle Kingdom among the people in North Asia and Central Asia. It is recorded in the "Xiongnu zhuan (shang)" 匈奴傳上 of *Hanshu*: "Weilü 衛律 gave counsel to the *Chanyu*: Dig wells, build walls around towns, build towers to store the grains, and guard them with the people of Qin". The Yan Commentary states: "In the times of Qin there were people who had defected to the Xiongnu; their descendants were still called people of Qin". *Hanshu buzhu* 漢書補注 by Wang Xianqian 王先謙 quoted Gu Yanwu 顧炎武: "Yan was incorrect. The Xiongnu at that time called the people of Middle Kingdom the people of Qin, just as later generations refer to [the people of Middle Kingdom] as the Han people". The "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu*: "The Xiongnu tethered the fore and hind hooves of their horses and left them at the foot of the [town] walls. While galloping up, they said, 'A present of horses for you, men of Qin'" (Hulsewé and Loewe, *China in Central Asia*, p. 169). The Yan Commentary: "'Men of Qin' here refers to the men of the Middle Kingdom, an old expression". The "Dayuan liezhuan" of *Shiji* states that the Ershi 貳師 General "heard that inside the town the population had recently acquired men of Qin who knew how to dig wells" (Hulsewé and Loewe, *China in Central Asia*, p. 232). In the biography of Li Guangli in *Hanshu*, the expression "men of Han" has taken the place of "men of Qin". These cases should corroborate the point. If so, "Da Qin" should be the name of the Roman Empire used by the people of Central Asia. It is unlikely that the people of Han would use the name of a previous dynasty as the name of a large state in the Western Regions.

[120] "They always wanted to have diplomatic relations with the Middle Kingdom...": For details, see my commentary on the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hou-Han shu*.

從安息繞海北到其國，[121]人民相屬，十里一亭，三十里一置[122]，終無盜賊。但有猛虎、獅子爲害，行道不羣則不得過。[123]其國置小王數十，其王所治城周回百餘里，有官曹文書。王有五宮，一宮間相去十里，其王平旦之一宮聽事，至日暮一宿，明日復至一宮，五日一周。置三十六將，每議事，一將不至則不議也。[124]王出行，常使從人持一韋囊自隨，有白言者，受其辭投囊中，還宮乃省爲決理。[125]以水晶作宮柱及器物。[126]作弓矢。

From Anxi, one goes round the north of the sea to reach this state.[121] The population is dense, with a *ting* 亭 every ten *li*, and a *zhi* 置 every 30 *li*.[122] They have eliminated robbers, but there are fierce tigers and lions which imperil the routes. Only a [large] group of travelers can get through.[123] This state has established petty kings

which can be numbered in the tens. The city where the king has his seat of government is over 100 *li* in circumference, with officials and archives. The king has five palaces, ten *li* apart from one another. Early in the morning the king goes to one of the palaces to hear cases, and at sunset stays there for the night. The next day, he continues on to another palace, doing the round in five days. They have appointed 36 generals, who discuss everything together. If one general does not come, then no discussion takes place.[124] When the king goes out, they always have a man following him carrying a leather bag. Those with petitions have their requests thrown into the bag. On his return to the palace, the king inspects them and makes his decision.[125] The pillars of the palace and (eating) utensils are made of crystal glass.[126] They make bows and arrows.

[121] "From Anxi, one goes round the north of the sea to reach this state": Travelling north from Anxi by land one can reach the lands "north of the sea", i.e., the north of the Mediterranean. If one travels further west, one can reach Da Qin proper.

[122] "A *ting* 亭 every ten *li* and a *zhi* 置 every 30 *li*": There is a similar description in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hou-Han shu*.

[123] The text from 從安息繞海北到其國 to 行道不羣則不得過 can be, after the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hou-Han shu*, emended to the following: 從安息陸道繞海北到其國，人民相屬，十里一亭，三十里一置，終無盜賊寇警。但有猛虎、獅子，爲害行旅，不百餘人，齎兵器，輒爲所食 —"From Anxi by the land-route, one goes around north of the sea, and arrives in Da Qin. The population is dense; each ten *li* there is a *ting* 亭 (relay), and each thirty *li* a *zhi* 置 (postal station). There is thus never any alarm caused by the attacks of robbers, but on the route there are many fierce tigers and lions which intercept and harm travelers. If the party does not include over one hundred men furnished with arms, they are invariably devoured".

[124] "The king has five palaces…": There is a similar description in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hou-Han shu*.

[125] "When the king goes out…": There is a similar description in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hou-Han shu*.

[126] The *Zhengyi* 正義 commentary on the "Dayuan liezhuan" of *Shiji* quotes the *Waiguo zhuan* 外國傳 by Kang Tai 康泰: "Their towns all had green crystal glass as foundations, and five-colored crystal glass as walls. The people there were most competent craftsmen, able to transform silver into gold. In their land people conducted trade using money of gold and silver". Some regard "pillars of

crystal glass” as embellishment and exaggeration.[24]

其別枝封小國，曰澤散王[127]，曰驢分王[128]，曰且蘭王[129]，曰賢督王[130]，曰汜復王[131]，曰于羅王[132]，其餘小王國甚多，不能一一詳之也。

Their feudatory (vassal) petty kingdoms are: Zesan 澤散[127], Lüfen 驢分[128], Qielan 且蘭[129], Xiandu 賢督[130], Sifu 汜復[131], and Yuluo 于羅[132]. The remaining petty kingdoms are so numerous that we cannot enumerate them individually.

[127] “Zesan” 澤散 [deak-san] can be seen as an abbreviated transcription of Alexandria; it also refers to Alexandria of Egypt.

[128] “Lüfen” 驢分 [lia-piuən] is an abbreviated transcription of Propontis.

[129] “Qielan” 且蘭 is a corruption of “Danlan” 旦蘭 [dan-lan], which was a transcription of Tadmor or Tadmora, the old name of Palmyra.

[130] “Xiandu” 賢督 [hyen-sjiuk] is a transcription of Hierosōlyma, the old name of Jerusalem.

[131] “Sifu” 汜復 [ziə-biuk] is a transcription of Damascus.

[132] “Yuluo” 于羅 [hiua-la] is a transcription of Hatra.

國出細絺[133]。作金銀錢，金錢一當銀錢十。有織成細布，言用水羊毳，名曰海西布[134]。此國六畜皆出水[135]，或云非獨用羊毛也。亦用木皮或野繭絲[136]作。織成[137]、氍毹[138]、毾㲪[139]、罽帳[140]之屬皆好，其色又鮮于海東諸國[141]所作也。又常利得中國絲，解以爲胡綾，故數與安息[142]諸國交市於海中。海水苦不可食，故往來者希到其國中。山出九色次玉石[143]，一曰青，二曰赤，三曰黃，四曰白，五曰黑，六曰綠，七曰紫，八曰紅，九曰紺。今伊吾[144]山中有九色石，卽其類。陽嘉三年時，疎勒王臣槃[145]獻海西[146]青石、金帶各一。[147]又今《西域舊圖》[148]云罽賓、條支諸國出琦石，卽次玉石也。

The state produces fine cloth (linen)[133]. They make coins of gold and silver, one gold coin being equal to ten silver ones. They weave fine cloth, using, it is said, the wool of the water-sheep, and it is called “cloth from the west of the sea”[134]. All the six domestic animals of the state come from the water.[135] Some say that they use not only (the sea) sheep’s wool, but also the bark of trees, or even the silk of wild silkworms[136],

to produce this thread. Their *zhicheng* 織成[137], *qushu* 氍毹 [138] (fine woolen carpets), *tadeng* 毾㲪 [139] (fine woolen blankets with decorative patterns), and (other textiles) of the class of woolen rugs (*ji* 罽) and curtains[140] are all good. These are also more colorful than those produced in the various states east of the sea[141]. They also commonly profit by obtaining silk from the Middle Kingdom and unraveling it to make Hu damask. So they frequently trade by sea with various states such as Anxi[142]. The water of the sea is bitter and undrinkable, so travelers rarely (succeed in) reaching there. The mountains of this state produce second-class jewels of nine colors[143]: blue, red, yellow, white, black, green, purple, scarlet, and crimson. Now the nine-colored stones found in the Yiwu 伊吾 mountains[144] are of this kind. In the third year of the Yangjia 陽嘉 reign-period (134 CE), the king of Shule 疎勒, Chenpan 臣槃 [145], offered a blue stone from west of the sea[146] and a gilt belt [147]. The extant *Xiyu jiutu* 西域舊圖 [148] also states that the stones produced in the various states such as Jibin 罽賓 and Tiaozhi 條支 are in fact second-class jade-stones.

[133] Z*hi* 絺 is fine cloth (linen).[25]

[134] 水羊毳 (the wool of the water-sheep) is also mentioned in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hou-Han shu*.

[135] "All the six domestic animals of the state come from the water" 六畜皆出水: There are scholars who suspect that the text is corrupted, while others think that 水 should be followed by 中.[26] This may be an association or analogy resulting from water-sheep (水羊).

[136] "The silk of wild silkworms" 野繭絲 is also seen in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hou-Han shu*.

[137] *Zhicheng* 織成 is also seen in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hou-Han shu*.

[138] *Qushu* 氍毹 are woolen carpets. The etymology of the term is yet to be determined.[27]

[139] *Tadeng* 毾㲪 is also seen in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hou-Han shu*.

[140] *Jizhang* 罽帳 are tents and curtains, first seen in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu*.

[141] "The various states east of the sea" 海東諸國: This refers to states like Tiaozhi and Anxi east of the Mediterranean.

[142] Following "Anxi" 安息, "Tianzhu" 天竺 should be added, after the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hou-Han shu*.

[143] *Ciyu shi* 次玉石 is second-class jade-stone.

[144] Yiwu 伊吾 is the same as the Yiwulu 伊吾盧 in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hou-Han shu*.

[145] "The king of Shule 疎勒, Chenpan 臣槃": His life and works can be found in the "Xiyu

zhuan" of *Hou-Han shu*.

[146] "West of the sea" 海西 refers to Da Qin.

[147] *Weilüe*, as quoted in *Beitang shuchao* 北堂書鈔 (ch. 129), reads: "The king of Shule offered a belt decorated with red precious stones of Da Qin".

[148] *Xiyu jiutu* 西域舊圖 is not mentioned in the "Jingji zhi" 經籍志 section of *Suishu* 隋書, having long previously been lost.

大秦多金、銀、銅、鐵、鉛、錫、神龜[149]、白馬、朱髦[150]、駭雞犀[151]、瑇瑁[152]、玄熊[153]、赤螭[154]、辟毒鼠[155]、大貝[156]、車渠[157]、瑪瑙[158]、南金[159]、翠爵[160]、羽翮、象牙[161]、符采玉[162]、明月珠[163]、夜光珠[164]、真白珠、虎珀[165]、珊瑚、赤白黑綠黃青紺縹紅紫十種流離[166]、璆琳[167]、琅玕[168]、水精[169]、玫瑰[170]、雄黃[171]、雌黃[172]、碧[173]、五色玉、黃白黑綠紫紅絳紺金黃縹留黃十種氍毹、五色毾㲪、五色九色首下毾㲪[174]、金縷繡[175]、雜色綾、金塗布[176]、緋持布[177]、發陸布[178]、緋持渠布[179]、火浣布[180]、阿羅得布[181]、巴則布[182]、度代布[183]、溫宿布[184]、五色桃布[185]、絳地[186]金織帳、五色斗帳[187]、一微木[188]、二蘇合[189]、狄提[190]、迷迷[191]、兜納[192]、白附子[193]、薰陸[194]、鬱金[195]、芸膠[196]、薰草木十二種香[197]。

The following are found in large quantities in Da Qin: gold, silver, copper (bronze), iron, tin, marvelous tortoises[149], white horses with red (vermilion) manes[150], the rhinoceros which frightens chickens[151], tortoise shell[152], black bears[153], red *chi* 螭 (dragon)[154], the rat which avoids poison[155], conches[156], *cheju* 車渠[157], agate[158], southern gold[159], kingfisher gems[160], kingfisher feathers, elephant tusks (ivory)[161], *fucai* 符采 jade[162], the full moon pearl[163], the night shining pearl[164], true white pearls, amber[165], coral, opaque glass of ten colors: carnation, white black, green, yellow, blue, purple, azure, red, and red-brown[166], *qiulin* 璆琳 (a kind of jade-stone)[167], *langgan* 琅玕 (a beautiful pearl-like stone)[168], crystal[169], mica[170], realgar[171], orpiment[172], *bi* 碧 stones[173], multi-colored jade, *qushu* 氍毹 cloth of ten colors: yellow, white, black, green, red-brown, red, crimson, purple, gold-yellow, azure-tinged yellow, multi-colored *tadeng* 毾㲪 cloth, multi-colored or nine-colored *tadeng* 毾㲪 scarves[174], gold-threaded embroideries[175], damasks of various colors, gold-painted cloth[176], *Feichi* 緋持 cloth[177], *Falu* 發陸 cloth[178], *Feichiqu* 緋持渠 cloth[179], fire-washed cloth (asbestos)[180], *Aluode*

阿羅得 cloth[181], *Baze* 巴則 cloth[182], *Dudai* 度代 cloth[183], Wensu 溫宿 cloth[184], multi-colored peach cloth[185], curtains woven with gold on a crimson background[186], curtains embroidered with gold threads 金織帳, multi-colored bracketed curtains[187], *weimu* 微木 [188], storax[189], *diti* 狄提[190], *mimi* 迷迷[191], *Douna* 兜納[192], monk's hood[193] and wolf's-bane (aconitum)[194], frankincense[195], rue (or glue made from rue)[196], and twelve kinds of perfumes from fragrant trees and plants[197].

[149] "Marvelous tortoises" 神龜: This refers to either tortoises or tortoise shells. According to some scholars, the record about Da Qin producing tortoises is not necessarily true; it was perhaps a result of the idealization of Da Qin by the Chinese at that time.[28]

[150] For 白馬、朱髦, the entry on Da Qin in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Weishu* reads 白馬朱鬣. According to some, the four characters should be read together, meaning "white horses with red manes".[29]

[151] "The rhinoceros which frightens chickens" 駭雞犀 is also seen in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hou-Han shu*.

[152] "Tortoise shell" 瑇瑁: This is the shell of the *Chelonia imbricate* according to some scholars.[30]

[153] *Xuanxiong* 玄熊 are black bears.

[154] "Red *chi* (dragon)" 赤螭: Some scholars regard it as referring to a kind of reptile,[31] while others think that *chi* is a kind of dragon, which was an intelligent animal in the imagination of the Chinese. It goes without saying that there were no such animals in Da Qin, but it is mentioned in this memoir that there are many *chi* in Da Qin, another manifestation of contemporary idealization.[32]

[155] "The rat which avoids poison" 辟毒鼠: Some scholars think that it refers to the stoat or the yellow weasel, i.e., the *rute* rat 褥特鼠 which the state of Jibin 罽賓 presented to the emperor in the sixteenth year of the Zhenguan 貞觀 reign-period (642 CE) as is recorded in the "Xiyu zhuan (shang)" 西域傳上 of *Xin Tangshu* 新唐書: "With a pointed mouth and a red tail, it can eat snakes. When one is bitten [by a snake], if one inhales the smell of the rat and then urinates, the wound will soon heal".[33]

[156] "Conches" 大貝: Some say they are huge seashells, conches, or giant clams.[34]

[157] *Cheju* 車渠 are the *Tridacna gigas*.[35] *Cheju* were originally produced in India, and regarded as one of the seven treasures by the Buddhists. Here they are seen as a product of Da Qin, which might be a mistake.

[158] "Agate" 瑪瑙: A kind of chalcedony.[36] *Yiwen leiju* 藝文類聚 (ch. 84) quotes the "Manao le fu xu" 馬瑙勒賦序 by Cao Pi 曹丕: "*Manao* 馬瑙 is a kind of jade. It is a product of the Western Regions, with a patterned grains resembling a horse's brain; hence the name among the indigenous

people".

[159] "The southern gold" 南金: This term used to refer to the bronze produced in the south of China. "Panshui" 泮水 in the *Shi jing* 詩經: "Their large tortoises and their elephants' teeth, / And great contributions of the southern metals 元龜象齒, 大賂南金." (James Legge, trans., *The She King.*) The Mao Exegesis 毛傳: "By 'south' is meant Jing 荊 and Yang 揚". The Zheng Commentary 鄭箋: "In Jing and Yang provinces, among their articles of tribute are the three classes of metal [i.e., gold, silver, copper]". The annotations by Kong 孔疏: "*Jin* 金 refers to copper." Here, it is likely that the term is used to refer to the production of fine bronze in Da Qin.

[160] "Kingfisher gems" 翠爵: Some believe that this and the following item, "kingfisher feathers" 羽翮, should be taken as one term. The term 翠爵羽翮 does not refer to the feathers of the kingfisher bird, but rather to a kind of precious object like jadeite or emerald.[37]

[161] "Elephant tusks (ivory)": The "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hou-Han shu*: In the ninth year of the Yanxi 延熹 reign-period of Emperor Huan 桓 (166 CE), "Andun 安敦, king of Da Qin, sent an envoy from beyond the frontier of Rinan 日南 who offered elephant tusks, rhinoceros horn, and tortoise shell".[38] Rinan is the name of a prefecture. Cf. note 198.

[162] "*Fucai* jade" 符采玉 is jade with horizontal veins. The "Shudu fu" 蜀都賦 by Zuo Si 左思 in *Wenxuan* 文選 (ch. 4) states: "The horizontal veins are splendid" 符采彪炳. The commentary: "*Fucai* is jade with horizontal veins."

[163] "The full moon pearl" 明月珠 is also seen in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hou-Han shu*.

[164] "The night shining pearl" 夜光珠 should be the 夜光璧 in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hou-Han shu*.

[165] " *Hupo*" 虎珀 (amber) should be the same as the "*hupo*" 虎魄 in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hou-Han shu*.

[166] "Opaque glass" 流離 / 琉璃 is also seen in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hou-Han shu*.

[167] "*Qiulin*" 璆琳 (a kind of jade-stone): Some regard it as a kind of opaque glass, i.e., *bi liuli* 璧流離 (jade-like opaque glass).[39]

[168] "*Langgan*" 琅玕 (a beautiful pearl-like stone) is also seen in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hou-Han shu*.

[169] "*Shuijing*" 水精 is the same as "*shiying*" 石英 (crystal).[40]

[170] "*Meigui*" 玫瑰 should be "*yunmu*" 雲母 (mica).[41]

[171] "*Xionghuang*" 雄黃 is realgar.[42]

[172] "*Cihuang*" 雌黃 is orpiment (*auripigmentum*).[43]

[173] "*Bi* 碧 stones" should be the "*qing bi*" 青碧 in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hou-Han shu*.

[174] 首下毾㲪 are probably woolen scarves.

[175] "Gold-threaded embroideries" 金縷繡 should be the "embroidered tissues with gold threads" 刺金縷繡 mentioned in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hou-Han shu.* The "*jinzhizhang*" 金織帳 in the subsequent text should be the same class of object.

[176] "Gold-painted cloth" 金塗布 should be the same as the "*huangjin tu*" 黃金塗 (gold-painted cloth) in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hou-Han shu*.

[177] "Feichi cloth" 緋持布 was produced in Wuyishanli 烏弋山離 . "Feichi" 緋持 should have been "Paite" 排特. According to this memoir, "Wuyi is also called Paite".

[178] "Falu cloth" 發陸布 was produced in Propontis. "Falu" 發陸 [piuat-liuk] is a transcription of Propontis. Propontis is also called "Lüfen" 驢分 in this memoir. The variations in the transcription may have resulted from the use of different sources.

[179] "*Feichiqu* cloth" 緋持渠布 was also produced in Wuyishanli. "Paitequ" 排特渠 [buəi-dək-gia] is probably the full transcription of Prophthasia, and is mistakenly differentiated from Paite.

[180] "Fire-washed cloth" 火浣布 (asbestos) is also mentioned in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hou-Han shu*. The "San shaodi ji" 三少帝紀 of the *Weishu* in *Sanguo zhi*: "In the third year of the Jingchu 景初 reign-period (239 CE), "[Envoys from] the Western Regions presented the fire-washed cloth [as tribute] after their language had gone through multiple interpreters". The Pei 裴 Commentary: "Emperor Wen thought that fire by nature was fierce in extreme, without any life-preserving quality. He discussed this in *Dianlun* 典論, exposing the things that are impossible and freeing the wise from listening to such [nonsense]. When Emperor Ming ascended the throne, he decreed to the three most senior ministers of court: 'In the past the former Emperor had written *Dianlun*, which is immortal in its exemplary words. Let it be carved on the steles outside of the gates to the imperial temple and the imperial academy, and stand together with the [Confucian] Canon, so as to guide future generations forever'. Now, the envoys from the Western Regions came and presented the fire-washed cloth. He therefore had the treatise erased, which made him a universal laughing stock".

[181] "Aluode cloth" 阿羅得布 was produced in Alexandria, Egypt. "Aluode" 阿羅得 [a-lai-tək] is an abbreviated transcription of Alexandria. Alexandria in Egypt is one of the three metropolises in the Roman Empire; it is also noted as "Zensan" 澤散, "Chisan" 遲散, "Wudan" 烏丹, or "Wuchisan" 烏遲散 in this memoir.

[182] "Baze cloth" 巴則布 was produced in Damascus. "Baze" 巴則 [pea-tsiək] is an abbreviated transcription of Damascus. In this memoir, Damascus is also called "Sifu" 汜復.

[183] "Dudai cloth" 度代布 was produced in Tadmora. "Dudai" 度代 [dak-dək] is a transcription

of Tadmor or Tadmora, the old name of Palmyra. In this memoir, Tadmora is also called "Danlan" 旦蘭. The text quoted in the "Bubo (qi)" 布帛七 of *Taiping yulan* 太平御覽 (ch. 820) reads "Ludai" 鹿代.

[184] "Wensu cloth" 溫宿布 was produced in Antiochia. "Wensu" 溫宿 here is obviously not the small state on the Middle Route in the Western Regions. It seems that the "Wensu cloth" should be written as the "Wense cloth" 溫色布 after a different edition.[44] "Wense" 溫色 [uən-shiək] seems to be an abbreviated transcription of Antiochia. In this memoir, Antiochia is also called "Angu" 安谷, i.e., the capital of Tiaozhi in the "Dayuan liezhuan" of *Shiji*. In the era of this memoir, it belonged to Rome, and was one of the three metropolises of Da Qin.

[185] The meaning of the "multi-colored peach cloth" 桃布 is unknown. The "Bubo (qi)" of the *Taiping yulan* (ch. 820) reads "*zhenbu*" 枕布, which is perhaps correct.

[186] "Crimson background" 絳地: The "Dong Yi zhuan" 東夷傳 of the *Weishu* in *Sanguo zhi* records an edict to the queen of Wo 倭 in the twelfth month of the second year of the Jingchu 景初 reign-period: "In recognition of the gifts you have presented, we are sending you five rolls of brocade embroidered with recoiled dragons on a crimson background 絳地交龍錦, ten woolen carpets with grain patterns in relief on a crimson background, fifty rolls of crimson brocade, and fifty rolls of reddish black brocade". For the 絳地交龍錦, the Pei 裴 Commentary states, "'*di*' 地 should be '*di*' 綈. That the robe of black color worn by Emperor Wen is called *yidi* 弋綈 is an example. This character was not written correctly; if this was not a mistake of the Wei Dynasty, then the mistake must be on the part of the scribes". In my opinion, "*jiangdi*" 絳地 should mean the crimson fabric or the crimson background.[45]

[187] "Bracketed curtains" 斗帳: Their shapes are like a *dou* 斗 measure placed upside down; hence the name, *douzhang* 斗帳.

[188] The meaning of *weimu* 微木 is unknown.

[189] "*Suhe*" 蘇合 (storax) is also seen in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hou-Han shu*.

[190] "*Diti*" 狄提 is the name of a spice; its meaning unknown. The "Wang zhi" 王制 section of *Liji* 禮記 states: "The west is referred to as Diti 狄鞮." Perhaps "diti" 狄提 here is the same as "diti" 狄鞮; it is used to stand for the incense from the Western Regions. The poem "Tongsheng ge" 同聲歌 by Zhang Heng 張衡 in the anthology of *Yutai xinyong* 玉臺新詠 (ch. 1) contains the lines: "I sprinkle and sweep, cleaning the mat and pillows, / And perfume them with the *diti* incense 灑掃清枕席，鞮芬以狄香".

[191] "*Mimi*" 迷迷 : The "Xiang (er)" 香二 section of *Taiping yulan* 太平御覽 (ch. 982) reads "misong" 迷送. It quotes *Guangzhi* 廣志: "*Misong* is a product from the West of the Sea". Its nature

is like that mentioned in "Misong fu" 迷送賦 by Emperor Wen 文 of Wei and in "Misongxiang fu" 迷送香賦 by Chen Ban 陳班. One version of "Misong" 迷送 is "midie" 迷迭.[46] It is generally believed that it should be "midie" 迷迭, *Rosmarinus officinalis*, a kind of *Labiatae*, produced mainly in the Mediterranean area. In the spring and summer tiny blue or white flowers bloom; their needle-shaped leaves are fragrant.

[192] *Douna* 兜納, according to *Guangzhi* 廣志, is "produced in the mountains of the state of Piao 剽" ("Cao zhi san" 草之三 of *Bencao gangmu* 本草綱目 [ch. 14] quoting *Haiyao bencao* 海藥本草 by Li Xun 李珣).

[193] "Monk's hood" 白附子: Others think that it refers to the stem of a kind of *Iatropha janipha*.[47]

[194] "*Xunlu*" 熏陸 is wolf's-bane (aconitum), i.e., *Boswellia thurifera*.

[195] Frankincense 鬱金, according to the "Hainan zhuguo zhuan" 海南諸國傳 of *Liangshu* 梁書, "is only produced in the state of Jibin 罽賓 (Kashmir). Its flowers are yellow and thin, like the lotus flowers with seeds. The people in that state first present them to the Buddhist temples. After a few days the fragrance fades and they are discarded. The merchants purchase them from the temples and then sell them to other states". The *Yiqiejing yinyi* 一切經音義 (ch. 24) has a similar record. It is produced in Da Qin and Persia, and its shape is similar to the descriptions above. It is probably the *Tulipa gesneriana*.

[196] Rue (or glue made from rue) 芸膠 should be *Ruta graveolens* (芸香). The "Cao bu" 艸部 section in the dictionary *Shuowen jiezi* 說文解字 (ch. 2): "*Yun* 芸 is a kind of grass 草; it resembles the lucerne 苜蓿". "Xiang (er)" 香二 in *Taiping yulan* (ch. 982), quoting *Guangzhi* 廣志: "Of the glue made of rue, there is the Anxi glue 安息膠 and the black glue 黑膠".

[197] "Twelve kinds of perfumes" 十二種香 : The character *er* 二 is suspected to be redundant, since it is known that there are ten kinds of perfumes.

大秦道既從海北陸通，又循海而南，與交趾七郡[198]外夷比，又有水道通益州[199]、永昌[200]，故永昌出異物。

Not only is there a route to Da Qin running through the land north of the sea, but there is also a route from the south skirting the sea, which connects with the barbarians outside the seven prefectures of Jiaozhi 交趾[198]. There is also a water route communicating with Yizhou 益州[199] and Yongchang 永昌[200] [prefectures], and that is why Yongchang produces exotica.

[198] "The seven prefectures of Jiaozhi" 交趾七郡 is the same as the "seven prefectures of Jiaozhou" 交州七郡: Nanhai 南海 (its seat was in present-day Guangzhou 廣州, Guangdong 廣東 Province), Cangwu 蒼梧 (its seat was in present-day Wuzhou 梧州, Guangxi 廣西 Province), Yulin 鬱林 (its seat was west of present-day Guiping 桂平), Hepu 合浦 (its seat was southwest of present-day Pubei 浦北, Guangxi 廣西), Jiaozhi 交趾 (its seat was northwest of Hanoi), Jiuzhen 九真 (its seat was northwest of present-day Thanh Hóa 清化), Rinan 日南 (its seat was situated in the valleys of the Quảng Trị 廣治 and Cam Lộ 甘露 rivers in present-day Binh Tri Thien 平治天 Province, Vietnam).

[199] Yizhou 益州 was the name of a prefecture; its seat was east of present-day Jinning 晉寧, Yunnan 雲南 Province.

[200] Yongchang 永昌 was the name of a prefecture; its seat was northeast of present-day Baoshan 保山 , Yunnan Province.

前世但論有水道，不知有陸道，今其略如此。其民人戶數不能備詳也。自蔥領西，此國最大，置諸小王甚多，故錄其屬大者矣。[201]

Former generations only mentioned a sea route, and did not know of a land route. Here now is a summary. As for the numbers of individuals and households, we cannot set them out in detail. This state is the largest west of the Cong 蔥 Mountains. The various petty kings it has established are very many, so [only] the largest vassals are listed here.[201]

[201] "This state is the largest west of the Cong Mountains": The Da Qin in this memoir refers to the entire Roman Empire with Rome as its center, not merely its vassal states.

澤散 [202] 王屬大秦，其治在海中央，北至驢分，水行半歲，風疾時一月到，最與安息安谷城相近，西南詣大秦都不知里數。

The state of Zesan 澤散[202]: It is subject to Da Qin. The seat of the king's government is right in the middle of the sea. To the north one reaches Lüfen 驢分, going by water for half a year, [but] with favorable winds you arrive after one month. It is nearest to the town of Angu in Anxi. To the southwest [northwest], one reaches the capital of Da Qin,

how many *li* distant we do not know.

[202] “The state of Zesan: It is subject to Da Qin”: Zesan is Alexandria in Egypt. It became a dependency of Da Qin in 30 BCE. Towards the end of this section, in the passage “To the southwest, one reaches the capital of Da Qin, how many *li* distant we do not know”, “southwest” is an error for “northwest”.

驢分王屬大秦，[203] 其治去大秦都二千里。從驢分城西之大秦渡海，飛橋長二百三十里 [204]，渡海道西南行，繞海直西行。

The state of Lüfen 驢分: It is subject to Da Qin. [203]Its seat of government is 2,000 *li* from the capital of Da Qin. From the town of Lüfen going west to Da Qin one crosses over a flying sea-bridge 230 *li* long[204]. The route across the sea goes southwest; if one goes round the sea, it is due west.

[203] “The state of Lüfen: It is subject to Da Qin”: In 190 BCE, Asia Minor became subject to Rome. It was at this time that Lüfen, i.e., the Propontis area, became subject to Da Qin.

[204] “From the town of Lüfen going west to Da Qin one crosses over a flying sea-bridge 230 *li* long”: Travelling west from Propontis over the bridge across the Hellespont, one could reach the Italian Peninsula. The length of the bridge, 230 *li,* could be a mistake resulting from hearsay.

且蘭王屬大秦。[205] 從思陶國 [206] 直南渡河，乃直西行之且蘭三千里。道出河南，乃西行，從且蘭復直西行之汜復國六百里。南道會汜復，乃西南之賢督國。

The state of Qielan 且蘭: It is subject to Da Qin. [205] From the state of Sitao 思陶 [206], one goes due south across a river, and then due west to Qielan, for 3,000 *li*. When the route leads out to the south of the river, one goes west. From Qielan, one continues on due west to arrive at the state of Sifu 汜復 , 600 *li*. After the southern route meets Sifu, one goes southwest to get to the state of Xiandu 賢督.

[205] “The state of Qielan: It is subject to Da Qin”: Danlan 旦蘭 (Qielan 且蘭) is Palmyra, subject to Da Qin as early as the first century CE. The laws of the Roman Empire, proclaimed in 17

CE, had provisions about tax collection in this town.

[206] "Sitao" 思陶 [sə-du] should be a transcription of Sittake.

且蘭、汜復直南，乃有積石[207]，積石南乃有大海，出珊瑚、真珠。

Going due south from Qielan and Sifu, [one comes to] Jishi 積石 (Accumulated Rocks)[207]. To the south of Jishi is the great sea which produces corals and true pearls.

[207] "Jishi" 積石 refers to the transportation hub, Petra (Greek: Πέτρα), which lies north of Arabia and west of Hamad. "Πέτρα" means rocks; "Jishi" is its literary translation.

且蘭、汜復、斯賓[208]、阿蠻[209]北有一山，東西行。大秦、海西東各有一山，皆南北行。[210]

To the north of Qielan, Sifu, Sibin 斯賓[208] and Aman 阿蠻[209] is a mountain [range] running east-west. To the west and the east of the sea of Da Qin, each has a mountain [range] running north-south.[210]

[208] "Sibin" 斯賓 [sie-pien] is a transcription of Ctesiphon.

[209] "Aman" 阿蠻 [a-mean] is a transcription of Ecbatana.

[210] "To the west and the east of the sea of Da Qin, each has a mountain [range] running north-south": The Apennine Mountains in the Italian Peninsula and the Lebanon Mountains to the east of the Mediterranean; both mountain ranges run north-south.

賢督王屬大秦，[211]其治東北去汜復六百里。

The state of Xiandu 賢督 : It is subject to Da Qin.[211] Its seat of government is 600 *li* from Sifu 汜復 to the northeast.

[211] "The state of Xiandu: It is subject to Da Qin": It was subject to Rome from 63 BCE, but when Rome quelled the Jewish rebellion in Palestine in 70 CE, the town was destroyed. Later, a new town, called Aelia Capitalina, was built on the site of the old one.

汜復王屬大秦，[212]其治東北去于羅三百四十里渡海也。

The state of Sifu 汜復: It is subject to Da Qin.[212] Its seat of government is 340 *li* from Yuluo 于羅 to the northeast across the sea.

[212] "The state of Sifu: It is subject to Da Qin": It was subject to Rome from 64 BCE onwards.

于羅屬大秦，[213]其治在汜復東北，渡河[214]，從于羅東北又渡河，斯羅東北又渡河。[215]

[The state] of Yuluo 于羅: It is subject to Da Qin.[213] The seat of the king's government is northeast of Sifu across a river[214]. From Yuluo to the northeast, again crossing a river, [is Anxi]. From Siluo to the northeast, again crossing a river, [is also Anxi].[215]

[213] "[The state] of Yuluo: It is subject to Da Qin": There are no records as to when Yuluo 于羅 (i.e., Hatra) became subject to Rome. The few known facts are the following: Late in his reign, Trajan (r. 98-117) laid siege to Hatra, but he was unable to breach it. In 198, Septimius Severus (r. 193-211) again besieged the town, but again to no avail. This indicates how important Hatra was; both Anxi and Rome fought for it. The possibility cannot be ruled out that it once belonged to Rome. This memoir could supplement the western historical works, where there is not much information about Hatra.

[214] The river here refers to the Euphrates. Yuluo is located on its left bank.

[215] "From Yuluo to the northeast, again crossing a river, [is Anxi]. From Siluo to the northeast, again crossing a river, [is also Anxi]": One could reach Anxi by crossing the Euphrates at either Hatra or Seleucia.

斯羅國屬安息，[216]與大秦接也。

The state of Siluo 斯羅: It is subject to Anxi[216] and adjoins Da Qin.

[216] "The state of Siluo: It is subject to Anxi": This memoir states that Yuluo "is subject to Da Qin", and that Siluo "is subject to Anxi and adjoins Da Qin", indicating that in the age described in this memoir, the line of demarcation separating the spheres of influence of Anxi and Rome lay

between Siluo and Yuluo.

大秦西有海水，[217] 海水西有河水，河水西南北行有大山，西有赤水，赤水西有白玉山，白玉山有西王母 [218]，西王母西有脩流沙。流沙西有大夏國、堅沙國 [219]、屬繇國 [220]、月氏國，四國西有黑水，所傳聞西之極矣。

To the west of Da Qin is an expanse of sea, [217] to the west of which are river waters, and to the west of these are great mountains running north-south. To the west (of these) is the Red Water, and west of the Red Water is the White Jade Mountain. The White Jade Mountain is the abode of the Queen Mother of the West[218]. West of the Queen Mother of the West are the Flowing Sands; and west of the Flowing Sands are the states of Daxia 大夏, Jiansha 堅沙[219], Shuyou 屬繇[220], and Yuezhi. To the west of these four states is the Black Water, which tradition has as at the extreme west.

[217] "To the west of Da Qin is an expanse of sea" and the text hereafter may be mere hearsay.

[218] "Queen Mother of the West" 西王母 is first seen in the "Dayuan liezhuan" of *Shiji*. Her prototype may be Koubaba, i.e., Cybele, the great goddess of Anatolia.

[219] "Jiansha" 堅沙 [kyen-shea] seems to be a variation in the transcription of Guishuang 貴霜.

[220] "Shuyou" 屬繇 [zjiuok-jio] seems to be a transcription of Sugda, which used to be a dependency of Guishuang. This memoir lists Daxia, the Yuezhi, and Jiansha together despite chronological disparity, reflecting, in a round-about way, the historical process in which Daxia was destroyed by the Yuezhi, and the Yuezhi were in turn destroyed by Guishuang (Jiansha).

北新道 [221] 西行，至東且彌國 [222]、西且彌國 [223]、單桓國 [224]、畢陸國 [225]、蒲陸國 [226]、烏貪國，皆并屬車師後部王 [227]。王治于賴城 [228]，魏賜其王壹多雜守魏侍中，號大都尉，受魏王印。[229] 轉西北則烏孫 [230]、康居 [231]，本國無增損也。北烏伊別國 [232] 在康居北，又有柳國 [233]，又有巖國 [234]，又有奄蔡國 [235] 一名阿蘭 [236]，皆與康居同俗。西與大秦、東南與康居接。其國多名貂，畜牧逐水草，臨大澤 [237]，故時羈屬康居，今不屬也。

To the west, traveling along the New Northern Route [221], one reaches the states of Eastern Qiemi 且彌[222], Western Qiemi[223], Danhuan 單桓[224], Bilu 畢陸[225], Pulu 蒲

陸[226], and Wutan 烏貪, *which were all annexed and belonged to the king of the tribe* of Further Jushi 車師[227]. The seat of the king's government is the town of Yulai 于賴[228]. Wei granted Yiduoza 壹多雜 [the position of] Acting Palace Attendant of Wei, the title of Chief Commandant, and the seal of the king of Wei[229]. From this state, turning to the northwest, one reaches Wusun 烏孫 [230] and Kangju 康居[231], whose territories are as they originally were and have neither been added to nor subtracted from. The state of Northern Wuyibie 烏伊別 [232] lies north of Kangju; there are also the state of Liu 柳 [233] and the state of Yan 嚴[234]. There is in addition the state of Yancai 奄蔡[235], which is also named Alan 阿蘭[236]. These states all have the same way of life as that of Kangju. [These states] to the west adjoin Da Qin, to the southeast, Kangju. There are many renowned martens in the state [of Yancai]. In company with their stock animals [the inhabitants] go in search of water and pasture. It borders the Great Marsh [237]. Formerly, the state was subject to Kangju, but now is not subject to it.

[221] "The New Northern Route" 北新道 should be an extension of the "New Route". Specifically, one could take the New Route to travel to Gaochang 高昌 and Jiaohe 交河; from Jiaohe one could travel to the court of the king of Further Jushi, and from there one could journey west to the various states north of the Tianshan Mountains.

[222] Eastern Qiemi 東且彌 was an oasis state on the Northern Route in the Western Regions, first seen in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu*.

[223] Western Qiemi 西且彌 was an oasis state on the Northern Route in the Western Regions, first seen in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu*.

[224] Danhuan 單桓 was an oasis state on the Northern Route in the Western Regions, first seen in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu*.

[225] "Bilu" 畢陸 [piet-liuk] should be "Beilu" 卑陸, an oasis state on the Northern Route in the Western Regions mentioned in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu*.

[226] "Pulu" 蒲陸 [bua-liuk] should be "Pulei" 蒲類 in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu*.

[227] The Tribe of Further Jushi 車師後部 was an oasis state on the Northern Route in the Western Regions in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu*. The "Wuwan, Xianbei, Dong Yi zhuan" in the *Weishu* in *Sanguo zhi* mentions that Jushi paid tribute to Wei; perhaps this refers to the Tribe of Further Jushi.

[228] "Yulai" 于賴 [hiua-lan] could be a variation in the transcription of "Yulou" 于婁; the valley of Yulou was originally the seat of the king's government of Wutanzili 烏貪訾離. In the age described

in this memoir, Wutanzili was annexed by Further Jushi. It might be possible that the king of Further Jushi moved to the valley of Yulou and built a town there. Some scholars think that the valley of Yulou is in the vicinity of Manas, adjoining Wusun with the Khorgoss River as the boundary.[48]

[229] "Wei granted Yiduoza [the position of] the Acting Palace Attendant of Wei, the title of Chief Commandant, and the seal of king of Wei": This is nothing new, but a tactic adopted by the Eastern Han, because the state of Jushi held sway over the New Northern Route and guarded the communications hub at that time. The scenario is similar to the situation in the Eastern Han, when Emperor Guangwu granted the king of Suoju 莎車, Xian 賢, "the seals and ribbons of the Supreme General of Han", and Emperor Shun 順 appointed the king of Shule 疏勒, Chenpan 臣磐, "the Chief Commandant of Han".

[230] "Wusun" 烏孫 was a state of the nomadic tribes in the valleys of the Ili and Chu rivers, first seen in the "Dayuan liezhuan" of *Shiji*. The seat of its king's government was located southeast of the present-day Issyk Kul and the upper reaches of the River Narin. The "Wuwan, Xianbei, Dong Yi zhuan" of the *Weishu* in *Sanguo zhi* mentions that Wusun came over to present tribute to Wei.

[231] Kangju 康居 was a state of nomadic tribes north of the Syr Darya, first seen in the "Dayuan liezhuan" of *Shiji*. According to the "San shaodi ji" of the *Weishu* in *Sanguo zhi*, in the intercalary tenth month of the second year of the Xianxi 咸熙 reign-period, "on the day *gengchen* 庚辰, Kangju … presented its celebrated horses". "Wuwan, Xianbei, Dong Yi zhuan" in the *Weishu* of *Sanguo zhi* records that Kangju sent a tribute mission to Wei.

[232] Wuyibie 烏伊別 should be the same as "Yilie" 伊列 in the "Xi Rong zhuan" 西戎傳 of *Jinshu* 晉書, according to some scholars. "Wu" 烏 here is redundant, mistakenly added following the text above, 西北則烏孫. "*Bie*" 别 and "*Lie*" 列 are confused because of their similarity in form. "Yilie" 伊列 [iei-liat] is a transcription of Ili. If so, it is first seen in the "Fu, Chang, Gan, Chen, Duan zhuan" 傅常甘陳段傳 of *Hanshu*: "Recently, the *Chanyu* Zhizhi has made a name for himself, invading Wusun and Dayuan and plotting frequently with the Kangju in order to conquer them. If he succeeds in conquering these two states, he will then attack the state of Yilie 伊列 to the north, occupy Anxi to the west, repel the Yuezhi and Shanyiwuli 山離烏弋 to the south, and the various states of the walled towns will be in danger in the years to come". According to the "Xi Rong zhuan" of *Jinshu*, Yilie adjoins Kangju. If so, the state of Yilie should be located in the valley of the Ili River; the state may have migrated to north of Kangju in the age described in this memoir.

[233] The state of Liu 柳, according to some scholars, was located in the valley of the Volga. "Liu" 柳 [liəu] is a transcription of Rha, an old name of Volga.[49]

[234] The state of Yan 巖, according to some scholars, was located in the valley of the Kama River, a tributary of the Volga. "Yan" 巖 [ngeam] is a transcription of Kama.[50]

[235] Yancai 奄蔡 was a state of nomadic tribes north of Aral and Caspian Seas, first mentioned in the "Dayuan liezhuan" of *Shiji*.

[236] "Alan" 阿蘭 [a-lan] is a transcription of "Alan" in western history. According to the text in this memoir, "the state of Yancai … is also named Alan".[51]

[237] "The Great Marsh" here refers to the Black Sea. Yancai, according to this memoir, adjoins Da Qin, i.e., the Roman Empire, in the west. We might as well conclude that the hub of activities of the Yancai people had shifted from north of the Aral and Caspian to north of the Black Sea.

呼得國[238]在葱嶺北，烏孫西北，康居東北，勝兵萬餘人，隨畜牧，出好馬，有貂。

The state of Hude 呼得[238]: It is located to the north of the Cong Mountains, northwest of Wusun, and northeast of Kangju, and there are over 10,000 persons able to bear arms. The people [move around] in company with their stock-animals. The land produces fine horses, and there are martens in it.

[238] "Hude" 呼得, according to some scholars, is "Hujie" 呼揭 in the "Xiongnu liezhuan" 匈奴列傳 of *Shiji*. The state was located in the southern foothills of the Altai Mountains.[52]

堅昆國[239]在康居西北，勝兵三萬人，隨畜牧，亦多貂，有好馬。

The state of Jiankun 堅昆[239]: It is located to the northwest of Kangju, and has 30,000 persons able to bear arms. The people [move around] in company with their stock-animals. There are also many martens and fine horses.

[239] "Jiankun" 堅昆 is the same as "Gekun" 隔昆 (Kirghiz) below. Its people, a nomadic tribe, moved around in the upper reaches of the Yenisei River. The state should have been located to the northeast of Kangju.

丁令國[240]在康居北，勝兵六萬人，隨畜牧，出名鼠皮，白昆子、青昆子皮[241]。

The state of Dingling 丁令[240]: It is located to the north of Kangju, and has 60,000 persons able to bear arms. The people [move around] in company with their stock-animals. It produces renowned fur of martens (?), and fur of white and blue *kunzi* 昆子 [241] (*kun* 昆, a kind of beast).

[240] "Dingling" 丁令 is the term for the nomadic tribes to the north of the Xiongnu and in the area of Lake Baikal.

[241] "The fur of white and blue *kunzi*" 白昆子青昆子皮: According to the "Shou (ersi)" 獸二四 section of *Taiping yulan* 太平御覽 (ch. 912), which cites *Weilüe*, "The state of Dingling produces the fur of blue and white *huizi* (*xunzi*) 猈子". Some believe that *huizi* 猈子 is the *hunshu* 鼲鼠 ("grey rat").[53]

此上三國，堅昆中央，俱［東］去匈奴 [242] 單于庭安習水 [243] 七千里，南去車師六國 [244] 五千里，西南去康居界三千里，西去康居王治八千里。

Of these three states mentioned above, Jiankun lies at the center, and all are 7,000 *li* from the court of the Xiongnu's Chanyu[242] on the Anxi 安習 River[243], are 5,000 *li* from the six states of Jushi[244] to the south, 3,000 *li* from the frontier of Kangju to the southwest, and 8,000 *li* from the seat of the king's government of Kangju to the west.

[242] The Xiongnu were renowned nomadic tribes. They thrived during the reign of the *Chanyu* Modu (r. 209-174), who unified the northern steppe, subjugating the various states in the Western Regions and invading the south constantly. They became the gravest border menace to the dynasties in the Central Plains. The Xiongnu were in decline in the age described in this memoir.

[243] The Anxi River 安習水 is the present-day Orkhon River. "Anxi" 安習 should be a corruption of "Anhou" 安侯. The "Anhou River" 安侯水 was first seen in the "Xiongnu zhuan" of *Hanshu*.[54]

[244] "The six states of Jushi" 車師六國 first appear in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hou-Han shu*, referring to Nearer and Further Jushi, Eastern and Western Qiemi, Beilu 卑陸, Pulei 蒲類, and Yizhi 移支.

或以爲此丁令卽匈奴北丁令也。而北丁令在烏孫西， [245] 似其種別也。又匈奴北有渾窳國 [246]，有屈射國 [247]，有丁令國，有隔昆國 [248]，有新梨國 [249]，明北海 [250] 之南自復有丁令，非此烏孫之西丁令也。 [251]

Some believe that this Dingling 丁令 is none other than the Dingling to the north of the Xiongnu, and the Northern Dingling are located to the west of the Wusun, [245] [yet] it seems that they are of different races. There are the states of Hunyu 渾窳[246], Qushe 屈射[247], Dingling, Gekun 隔昆[248], and Xinli 新梨 [249] to the north of the Xiongnu. This shows that there is also a Dingling to the south of the Northern Sea[250]; this is not a reference to the Dingling located to the west of Wusun. [251]

[245] "The Northern Dingling are located to the west of the Wusun" 北丁令在烏孫西: The character *bei* 北 (north) should be emended to *ci* 此 (this), in keeping with the text in the "Xi Rong (wu)" 西戎五 of "Bianfang (jiu)" 邊防九 section of *Tongdian* 通典; the error was caused by the similarity in form of the two characters.

[246] "Hunyu" 渾窳 is the same as the "Hunyu" 渾庾 in the "Xiongnu liezhuan" of *Shiji*. The people were nomadic tribes to the north of the Xiongnu; they were once conquered by the *Chanyu* Modu.

[247] "Qushe" 屈射 was first mentioned in the "Xiongnu liezhuan" of *Shiji*. Its people were nomadic tribes to the north of the Xiongnu; they were once conquered by the *Chanyu* Modu.

[248] "Gekun" 隔昆 is the "Gekun" 鬲昆 in the "Xiongnu liezhuan" of *Shiji*. Its people were nomadic tribes to the north of the Xiongnu; they were once conquered by the *Chanyu* Modu.

[249] "Xinli" 新梨 is the "Xinli" 薪犁 in the "Xiongnu liezhuan" of *Shiji*. Its people were nomadic tribes to the north of the Xiongnu; they were once conquered by the *Chanyu* Modu. It should be pointed out that the statement, "There are the states of Hunyu … to the north of the Xiongnu", etc., is taken from the "Xiongnu liezhuan" of *Shiji*, and the locations of Hude 呼得, Jiankun 堅昆, and Dingling are references to the "Chen Tang zhuan" 陳湯傳 of *Hanshu*. This was not necessarily the reality of the third century CE.

[250] "The Northern Sea" 北海 refers to the Baikal Lake.

[251] "This is not the Dingling which is located to the west of Wusun": They should be the "Northern Dingling" 北丁令 living to the north of the Xiongnu on the Mongolian Plateau; this memoir mistakenly regards one group as two.[55]

烏孫長老言北丁令有馬脛國，其人音聲似雁鶩，從膝以上身頭，人也，膝以下生毛，馬脛馬蹄，不騎馬而走疾馬，其爲人勇健敢戰也。[252]

The elders of Wusun say that the Northern Dingling have a state of Majing 馬脛 ("Horse's Shank"). The people's voices resemble the cries of wild geese and ducks. From the knee above, body and head, they are human; from the knee they have horse's shanks and horse's hooves with hair. They run faster than a horse without resorting to riding horses. They are bold, strong, and daring warriors.[252]

[252] The "state of Majing ("Horse's Shank")" 馬脛國: According to the "Hainei jing" 海内經 of *Shanhai jing* 山海經, "There is a land of the Dingling 釘靈 people. Its people have hairy legs below their knees as well as horse hooves. They are adept at running". (Richard E. Strassberg, *A Chinese Bestiary* [Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002], p. 226.) This may be imagined because they are adept at running. Some think that this is based on the analogy with the Centaur in Greek mythology.[56]

短人國 [253] 在康居西北，男女皆長三尺，人衆甚多，去奄蔡諸國甚遠。康居長老傳聞常有商度此國，去康居可萬餘里。

The Land of the Dwarves (short people) [253]: It is located to the northwest of Kangju. Its men and women are all (only) three *chi* 尺 tall. The population is very numerous. It is very far from the various states such as Yancai 奄蔡 and others. The elders of Kangju relate that travelers have often crossed this state. It is about 10,000 *li* and more from Kangju.

[253] The location of the Land of the Dwarves 短人國 is unknown. Some believe that the Land of the Dwarves should be the land of Zhourao 周饒 described in the "Haiwai nan jing" 海外南經 of *Shanhai jing* and the land of Jiaojiao 焦僥 (*junren* 菌人) and *jingren* 靖人, respectively, in the "Dahuang nan jing" 大荒南經 and "Dahuang dong jing" 大荒東經 sections of the same book. "Zhourao" 周饒, "jiaojiao" 焦僥 , "junren" 菌人, and "jingren" 靖人 are all synonyms of dwarf ("zhuru" 侏儒). Legends concerning dwarves and cranes can be found in the *Geography* of Strabo (I, 2-35; XV, 1-57)[57] and the *Natural History* of Pliny (VII, 26);[58] such legends could have reached China via the Eurasian Steppe.[59] In addition, *Shiji suoyin* 史記索隱 (ch. 123) cites *Kuodizhi* 括地志: "The land of the Dwarves is located south of Da Qin, where people are only three *chi* 尺 in height. While they are working in the fields plowing and planting, they fear that they might be eaten by cranes. The [men]

of Da Qin protect and help them. It is the same as the state of Jiaojiao 焦僥, where the people live in caves". The "Siyi (yiqi)" 四夷一七 section of *Taiping yulan* 太平御覽 (ch. 796) quotes *Tujue benmo ji* 突厥本末記: "Traveling north one month from Tujue 突厥, one reaches the Land of the Dwarves. The tallest of these people do not exceed three *chi* in height; there are also people as tall as only two *chi*. They have no hair on their heads, which resemble the afterbirth of sheep. They are referred to by the Turks as those with 'the heads of sheep afterbirth'. All around their state there are no creatures that can harass them, and there are no robbers and brigands. [What bothers them] are only big birds, as tall as from seven to eight *chi*. They always wait for a chance to peck and eat the dwarves, who all carry bows and arrows as a defense against them".

魚豢 [254] 議曰：俗以爲營廷之魚 [255] 不知江海之大，浮游之物 [256] 不知四時之氣，是何也？以其所在者小與其生之短也。余今汜覽外夷大秦諸國，猶尚曠若發蒙矣，況夫鄒衍之所推出 [257]，《大易》[258]、《太玄》[259] 之所測度乎！徒限處牛蹄之涔 [260]，又無彭祖 [261] 之年，無緣托景風 [262] 以迅遊，載騕褭 [263] 以遐觀，但勞眺乎三辰 [264]，而飛思乎八荒 [265] 耳。

Yu Huan 魚豢 [254] makes the following observations: It is generally realized that a fish living in a small pond[255] is unaware of the grandeur of [the Yangtze] River or the ocean, and that an insect like the *fuyou* 浮游 (which lives only for a day) [256] knows nothing of the four seasons. Why is this? It is because the domicile of one is too confined, and the life of the other too short. As for me now, looking at the foreign tribes and upon such states as Da Qin, I have found it a great task from which I have learned a great deal, albeit far short of the realms deduced by Zou Yan 鄒衍 [257] and those estimated by the *Dayi* 大易 [258] and *Taixuan* 太玄[259]! We only live in a puddle formed by a cow's hoof print [260], and have not the longevity of Peng Zu 彭祖[261]; nor can we rely on the south wind[262] to travel swiftly and drive a *yaoniao* 騕褭 (mighty steed) [263] to gaze into the far beyond. All we can do is tiredly gaze towards the sun, the moon, and the stars[264], and let our thoughts fly to the outlying wilderness on all sides[265].

[254] Yu Huan 魚豢 flourished in the state of Wei during the period of Three Kingdoms. He authored *Weilüe* 魏略; the 50-chapter work no longer extant. Wang Renjun 王仁俊 in the Qing Dynasty assembled the quotations from the book preserved in other sources into a single chapter (*juan* 卷).

[255] "Yingting zhi yu" 滢廷之魚 refers to fish that swim in shallow water. "Yingting" 滢廷 is also written 渟瀯 or 灊瀯 , meaning "a puddle of brackish water".

[256] "Fuyou zhi wu" 浮游之物: An insect with a very short life.

[257] "Those deduced by Zou Yan" 鄒衍之所推出 is a reference to the works of Zou Yan. The "Yiwen zhi" 藝文志 of *Hanshu* lists *Zouzi* 鄒子, comprising 49 pieces, and *Zouzi zhongshi* 鄒子終始 , consisting of 56 pieces. Zou Yan, from the state of Qi, was a sophist, known for his discourses on astronomy and cosmogony. The "Mengzi Xunqing liezhuan" 孟子荀卿列傳 of *Shiji* states: "The art of Zou Yan can be characterized by pedantry, absurdity, and sophistry".

[258] *Dayi* 大易 refers to the *Yi jing* 易經 (*Book of Changes*).

[259] *Taixuan* 太玄 was authored by Yang Xiong 揚雄 of the Western Han. *Yijing* and *Taixuan jing* 太玄經 both make divinations based on hexagrams.

[260] "Chuzhen xun" 俶真訓 in *Huainanzi* 淮南子 records: "In a puddle formed by a cow's hoof print one cannot find a carp of ten *chi*" 夫牛蹏之涔無尺之鯉. Annotation by Gao You 高誘: "*Cen* 涔 is a puddle".

[261] Peng Zu 彭祖: A legendary figure who lived for 800 years; see *Liexian zhuan* 列仙傳 by Liu Xiang 劉向.

[262] "*Jingfeng*" 景風: The south wind.

[263] "*Yaoniao*" 騕褭: Fine horses, mighty steeds.

[264] "*San chen*" 三辰 here refers to the sun, the moon, and the stars.

[265] "*Ba huang*" 八荒 means the outlying wilderness on all sides.

NOTES

1 Ran Guangrong 冉光榮, Li Shaoming 李紹明, and Zhou Xiyin 周錫銀, *Qiangzu shi* 羌族史 (Chengdu: Sichuan renmin chubanshe, 1985), p. 98.

2 Cf. Zhou Liankuan 周連寬, "Han Ruo Qiang guo kao" 漢婼羌國考, *Zhongya xuekan* 中亞學刊 1 (1983): 8-90.

3 Huang Lie 黃烈, "'Shoubaili','shouhai' wenshu yu tong Xiyu daolu de bianqian" 守白力,守海文書與通西域道路的變遷, in *Zhongguo gudai minzu shi yanjiu* 中國古代民族史研究 (Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 1987), pp. 431-458. This article argues that the route did not change. The statement that "the Southern Route "crosses the Ruo Qiang, turns to the west" means only that the

route passes through the northern border of Ruo Qiang.

4 See Wang Guowei 王國維, "*Liusha zhuijian* xu" 流沙墜簡序, *Guantang jilin* 觀堂集林 (ch. 17) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1984), pp. 819-834, esp. p. 829.

5 Cf. Yu Taishan 余太山, *Saizhong shi yanjiu* 塞種史研究 (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 1992), pp. 228-241.

6 See Huang Lie, "'Shoubaili', 'shouhai' wenshu yu tong Xiyu daolu de bianqian"; and Meng Fanren 孟凡人, *Loulan xinshi* 樓蘭新史 (Beijing: Guangming ribao chubanshe, 1990), pp. 115-125.

7 Matsuda Hisao 松田壽男, *Kodai Tenzan no rekishi-chirigakuteki kenkyū* 古代天山の歴史地理學的研究 (Geo-historical studies on the ancient Tianshan region) (Tokyo: Waseda daigaku, 1970), pp. 118-121.

8 Ma Yong 馬雍, "Dong Han houqi Zhongya ren lai Hua kao" 東漢後期中亞人來華考, *Xiyu shidi wenwu congkao* 西域史地文物叢考 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1990), pp. 46-59.

9 It is recorded in the "Zhu Yi zhuan" 諸夷傳 of *Liangshu* 梁書: "During the reign of Emperor Wen 文 of Wei, the king of Yutian, Shanxi 山習, presented fine horses". The event could have occurred in the third year of the Huangchu 黄初 reign-period.

10 See Édouard Chavannes, "Les pays d'Occident d'après le Wei-lio", *T'oung Pao* 6 (1905): 519-571. Feng Chengjun 馮承鈞, trans., "*Weilüe* 'Xi Rong zhuan' jianzhu" 魏略西戎傳箋注, in *Xiyu Nanhai shidi kaozheng yicong qibian* 西域南海史地考證譯叢七編 (Beijing: Shangwu, 1962), pp. 41-57.

11 See Fang Guangchang 方廣錩, "Jiapiluowei hechu shi" 迦毗羅衛何處是, in *Fayin* 法音 1983.6: 75-76.

12 See Huilin 慧琳, *Yiqiejing yinyi* 一切經音義 (ch. 23). The notes on Linni are from Fang Guangchang, "*Futujing* kao" 浮屠經考, *Guoji Hanxue* 國際漢學 1 (1995): 247-256.

13 Lu Bi 盧弼, *Sanguo zhi jijie* 三國志集解 (ch. 30), facsimile edition (Beijing, Zhonghua shuju, 1982), p. 706.

14 There are various versions of the text in this section; see Uchida Ginpū 内田吟風, "Giryaku Tenjiku Rinjiden ibun shūroku kōshō" 魏略天竺臨兒傳遺文集錄考證 (A study on the fragment of the "Memoir on the state of Linni in Tianzhu" in the *Weilüe*), in *Etani Sensei koki kinen: Jōdokyo no shisō to bunka* 惠谷先生古稀記念: 淨土教の思想と文化 (Kyoto: Bukkyo daigaku, 1972), pp. 1013-1022. See also Fujita Toyohachi 藤田豐八, "Bukkyō denrai ni kansuru Giryaku no honbun ni tsukite" 佛教傳來に關する魏略の本文につきて (The text of the *Weilüe* concerning the transmission of Buddhism to China), in *Tōzai kōsyōshi no kenkyū: Seiikihen* 東西交渉史の研究・西域篇 (Historical studies on East-West contacts: The Western Regions) (Seibunkan, 1943),

pp. 389-406.

15 For detail, see Tang Yongtong 湯用彤, *Han Wei Liang Jin Nanbeichao Fojiao shi* 漢魏兩晉南北朝佛教史 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1983), 1: 34-36.

16 Lu Bi, *Sanguo zhi jijie.*

17 F. W. Thomas, "Sandanes, Nahapāna, Caṣṭana and Kaniṣka: Tung-li, P'an-ch'i and Chinese Turkestan", *New Indian Antiquary* 7 (1944): 79-100.

18 Shiratori Kurakichi 白鳥庫吉, "Seiikishi jyō no sinkenkyū: Dai Getsushi kō" 西域史上の新研究・大月氏考 (New studies in the history of the Western Regions: On the Da Yuezhi), in *Shiratori Kurakichi zensyū*, vol. 6: *Seiikishi kenkyū* (jyō) 白鳥庫吉全集・西域史研究上 (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1970), pp. 97-227, esp. 129-164.

19 Cf. Yu Taishan, *Saizhong shi yanjiu,* pp. 210-215.

20 Shiratori Kurakichi, "Jyōshikoku kō" 條支國考 (On the state of Tiaozhi), in *Shiratori Kurakichi zensyū*, vol. 7: *Seiikishi kenkyū* (ge) 白鳥庫吉全集・西域史研究 (下), (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1971), pp. 205-236, esp. 209-210.

21 For detailed studies on the geography of the state of Da Qin, cf. Yu Taishan, *Saizhong shi yanjiu*, pp. 193-196.

22 For detail, see Shiratori Kurakichi, "Daishinden ni arawaretaru Shina shisō" 大秦傳に 現はれたる支那思想 (Chinese ideas reflected in the "Da Qin zhuan"), in *Shiratori Kurakichi zensyū*, vol. 7: *Seiikishi kenkyū* (ge), pp. 237-302, esp. 288-289.

23 Cf. D. D. Leslie and K. H. J. Gardiner, *The Roman Empire in Chinese Sources* (Roma: 1996), pp. 150-152, 222-223.

24 For detail, see Shiratori Kurakichi, "Daishinden ni arawaretaru Shina shisō", esp. p. 285.

25 For the products of Da Qin, see Yu Taishan, *Liang Han Wei Jin Nanbeichao zhengshi Xiyu zhuan yanjiu* 兩漢魏晉南北朝正史西域傳研究 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2003), pp. 284-312.

26 Lu Bi, *Sanguo zhi jijie,* p. 709.

27 For relevant discussions, see Fujita Toyohachi 藤田豐八, "Tō oyobi tōtō kusū ni tsukite" 榻及び毾㲪氍毹につきて (On *ta* [couch] and *tadeng* [carpet], *qusou* [blanketry]), in *Tōzai kōsyōshi no kenkyū: Nankai-hen* 東西交渉史の研究・南海篇 (Historical studies on East-West Contacts: The Southern Sea) (seibunkan, 1943), pp. 611-627; Ma Yong 馬雍 , "Xinjiang Qulu wenshu zhong zhi 'kośava' ji qusou kao: Jianlun 'Qusou' gu diming" 新疆佉卢文书中之 kośava 即氍毹考——兼论 " 渠搜 " 古地名 , in *Xiyu shidi wenwu congkao* 西域史地文物叢考 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1990), pp. 112-115; and Leslie and Gardiner, *The Roman Empire in Chinese Sources,* p. 214.

28 For details, see Shiratori Kurakichi, "Daishinden ni arawaretaru Shina shisō," esp. p. 287.

29 Leslie and Gardiner, *The Roman Empire in Chinese Sources*, p. 202.

30 Cf. Edward H. Schafer, *The Golden Peaches of Samarkand* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1963); trans. Wu Yugui 吳玉貴, *Tangdai wailai wenming* 唐代外來文明 (Beijing: Zhonguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 1995), pp. 463-464.

31 Leslie and Gardiner, *The Roman Empire in Chinese Sources,* p. 203.

32 For detail, see Shiratori Kurakichi, "Daishinden ni arawaretaru Shina shisō," esp. p. 288.

33 See Leslie and Gardiner, *The Roman Empire in Chinese Sources,* p. 203.

34 See Leslie and Gardiner, *The Roman Empire in Chinese Sources,* p. 202.

35 Cf. Schafer, *The Golden Peaches of Samarkand / Tangdai wailai wenming*, p. 522.

36 Cf. Zhang Hongzhao 章鴻釗, *Shiya, Baoshishuo* 石雅・寶石說 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1993), pp. 35-41; Schafer, *The Golden Peaches of Samarkand / Tangdai wailai wenming*, pp. 496-497.

37 Cf. Leslie and Gardiner, *The Roman Empire in Chinese Sources,* p. 212.

38 Cf. Schafer, *The Golden Peaches of Samarkand / Tangdai Wailai Wenming,* pp. 514-516.

39 Zhang Hongzhao, *Shiya, Baoshishuo,* pp. 1-26.

40 Cf. Schafer, *The Golden Peaches of Samarkand / Tangdai wailai wenming*, pp. 463-464; Zhang Hongzhao, *Shiya, Baoshishuo,* pp. 42-48.

41 Zhang Hongzhao, *Shiya, Baoshishuo,* pp. 51-57.

42 Cf. Schafer, *The Golden Peaches of Samarkand / Tangdai wailai wenming,* p. 478. Zhang Hongzhao, *Shiya, Baoshishuo,* pp. 218-220.

43 Cf. Schafer, *The Golden Peaches of Samarkand / Tangdai wailai wenming,* pp. 463-464. Zhang Hongzhao, *Shiya, Baoshishuo*, pp. 218-220.

44 Lu Bi, *Sanguo zhi jijie,* p. 710.

45 Cf. F. Hirth, *China and the Roman Orient* (Shanghai and Hong Kong: 1885), pp. 253-254; Leslie and Gardiner, *The Roman Empire in Chinese Sources,* p. 216.

46 Lu Bi, *Sanguo zhi jijie,* p. 710.

47 Schafer, *The Golden Peaches of Samarkand / Tangdai wailai wenming,* p. 409.

48 See Matsuda Hisao, *Kodai Tenzan no rekishi-chirigakuteki kenkyū*, pp. 111-112.

49 Shiratori Kurakichi, "Daishinden yori mitaru seiiki no chiri" 大秦傳より見たる西域の地理 (The geography of the Western Regions on the basis of the "Memoir on Da Qin", in *Shiratori Kurakichi zensyū*, vol. 7: *Seiikishi kenkyū* (ge), pp. 303-402, esp. pp. 367-368.

50 Shiratori Kurakichi, "Daishinden yori mitaru seiiki no chiri", pp. 303-402, esp. pp. 367-368.

51 Yu Taishan, *Saizhong shi yanjiu*, pp. 118-130.

52 Mori Masao 護雅夫, "Iwayuru hoku-teirei sai-teirei ni tsuite" いわゆる "北丁零", "西丁零" について (On the so-called "Northern Dingling" and "Western Dingling"), in *Takigawa Hakushi kanreki kinen ronbunshū: Tōyōshihen* 瀧川博士還曆記念論文集・東洋史篇 (Tokyo: Nagano Nakazawa, 1957), pp. 57-71, pp. 57-71.

53 Lu Bi, *Sanguo zhi jijie*, p. 712.

54 Ma Changshou 馬長壽, *Bei Di yu Xiongnu* 北狄與匈奴 (Sanlian shudian, 1962), p. 25.

55 Mori Masao, "Iwayuru hoku-teirei sai-teirei ni tsuite," pp. 57-71.

56 See Sun Peiliang 孫培良, "*Shanhai jing* shizheng" 山海經拾證, *Wenshi jilin* 文史集林, *Renwen zazhi congkan* 人文雜誌叢刊 1986.4: 137-150.

57 H. L. Jones, trans., *The Geography of Strabo* (London, 1916).

58 H. Rackham, trans. *Natural History* by Pliny (Harvard University Press, 1947).

59 Sun Peiliang, "*Shanhai jing* shizheng".

六 《晉書·西戎傳》(節錄)[1]要注

A CONCISE COMMENTARY ON CHAPTER 97 OF *JINSHU*, "THE MEMOIR ON THE WESTERN RONG" (EXCERPT)*

[1] According to the "Si Yi zhuan" 四夷傳 of *Jinshu* 晉書, "twenty-three states among the various barbarians came to present tribute" during the Jin Dynasty. Six states are included in the "Xi Rong zhuan" 西戎傳: Tuyuhun 吐谷渾, Yanqi 焉耆, Qiuci 龜兹, Dayuan 大宛, Kangju 康居, and Da Qin 大秦. However, only five of them belong to the "Western Regions". This is determined by the nature of the relationship between the Western Jin 晉 and the Western Regions. The period when contacts with the Western Regions occurred most frequently was the Taikang 太康 reign-period of Emperor Wu 武. There had been a long interregnum from the middle of the Taishi 泰始 reign-period to the beginning of the Taikang reign-period, lasting a decade. After the Taikang reign-period the contact came to a complete stop, because the Xianbei 鮮卑 of the Hexi 河西 region were at war with Jin from the sixth year of the Taishi reign-period (270 CE), and they occupied the Liang 涼 Province for some time. Chaos, consequently, reigned in the Hexi region in successive years, so that communications with the Western Regions could not resume until the end of the fifth year of the Xianning 咸寧 reign-period (279 CE). Soon after the Taikang reign-period, the so-called "Rebellion of the Eight Kings" occurred, which lasted for sixteen whole years, and the Western Jin Dynasty headed towards collapse from then on. The "Wudi ji" 武帝紀 in *Jinshu* records an edict issued in the sixth year of the Taishi reign-period (270 CE): "Since the beginning of the Taishi reign-period, the important events have all been recorded, and the records have been then duplicated by the secretaries. For such matters in future, the records should be compiled so that precedents can be followed". This indicates that records about the various states in the Western Regions paying tribute should be relatively unabridged, and not many states, if any, should be missing from the records. Of the various states in the Western Regions which came to present tribute to Jin, four of them were the oasis states in the Tarim Basin: Yanqi, the state of

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* The memoir is translated by Yu Taishan and edited ty Victor H. Mair.

Nearer Jushi 車師, Shanshan 鄯善, and Qiuci. In the inscribed wooden slips from Jin times unearthed at Niya, the following text is recorded: "The imperial edict for the Acting Palace Attendants and the Chief Commandants of Jin, the Great Marquises of Fengjin 奉晉 [Honoring Jin] and the Qinjin 親晉 [Enjoying Friendly Relations with Jin] kings of Shanshan, Yanqi, Qiuci, Shule 疏勒, // Yutian 于竇 had reached..." 晉守侍中大都尉奉晉大侯親晉鄯善焉耆龜茲疏勒 // 于竇王寫下詔書到 (No. 684 // 678).[1] If we add to this list of "friendly" states of Shule and Yutian, as seen in this, then we have a total of six states.[2] This is roughly the same as the number of the states which presented tribute to the Cao Wei 曹魏 Dynasty. Shanshan, Yanqi, Qiuci, Shule, and Yutian 于闐 had all been hegemons on the Southern and Northern Routes in the Western Regions, and they annexed or controlled the smaller states in the Cao Wei era. In the Cao Wei's records on the tribute-paying states there were only these large oasis states, with no mention of the smaller states at all, probably because these large states dominated them. The fact that the large oasis states presented tribute to the Western Jin in the above-mentioned situation should not, however, be regarded as an indication of the Western Jin's successful management of the area. On the contrary, this should be seen as proof of its inability to control the Western Regions. The Western Jin granted the kings of Shanshan, Yanqi, Qiuci, Shule, and Yutian the titles of "Acting Palace Attendants of Jin, Chief Commandants, Great Marquises of Fengjin [Honoring Jin], and Kings of Qinjin [Enjoying Friendly Relations with Jin]", which is similar in nature to the practice of the Cao Wei, when it granted the king of Further Jushi the post of "Acting Palace Attendant of Wei with the title of Chief Commandant and the seal of the king of Wei". The original intention of such investitures might have been to control the Western Regions through these large states. In reality, however, the Western Jin mostly aimed at presenting a false picture of peace and prosperity, and Shanshan and other states took advantage of this so the name of the dynasty in the Central Plains was invoked in their attempts to control the adjacent smaller states and to contend with other large oasis states: this was what motivated the kings of Shanshan, Qiuci, Yanqi, and other states to send their sons to attend at the Jin court. Needless to say, various economic interests were also taken into account when the large oasis states maintained contacts with the Western Jin. The main purpose in presenting tribute to the Western Jin for the states of Kangju and Dayuan, among others, was possibly trade. The king of Dayuan, Lanyu 藍庾, accepted the title granted him by Jin, in the same way as the king of the Da Yuezhi, Bodiao 波調, accepted the title granted him by Wei, not so much because the influence of the dynasty in the Central Plains reached the west of the Cong Mountains, as because of the residual prestige of the Western and Eastern Han, when they did manage the affairs of the Western Regions in an active way. The Western Jin, like the Cao Wei, also established the Wuji 戊己 Colonel and the

Chief Official in the Western Regions; the seat of the former office was at Gaochang 高昌, and that of the latter, in Loulan 樓蘭. The latter office is not mentioned in the text below, an oversight that could have been easily avoided.

…………[2]

[2] This memoir, like the "Xi Rong zhuan" 西戎傳 of *Weilüe* 魏略, also combines the events concerning the Western Regions and those concerning the Western Rong. The present Commentary only deals with events related to the Western Regions.

焉耆國[3]，西去洛陽八千二百里[4]，其地南至尉犂[5]，北與烏孫[6]接，方四百里。四面有大山，道險隘，百人守之，千人不過。[7]

The state of Yanqi 焉耆[3]: It is 8,200 *li* [4] from Luoyang 洛陽 to the west, going to the south one reaches Weili 尉犂[5], and to the north the state adjoins Wusun 烏孫[6]. The territory extends for 400 *li*. It is surrounded by large mountains; the routes are treacherous and if 100 men guard it, 1,000 cannot pass through.[7]

[3] Yanqi 焉耆 is an oasis state on the Northern Route of the Western Regions, first mentioned in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu*. The seat of its king's government should be the same as in the previous dynasties, probably located in the ancient town of Bughdaĉin.

[4] "8,200 *li*" (Distance 1): This figure is based on the distance between Yuanqu 員渠, the seat of king's government of Yanqi, and Chang'an 長安 as is recorded in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu*; i.e., the aggregate of 7,330 *li,* the distance between Yuanqu and Chang'an, and about 1,000 *li*, the approximate distance between Chang'an and Luoyang. The figure "8,200" 八千二百 should be a corruption of "8,330" 八千三百三十. It can be concluded from this that the location of the seat of the king's government of Yanqi is the same in the Western Jin as in the Western and Eastern Han.

[5] Weili 尉犂 was an oasis state on the Northern Route of the Western Regions, first mentioned in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu*. In the age described in this memoir, Weili was a dependency of Yanqi.

[6] Wusun 烏孫 was a nomadic tribe in the valleys of the Ili and Chu rivers, first mentioned in the "Dayuan liezhuan" of *Shiji*.

[7] "It is surrounded by large mountains": This describes Yanqi's geography; i.e., situated in

a basin. The “Ban Chao zhuan” 班超傳 in *Hou-Han shu* records that, when Ban Chao launched a punitive expedition against the king of Yanqi, Guang 廣, “there was a strategic position called the Wei 葦 Bridge. Guang, not wanting the Han army in his state, had the bridge destroyed. [Ban] Chao then crossed the river by another route. On the last day of the seventh month, [Ban Chao] arrived at Yanqi, encamping in a large marsh 20 *li* from the town. Guang, surprised and overwhelmed with fear, wanted to drive all his people into the mountains and defend his state from there”.

其俗丈夫翦髮[8]，婦人衣襦，著大袴。婚姻同華夏。好貨利[9]，任姦詭。王有侍衛數十人，皆倨慢無尊卑之禮。

Their way of life is as follows: the men clip their hair[8] and the women wear jackets and baggy trousers. Marriage customs are the same as those of Huaxia 華夏 [China]. They are fond of goods and profits[9], and rely on craftiness. Its king has guards who can be numbered in the tens. They are all haughty and observe no etiquette in discriminating between those who are noble and those who are base.

[8] “The men clip their hair”: It was the custom in Yanqi, as well as in Qiuci in the text below, for men to clip their hair, which is generally regarded as having been an Iranian practice. If the people of Yanqi and Qiuci were not of the Iranian race, then they must have been influenced by Iran.

[9] “They are fond of goods and profits”: The “Xiyu zhuan” in *Weishu* 魏書 records the following: When Wan Dugui 萬度歸 conquered Yanqi, he “gained possession of its rare objects and exotic curios, its cleverly crafted but hitherto unrecognized objects from distant places, and innumerable camels, horses, oxen, and other animals”. The rare objects” mentioned here could be a footnote to their “fondness for goods and profits”.

武帝太康中，其王龍[10]安遣子入侍。[11]安夫人獪胡[12]之女，姙身十二月，剖脅生子，曰會，立之爲世子。[13]會少而勇傑，安病篤，謂會曰：“我嘗爲龜茲[14]王白[15]山所辱，不忘於心。汝能雪之，乃吾子也。”及會立，襲滅白山，遂據其國，遣子熙歸本國爲王。會有膽氣籌略，遂霸西胡。蔥嶺以東[16]莫不率服。然恃勇輕率，嘗出宿於外，爲龜茲國人羅雲所殺。

During the Taikang 太康 reign-period of Emperor Wu 武 [260-289 CE], the king

[of the state of Yanqi], Long An 龍安[10], sent his son to attend at court.[11] [Long] An's consort was a daughter of the Kuai Hu 獪胡 people[12]. After twelve months of pregnancy her flank was cut open and she gave birth to a son who was named Kuai 會 and who was established as prince.[13] [Although] Kuai was young, he was brave and sagacious. [When] [Long] An became gravely ill he told Kuai: "I once was insulted by the king of Qiuci[14] Bai Shan 白山 [15], and have not forgotten it in my heart. You will be able to avenge me; you are indeed my son!" When Kuai became king, he made a surprise attack, destroyed Bai Shan, then seized his state while sending his son Xi 熙 back to his own state to be king. Kuai was possessed of both courage and strategy, and subsequently established his hegemony over the Western Hu 胡. East of the Cong 葱 Mountains [16] there were none who did not follow him. But, relying on courage he was given to rashness. Once he went to stay overnight outside of his palace and was killed by Luoyun 羅雲, a man of the state of Qiuci.

[10] "Long" 龍 was a popular family name in Yanqi.[3]

[11] According to the "Wudi ji" 武帝紀 of *Jinshu*, in the tenth month in the winter of the sixth year of the Taikang reign-period (285 CE), "Yanqi sent its prince to attend at the court". According to the same *benji* 本紀 (basic annals), in the ninth month of the sixth year of the Taishi 泰始 reign-period, "Yanqi came to present local products [as tribute]". In addition, according to "Xuandi ji" 宣帝紀 in *Jinshu*, in the first month of the spring in the first year of the Zhengshi 正始 reign-period (240 CE) of Wei, Yanqi, Weixu 危須, and other states "sent envoys to present tribute".

[12] "Kuai Hu" 獪胡: It is believed by some that the "Kuai Hu" were the "Jie Hu" 羯胡.[4]

[13] The record here reveals much important information about the origins of the Kuai Hu, since birth from the side of the body is a characteristic motif in the mythology of the Indo-Europeans.[5] Since there had been no legends about births from the side of the body in the royal family of Yanqi, this myth could only have come from the Kuai Hu, which lends evidence to the proposition that the Kuai Hu were the same people as the Jie Hu.

[14] Qiuci 龜茲 was an oasis state on the Northern Route in the Western Regions, first mentioned in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu*.

[15] "Bai" [or "Bo"] 白 is also written as "Bo" 帛, a popular family name in Qiuci.[6]

[16] "East of the Cong 葱 Mountains" refers to the various states on the Southern and Northern Routes in the Western Regions. "Congling" 蔥嶺 is the same as the "Congling" 葱嶺, i.e., the Pamirs.

Yanqi and Qiuci were both large states on the Northern Route in the Western Regions, and the conflicts between Long An and Bai Shan were a manifestation of the strife for hegemony on the part of these two large oasis states. The background for this was the inability for the powers of the Central Plains and of the region north of the Great Wall to reach the Western Regions.

其後張駿 [17] 遣沙州刺史楊宣 [18] 率衆疆理西域，宣以部將張植爲前鋒，所向風靡。軍次其國，熙距戰於賁崙城 [19]，爲植所敗。植進屯鐵門 [20]，未至十餘里，熙又率衆先要之於遮留谷 [21]。植將至，或曰："漢祖畏於柏人，岑彭死於彭亡，今谷名遮留，殆將有伏？" 植單騎嘗之，果有伏發。植馳擊敗之，進據尉犂，熙率羣下四萬人肉袒降於宣。[22] 呂光討西域，[23] 復降於光。[24] 及光僭位，熙又遣子入侍。[25]

After this, Zhang Jun 張駿 [17] sent Yang Xuan 楊宣, the Governor of Sha 沙 Province[18], to lead his troops to take charge of the Western Regions. [Yang] Xuan picked Zhang Zhi 張植, a military officer under his command, [to lead] the vanguard. [Zhang] Zhi's army swept away all obstacles and encamped in the state. Xi guarded and fought at the town of Benlun 賁崙[19], but was defeated by [Zhang] Zhi. [Zhang] Zhi advanced to station himself at Tiemen 鐵門 (Iron Gate)[20]. Before they had progressed much more than ten *li*, Xi also led out troops to ambush [Zhang Zhi] first in the Zheliu 遮留 Valley[21]. Just as [Zhang Zhi] was arriving there, someone said: "The founder of the Han Dynasty feared the Boren 柏人 people and Cen Peng 岑彭 met his end at Pengwang 彭亡; now this valley's name is Zheliu. I fear there will also be an ambush."[So] [Zhang] Zhi had a single horseman test it, and sure enough an ambush was sprung. [Zhang] Zhi attacked and defeated [the ambushers], then advanced and occupied Weili 尉犂. Stripping off their upper garments, Xi led 40,000 of his officials and people to surrender to [Yang] Xuan.[22] When Lü Guang 呂光 launched an expedition against the Western Regions[23], [Long] Xi had also surrendered to [Lü] Guang.[24] When [Lü] Guang usurped the throne, [Long] Xi sent his son to attend at court.[25]

[17] After the Western Jin Dynasty, the Former Liang 涼 Dynasty, i.e., the regime of the Zhang family 張 in the Hexi 河西 region, maintained contact with the various states in the Western Regions. It was after Zhang Jun's 張駿 (324-346 CE) ascension to the throne that the regime began to be involved

in the affairs of the Western Regions. The first step in Zhang Jun's management of the Western Regions was a tighter control of Gaochang. According to the "Zhang Jun zhuan" 張駿傳 of *Jinshu*, "the Chief Official of the Western Regions, Li Bo 李柏, requested permission to attack the rebel general, Zhao Zhen 趙貞, but he was defeated by [Zhao] Zhen. The advisors, considering that it was [Li] Bo who had initiated the plan which led to this defeat, requested leave to put him to death. [Zhang] Jun said, 'I have often thought that the killing of Wang Hui 王恢 by Emperor Shizong 世宗 of Han was not as wise as the pardoning of Mengming 孟明 by Duke Mu 穆 of Qin 秦'. [Li Bo's] death sentence was reduced in the end, and everyone was glad to acquiesce in this outcome". The so-called "rebel general Zhao Zhen" refers to the Wuji 戊己 Colonel of the Western Jin stationed at Gaochang. According to the same biography, "Formerly, the Wuji Colonel, Zhao Zhen, refused to pledge allegiance to [Zhang] Jun. This time [Zhang] Jun attacked and captured him, and established Gaochang Prefecture in that land". It was around the tenth month in the second year of the Xianhe 咸和 reign-period (327 CE) that Zhang Jun captured Zhao Zhen and established the Prefecture of Gaochang.[7] Again in this biography, it was recorded, before this section, that "the various states in the Western Regions presented blood-sweating horses, fire-washed cloth, humped cattle, peacocks, a large elephant, and many kinds of rare goods, totaling more than two hundred items". It is quite possible that the various states in the Western Regions came to present tribute on such a large scale in the third year of the Taining 太寧 reign-period (325 CE), i.e., the year after Zhang Jun's succession. Such diverse rare goods may have been the gift extending their congratulations on the part of the various states. If this is true, it should have been in that year or later that Li Bo devised his plan to attack Zhao Zhen.[8] In addition to Gaochang, Zhang Jun also took control of Loulan. A document bearing the date of the eighteenth year of the Jianxing 建興 reign-period (30 CE), which was excavated on the site of Loulan, can also be regarded as evidence.[9]

[18] "Yang Xuan, the Governor of Sha Province": According to his biography in *Jinshu*, Zhang Jun "made the Sha 沙 Province[10] out of three prefectures on the western borders, and the He 河 Province out of six prefectures on the eastern borders".[11] In the "Dili zhi (shang)" 地理志上 of *Jinshu*, it is recorded that [Zhang Jun] "established the Sha Province, consisting of Dunhuang 敦煌,[12] Jinchang 晉昌,[13] Gaochang 高昌,[14] [the headquarters of] the Protector-General of the Western Regions, the Wuji 戊己 Colonel, and the Grand Commissioner over the Army at Yumen 玉門, a total of three prefectures and three garrisons".[15] According to the "Zhang Jun zhuan" in *Weishu*, "in the first year of the Yonghe 永和 reign-period (345 CE), [Zhang Jun] appointed the heir, [Zhang] Chonghua 張重華, Leader of the Gentlemen of the Palace for All Purposes and Governor of the Liang Province". That is to say, Yang Xuan's appointment as the Governor of the Sha Province should also have been in the first year of the

Yonghe reign-period (345 CE), and his attack on Yanqi was in the same year as his appointment as Governor, which the "Mudi ji" 穆帝紀 of *Jinshu* has placed under "the twelfth month" of that year.

[19] Benlun 賁侖: It might be, according to some scholars, the site of an ancient town of Tangwang 唐王 near the present Xigxin, or the ancient town of Xigxin.[16]

[20] Tiemen 鐵門 (Iron Gate): The present Tiemen Barrier (Timur Kakhalka).[17]

[21] The Zheliu Valley 遮留谷 is present-day Hamangou 哈滿溝 between present-day TaxdƏ and the Tiemen Barrier (Timur Kakhalka); it is to the north of the Tiemen Barrier.

[22] According to the "Mudi ji" of *Jinshu*, in the twelfth month in the winter of the first year of the Yonghe reign-period (345 CE), "the Governor of Liang Province, Zhang Jun, attacked Yanqi and forced it to surrender". It is possible that Yanqi and the Liang Regime of the Zhangs 張涼 became estranged by the fifth year of the Xianhe 咸和 reign-period (330 CE) at the latest; then Zhang Jun sent Yang Xuan to attack Yanqi, forcing it to surrender. Zhang Jun established Sha Province in the first year of the Yonghe reign-period (345 CE), his motive being to tighten his grip on the Western Regions. Thus, the battle of Yanqi ensued.[18] Again according to his biography in *Jinshu*, Zhang Jun "also sent his general, Yang Xuan 楊宣, leading a mass of troops, to cross the Flowing Sands and launch an attack on Qiuci and Shanshan; [the states in] the Western Regions all surrendered. The king of the state of Shanshan, Yuanmeng 元孟, presented his daughter, who was called the Beautiful One. [Zhang Jun] built the Binxia 賓遐 Palace to accommodate her. The kings of the states of Yanqi, Nearer [Jushi 車師], and Yutian 于窴 all sent envoys to present their local products". The fact that Yang Xuan attacked Qiuci and Shanshan but not Yanqi may prove that Yanqi and the Zhang's Liang Regime were on good terms during Yang Xuan's western expedition, because Yanqi was located on the only road to Qiuci, the target of Yang Xuan's attack. Yang Xuan's western expedition occurred before the fifth year of the Xianhe 咸和 reign-period (330 CE), the king of Shanshan's presentation of his daughter occurred in the twelfth month of the sixth year of the Xianhe reign-period (331 CE),[19] and the sending of envoys and the presentation of their local products by Yanqi, the Tribe of Further Jushi, and Yutian could have occurred approximately at the same time.

[23] "When Lü Guang made an expedition against the Western Regions": The "Lü Guang zaiji" 呂光載記 of *Jinshu* records: "[Fu] Jian 苻堅, having subdued Shandong 山東, and his warriors and horses being strong and numerous, began to have ambitions in the Western Regions. Accordingly he conferred on [Lü] Guang the titles, Imperially Commissioned to Bear Emblems of Command and Inspector-General of Military Operations for the Western Expedition, and at the head of Generals Jiang Fei 姜飛, Peng Huang 彭晃, Du Jin 杜進, Kang Sheng 康盛, among others, with a total force of

70,000 men-at-arms and 5,000 armored horsemen, he led an expedition against the Western Regions. He appointed Dong Fang 董方 of Longxi 隴西, Guo Bao 郭抱 of Pingyi 馮翊, Jia Qian 賈虔 of Wuwei 武威, and Yang Ying 楊穎 of Hongnong 弘農 Assistant Generals of the Four Quarters.[20] [Fu] Jian's Crown Prince, [Fu] Hong 苻宏, grasping Guang's hand, said: 'Your build and physiognomy are out of the ordinary: you are sure to have great good fortune. You should guard [yourself] with care and act with affectionate regard [for your own person] '. [When Guang] had proceeded as far as Gaochang, he heard that [Fu] Jian was invading Jin.[21] Guang wanted to wait for later orders, but his Divisional General, Du Jin, said: 'Sir, you have been given responsibility for the Western Quarter. You should meet the occasion promptly. What is unclear that you should linger any longer?' Guang accordingly advanced. When they had traveled over 300 *li* into the Flowing Sands [Desert] they ran out of water. The faces of the officers and their men paled. Guang said: 'I have heard that Li Guangli 李廣利 concentrated sincerity [until] the heavens were influenced and a fountain gushed forth.[22] Can it be that we alone are without the efficacy of [such] influence? Sovereign Heaven is surely about to send aid; you need not worry, gentlemen'. Presently it rained in torrents [to a depth of] three *chi* 尺 on the level ground". Lü Guang subsequently pacified Yanqi, Qiuci, and the adjacent other states. "In Guang's pacification of the Western Regions his prestige and benevolence were highly conspicuous, and the cruel and crafty Hu kings who had not heretofore been subdued, undaunted by the distance of 10,000 *li*, all came pledging their allegiance; they submitted the hereditary titles conferred upon them by Han, and Guang changed them all by manifesto.[23] When [Fu] Jian heard that Guang had quelled the Western Regions, he appointed him Imperially Commissioned to Bear Emblems of Command, Cavalier Attendant-in-ordinary, Inspector General of Military Operations West of the Yumen 玉門 [Barrier], General Pacifying the West, and Commandant of the Western Regions. The road being cut off, there was no means to communicate [these appointments] to Lü Guang. Once Guang had subdued Qiuci, he intended to remain there. At the time he had just taken captive Kumārajīva, who urged him to return east. What he said [on this occasion] will be found in 'Memoir on the Xi Yi' 西夷傳 (Xi Yi zhuan).[24] [Lü] Guang thereupon gave a great banquet for his civil and military [officers], where they widely discussed the question of going or staying. As everyone requested to return, Guang acquiesced. With over 20,000 camels he carried the treasures of the foreign kingdoms, together with over 1,000 expert entertainers, marvelous actors, exotic birds, bizarre animals, and over 10,000 swift horses.[25] Fu Jian's Administrator 太守 of Gaochang, Yang Han 楊翰[26], advised his Governor of Liang Province 涼州, Liang Xi, to fortify and defend two passes at Gaotong 高桐[27] and Yiwu 伊吾[28], but [Liang] Xi did not follow [his advice].[29] When Guang reached Gaochang, [Yang] Han surrendered

with his prefecture.[30] ..... Earlier, Guang had settled the people of Xihai 西海 Prefecture in various other prefectures. It was at this time that a folksong was current, which went: 'Oh why, northern horse, is your heart full of woe? / I remember the past; in my heart is no rest. / And why mountain finch, do you fly to and fro? / I long to return to my former nest'. In a short time they were agitating among themselves [for revolt], and he resettled them in Xihe 西河 and Ledu 樂都 [prefectures]. Many of [the officials] advised that although Gaochang was on the western frontier, its situation was strategic. Its outer border touched the domain of the Hu caitiffs, and rebellions might easily break out. [They felt] it would be well to dispatch someone from among [Guang's] sons and younger brothers to govern it. Guang appointed his son, Fu 覆, Imperially Commissioned to Bear Emblems of Command, General Governing the West, Inspector-General of Military Operations West of the Yumen [Barrier], and Grand Protector-General of the Western Regions, to govern Gaochang, and ordered young men from ministerial families to accompany him".[31] (Richard B. Mather, trans. and annot., *Biography of Lü Kuang* [Berkeley: University of California Press, 1959], pp. 31-48; with modifications.) The Flowing Sands that Lü Guang crossed was a desert through which one had to pass in order to reach Gaochang by way of the "Route of the Great Sea". The order of narration in this section is chaotic. The text from "[Lü] Guang thereupon advanced and went into the Flowing Sands" to "[to a depth of] three feet on the level ground" should be placed before "When [Lü] Guang had proceeded as far as Gaochang". According to the order in the original text, Lü Guang would have reached Gaochang first and then crossed the Flowing Sands, which appears to be impossible. The Hu 胡 Commentary on the "Jinji" of *Zizhi tongjian* (ch. 105) suggests that Lü Guang "set out from the Yumen Barrier, crossed the Flowing Sands, marched west, reached Shanshan, and then marched north and reached Jushi", implying that Lü Guang took the "Middle Route" mentioned in the "Xi Rong zhuan" of *Weilüe*. However, if Lü Guang reached Yanqi by this route, he could not have made the detour to Gaochang. Since Lü Guang reached Gaochang, he possibly took the "New Route" as recorded in the "Xi Rong zhuan" of *Weilüe*. The "New Route" should be "the Route of the Great Sea" seen in the *Xizhou tujing* 西州圖經, a text recovered from the grottoes at Dunhuang.

[24] The "Lü Guang zaiji" in *Jinshu* records: "Advancing the men-at-arms, he [Lü Guang] arrived at Yanqi, whose king, Niliu 泥流, leading his neighboring states, requested to surrender" (Mather, trans. and annot., *Biography of Lü Kuang*, p. 32). "Niliu" and "Long Xi" 龍熙 may be seen as different transcriptions of the same name. "Long" is a transliteration, while "Niliu" is possibly a variation in the transcription of "Long": if the former is read rapidly, its pronunciation would be similar to the latter. Although there had been an interval of forty years, it was possible that Long Xi was still reigning.

When Lü Guang advanced towards Yanqi, Niliu led the neighboring states to request permission to surrender, an indication that it was a hegemon state on the Northern Route. The "neighboring states" should have been Weixu, Weili, among others, subject to Yanqi. This event was dated to the nineteenth year of the Jianyuan 建元 reign-period (383 CE) of Fu Jian in the "Hou Liang lu (yi)" 後涼錄一 of *Shiliuguo Chunqiu* 十六國春秋.

[25] The founding of the Later Liang 後涼 Dynasty had begun with Lü Guang's western expedition. It is possible that the orders of Lü Guang's government were followed in the Western Regions for a time. Unfortunately, we do not know the details. Only two matters are recorded in the historical sources. In addition to the record that king of Yanqi, Long Xi, "sent his son to attend at court" when Lü Guang usurped the throne, as is mentioned above in this memoir, Lü Guang "sent envoys to buy jade at Yutian, with which the six [royal] seals were to be carved", when he "declared himself king".

龜兹國，西去洛陽八千二百八十里[26]，俗有城郭，其城三重，中有佛塔廟千所。人以田種畜牧爲業[27]，男女皆翦髮垂項。王宮壯麗，煥若神居。

The state of Qiuci 龜兹: It is 8,280 *li* [26] west of Luoyang 洛陽. It is their custom to build walls around their cities, and the royal city has three circuits [of walls]. In it there are 1,000 Buddhist pagodas and temples. The inhabitants make their living farming and raising animals.[27] Men and women all clip their hair and let it hang down to the nape. Their palace buildings are splendid and beautiful, as brilliant as though they were the residences of gods.

[26] "8,280 *li*" (Distance 2): This figure is based on the distance between the seat of the king's government of Qiuci and Chang'an as is recorded in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu*, i.e., the aggregate of 7,480 *li*, the distance between the seat of the king's government of Qiuci and Chang'an, and 1,000 *li*, the approximate distance between Chang'an and Luoyang. The figure "8,280" is an error for "8,480".

[27] From this we know that as late as the age described in this memoir, the inhabitants of Qiuci made their living both by agriculture and by animal husbandry. According to the "Lü Guang zaiji" in *Jinshu* quoted above, when Lü Guang returned from Qiuci, "With over 20,000 camels, he carried the treasures of the foreign kingdoms, together with over a thousand expert entertainers, marvelous actors, exotic birds, bizarre animals, and over 10,000 swift horses". A large portion of these treasures was obtained from Qiuci.

武帝太康中，其王遣子入侍。[28]惠懷末，以中國亂，遣使貢方物於張重華。[29]苻堅時，堅遣其將呂光率衆七萬伐之，其王白純距境不降，光進軍討平之。[30]

During the Taikang reign-period of Emperor Wu 武, its king sent his son to attend at the court.[28] By the end of the reigns of Emperor Hui 惠 and Huai 懷, it sent envoys to present tribute to Zhang Chonghua 張重華[29] because the Middle Kingdom was in confusion. In the reign of Fu Jian 苻堅, he sent his general Lü Guang to lead forces consisting of 70,000 men to attack it. Its king Bai Chun 白純 resisted him on the border and did not surrender. [Lü] Guang marched forth and put him down.[30]

[28] According to the "Wudi ji" 武帝紀 of *Jinshu*, in the tenth month of the winter of the sixth year of the Taikang reign-period (285 CE), the king of Qiuci "sent his son to attend at the court".

[29] After Zhang Jun, the Former Liang continued its control of Loulan and Gaochang. The writing here is the only record concerning its relations with other states in the Western Regions. According to the "Jinji" of *Zizhi tongjian* (ch.100), in the twelfth year of the Yonghe 永和 reign-period (356 CE), Zhang Guan 張瓘 had declared to the envoy of the Qin regime of the Fu family 苻秦: "We have occupied three provinces, and we have 10,000 men who can put on suits of armor. [Our territory] consists of the Cong Mountains in the west, and extends as far as the great river in the east. We have enough to spare to attack others, as well as defend ourselves. Why should we be in fear of Qin?" It appears that the Former Liang could still exert an influence on the various states to the east of the Cong Mountains as late as the reign of Zhang Xuanjing 張玄靚, and Qiuci may not have been the only state that presented local products.

[30] The "Lü Guang zaiji" in *Jinshu* states: "The king of Qiuci, Bo Chun, resisted Guang. Guang bivouacked south of his town,[32] making one encampment every five *li*, with a deep moat and high rampart [around each]. Over a wide area he set up decoy men-at-arms, using trees for men, clothing them with armor and spreading them along the ramparts. Bo Chun drove the outlying population inside the town wall. Each of his satellite marquises and kings fortified his own city in self-defense.... [Lü Guang] once more advanced to attack the town of Qiuci. In the night he dreamed that a golden image flew over and beyond the town walls. Guang said: 'This means the Buddha and the gods are deserting them. The Hu will surely perish'. When Guang's attack on the city became intense, Bo Chun emptied the state's treasures to request aid from the Hu of Kuai 獪胡. The younger brother of [the chief of] the Hu of Kuai, Nelong 吶龍, and a marquis, Jiangkui 將馗, at the head of 200,000 cavalry,

led, in addition, the kings of Wensu 溫宿[33], Weitou 尉頭[34], and others, a combined force of over 700,000, to the rescue. The Hu are skillful with bow and horse, and good at [the use of] short and long spears. Their armor is like linked chains, impenetrable to bow and arrow. They use rawhide thongs as lariats which they, whipping their horses, throw at men with frequent hits. The hosts were exceedingly wary of them. The generals were all in favor of resisting them by having each encampment take up its battle stations, posting its men-at-arms. Guang said: 'They are many and we are few. Furthermore, the encampments are far apart, and to have our striking force divided and scattered is not a good strategy'. Thereupon he moved the encampments into a continuous line, in the form of a hook. Selected cavalry acted as a mobile force lacing together the gaps. They joined battle west of the town, and [Guang] inflicted a crushing defeat on them, decapitating over 10,000. Bo Chun gathered up his treasures and fled. The kings and marquises of over thirty states surrendered. Guang, entering their town, held a great banquet to reward his officers and men, and composed a poem to express his ambition. Beholding the splendor and beauty of their palace buildings, he ordered his aide-de-camp, Duan Ye 段業 of Jingzhao 京兆, to compose 'Rhapsody on the Qiuci Palaces' 龜兹宮賦 to mock them. The Hu people are luxury-loving and richly endowed with the comforts of life. In their homes they have grape wine, some even as much as a thousand *hu* 斛, which keeps for ten years without spoiling. Many soldiers, one after another, immersed and lost themselves in the wine stores. All the states were awed by Guang's prestige, and tribute offerings [flowed] continuously along the roads. [Guang] set up Bo Chun's younger brother, Zhen 震, as king to keep the peace". (Mather, trans., *Biography of Lü Kuang*, pp. 32-34.) Lü Guang's conquest of Qiuci was dated to the seventh month of the ninth year of the Taiyuan 太元 reign-period (384 CE) in the "Jinji" of *Zizhi tongjian* (ch. 105). "The kings of Wensu, Weitou, and others" is noted as "Gumo 姑墨, [Wen] su, Weitou, and other states, and the various Hu" in the "Hou Liang lu" 後涼錄 of *Shiliuguo Chunqiu* 十六國春秋, cited in *Taiping yulan* 太平御覽 (ch. 125). This shows that Gumo was among the small states, apart from Wensu and Weitou, which came to Qiuci's aid. Gumo was an oasis state on the Northern Route in the Western Regions, first seen in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu*.

大宛，西去洛陽萬三千三百五十里[31]，南至大月氏[32]，北接康居[33]，大小七十餘城。土宜稻麥，有蒲陶酒，多善馬，馬汗血。其人皆深目多鬚。[34]

[The state of] Dayuan: It is 13,350 *li* [31] west of Luoyang 洛陽. To the south one reaches the Da Yuezhi 大月氏 [32] and to the north it adjoins Kangju. There are more than 70

towns, large and small, in this state.[33] The soil is suitable for rice and wheat. They have wine made of grapes and many fine horses. The horses sweat blood. The inhabitants of the area all have deep-set eyes, and many wear beards.[34]

[31] "13,350 *li"* (Distance 3): The figure is based on the distance between the seat of the king's government of Dayuan and Chang'an recorded in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu*; i.e., the aggregate of 12,550 *li*, the distance between the seat of the king's government of Dayuan and Chang'an, and 1,000 *li*, the approximate distance between Chang'an and Luoyang. The figure "13,350" 萬三千三百五十 should be an error for "13,550" 萬三千五百五十.

[32] The Da Yuezhi were a nomadic tribe in the valley of the Amu Darya, first mentioned in the "Dayuan liezhuan" of *Shiji*. The "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hou-Han shu* calls the Guishuang Kingdom, which had replaced the rule of the Da Yuezhi over the valley of the Amu Darya, the Da Yuezhi. In light of the era described in this memoir, the Da Yuezhi here should be the Guishuang.

[33] Kangju was a nomadic tribe north of the Syr Darya, first mentioned in the "Dayuan liezhuan" of *Shiji*.

[34] The text from "To the south one reaches the Da Yuezhi" to "many wear beards" is taken from the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu*.

其俗娶婦先以金同心指鐶爲娉，又以三婢試之，不男者絕婚。[35] 姦淫有子，皆卑其母。與人馬乘不調墜死者，馬主出斂具。

The customs are as follows: When a man gets married, he first provides a gold ring of true love as a betrothal present. [The bride's party] also sends three maidservants to try him. If none of them bears a son, the marriage is rejected.[35] If a woman bears a child because of adultery, the mother will be considered inferior. If one gives another person a horse to ride, and the latter falls from the horse and dies because the horse is not docile, the master of the horse must provide the funeral paraphernalia.

[35] "If none of them bears a son, the marriage is rejected": In comparison to the records in the "Dayuan liezhuan" of *Shiji,* where the people of Dayuan are said to "hold the women in honor", one can see that there has been a significant social change in that area.

善市賈，爭分銖之利。得中國金銀，輒爲器物，不用爲幣也。[36]

They are expert traders, haggling over fractions of a *zhu* 銖 [an ancient unit of weight equal to 1/24th ounce]. Whenever they acquire gold or silver from the Middle Kingdom they make utensils with [the metal] and do not use it as currency.[36]

[36] This section is taken from the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu*.

太康六年（285 年），武帝遣使楊顥拜其王藍庾爲大宛王。[37] 藍庾卒，其子摩之立，遣使貢汗血馬。[38]

In the sixth year of the Taikang reign-period [285 CE], Emperor Wu sent his envoy, Yang Hao 楊顥, to grant its king, Lanyu 藍庾, the title of King of Dayuan.[37] After Lanyu died, his son, Mozhi 摩之, ascended the throne, and he sent an envoy [to the Jin court] to present a blood-sweating horse.[38]

[37] It is not recorded in the basic annals (*benji* 本紀) that Emperor Wu appointed Lanyu the King of Dayuan. According to the "Wudi ji" of *Jinshu*, under the sixth year of the Taishi 泰始 reign-period (270 CE), "in the ninth month, Dayuan presented a blood-sweating horse".

[38] Dayuan accompanied the envoy of the Liang regime of the Zhangs in presenting tribute to Shi Le 石勒. The "Shi Le zaiji (xia)" 石勒載記下 in *Jinshu* records: "The Governor of Liang Province, Zhang Jun, sent the Chief Official, Ma Shen 馬詵, to present maps and request to surrender to Shi Le. The envoys of Gaochang, Yutian 于闐, Shanshan, and Dayuan all presented their local products".[35] These events should have occurred in the twelfth month of the fifth year of the Xianhe 咸和 reign-period (330 CE), because, according to the "Chengdi ji" 成帝紀 in *Jinshu*, in that year's "eighth month in the autumn, Shi Le usurped the throne", and "in the twelfth month, Zhang Jun declared himself a vassal of Shi Le". Zhang Jun, after declaring himself a vassal, sent his envoy to "present maps and request to surrender". The various states in the Western Regions, following the envoys of Zhang Jun, presented their local products.

康居國，在大宛西北可二千里[39]，與粟弋[40]、伊列[41]鄰接。泰始中，其王那鼻遣使上封事，幷獻善馬。[42]

The state of Kangju 康居: It is 2,000 *li* [39] to the northwest of Dayuan and adjoins Suyi 粟弋 [40] and Yilie 伊列 [41]. Its king, Nabi 那鼻, sent an envoy to deliver a sealed letter to the emperor and to present fine horses during the Taishi 泰始 reign-period [265-274 CE].[42]

[39] "About 2,000 *li*" (Distance 4): This figure is taken from the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu*. In the distances given in this memoir there is nothing new.

[40] Suyi 粟弋 refers to an area in Sogdiana in the valley of the Zarafshan River, first mentioned in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hou-Han shu*.

[41] Yilie 伊列 refers to the valley of the Ili River.

[42] This event is not recorded in the "basic annals" (*benji*). What is recorded in the "Wudi ji" of *Jinshu* is only that, in the twelfth month of the eighth year of the Taikang reign-period (287 CE), the state of Kangju in the Western Regions "sent an envoy to present tribute". There is a nobleman in Dayuan with the name of "Jianmi" 煎靡 in the "Dayuan liezhuan" of *Shiji*. The "mi" 靡 [36] in Jianmi and the "bi" 鼻 in Nabi can be seen as variations in the transcription of the same name. Therefore, it is more likely that Nabi was the king of Kangju. Cf. note 45.

[粟弋國，屬康居] [43]，其王居蘇薤城 [44]。風俗及人貌、衣服略同大宛。地和暖，饒桐柳蒲陶，多牛羊，出好馬。[45]

[The state of Suyi 粟弋: It is subject to Kangju.] [43] The king resides at the town of Suxie 蘇薤[44]. The customs, the appearance of people, and their clothing are generally similar to those in Dayuan 大宛. The land is warm, abounding in *tong* 桐 trees, willows, and grapes, with many cattle and sheep; the land produces fine horses.[45]

[43] "The state of Suyi: It is subject to Kangju": "Sute" 粟特 was the area of Sogdiana, subject to Kangju, which could be traced to Zhang Qian's first mission to the West at the earliest. In the "Shi Jilong zaiji" 石季龍載記 of *Jinshu*, the statement that "Kang 康, a Hu from Sute who had surrendered" 降胡粟特康 should refer to a Sute man in Samarkand and has nothing to do with Kangju.

[44] "The town of Suxie" 蘇薤城 should be the seat of the king's government of Suyi at that time.[37] Suxie should be the seat of the government of one of the five lesser kings of Suxie 蘇䪥, mentioned in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu* as being located in Kesh.

[45] The two sections above constituted one section in the original text of this memoir: "The state of Kangju: It is distant about 2,000 *li* to the northwest of Dayuan and adjoins Suyi and Yilie. The king resides at the town of Suxie. The customs, the appearance of people, and their clothing are generally similar to those in Dayuan. The land is warm, abounding in *tong* trees, willows, and grapes, with many cattle and sheep; the land produces fine horses. Its king, Nabi, sent an envoy to deliver a sealed letter to the emperor and to present fine horses during the Taishi reign-period (265-274 CE)". The thirty-one-character-text translated as "The king resides at the town of Suxie…the land produces fine horses" is an account on Suyi 粟弋. This is corroborated by the record in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hou-Han shu*, "The state of Suyi: It is subject to Kangju. The land produces renowned horses, cattle, sheep, grapes, and various fruits. The water and soil are good; therefore, its wine made of grapes is very well-known". We may conclude that this is an accurate description of the customs of Sogdiana. "The customs, the appearance of people, and their clothing are generally similar to those in Dayuan": This is because the residents in the two areas were "European" natives. Thus, this section in the memoir is the combined records about Kangju and Suyi.[38]

大秦國[46]，一名犂鞬，[47]在西海[48]之西，其地東西南北各數千里。有城邑，其城周迴百餘里。屋宇皆以珊瑚爲棁栭，琉璃爲牆壁，水精爲柱礎。[49]其王有五宮，其宮相去各十里，每旦於一宮聽事，終而復始。若國有災異，輒更立賢人，放其舊王，被放者亦不敢怨。[50]有官曹簿領，而文字習胡，亦有白蓋小車、旌旗之屬，及郵驛制置，一如中州。其人長大，貌類中國人而胡服。[51]

The state of Da Qin 大秦[46]: It is also named Lijian 犂鞬[47], and lies west of the Western Sea[48]. Its territory to the east, west, south, and north is several thousand *li* in each direction, with walled cities [everywhere]. Its [capital] city is over 100 *li* in circumference. In its dwellings, coral is used for the joists and beam supports, opaque glass for the walls, and crystal glass for the pillars.[49] The king has five palaces, ten *li* apart from one another. Early in the morning the king goes to one of the palaces to hear cases, and when he has finished [the round] he starts again. Whenever there is a calamity or uncanny event in the state, they immediately change the ruler, establishing a worthy man [as king], dismissing the former king. The one who was dismissed does not dare complain.[50] There are officials and scribes, and they use Hu script. They also have small chariots with white canopies, and flags and pennants, and postal stations

established just like those in the Central Plains. Their people are tall and large with faces resembling [those of people in] the Middle Kingdom, but they wear Hu clothing.[51]

[46] Da Qin 大秦 refers to the Roman Empire mentioned in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hou-Han shu* and the "Xi Rong zhuan" 西戎傳 of *Weilüe* 魏略.

[47] "Lijian" 犂鞬 should be the "Lixuan" 黎軒 in the "Dayuan liezhuan" of *Shiji*, the "Lijian" 犂靬 in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu*, the "Lijian" 犂鞬 in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hou-Han shu*, and the "Lijian" 犂靬 in the "Xi Rong zhuan" of *Weilüe*; all are abbreviated transcriptions of [A]lexan[dria] (Alexandria in Egypt). However, the "Lixuan" 黎軒 and "Lijian" 犂靬 in the "Dayuan liezhuan" of *Shiji* and the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu* refer to Ptolemaic Egypt, whereas the "Lijian" 犂鞬 and "Lijian" 犂靬 in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hou-Han shu*, the "Xi Rong zhuan" of *Weilüe*, and this memoir have become a synonym of Da Qin.

[48] "The Western Sea" 西海 refers to the Mediterranean Sea.[39]

[49] "In its dwellings, coral is used for the joists and beam supports…": Such statements, like the descriptions in the "Xi Rong zhuan" of *Weilüe* ("The pillars of the palace … are made of crystal glass") are exaggerations.

[50] From "The king has five palaces" to "The one dismissed does not dare complain": There are similar descriptions in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hou-Han shu* and the "Xi Rong zhuan" of *Weilüe*.

[51] "Their people are tall and large…": We can see that it is because the Romans had "faces resembling [those of people in] the Middle Kingdom" that they were called Da Qin, since "Qin" was the name of the Middle Kingdom among the peoples in North and Central Asia. Da Qin should have been the name used for the Roman Empire among the peoples of Central Asia.

其土多出金玉寶物、明珠[52]、大貝，有夜光璧[53]、駭雞犀[54]及火浣布[55]，又能刺金縷繡[56]及織錦縷罽[57]。以金銀爲錢，銀錢十當金錢之一。

Their land produces much gold, jade, jewels, (full-moon) pearls[52], and large shells. They have the jewel which shines at night[53], the rhinoceros which frightens chickens[54], and "cloth washed in fire" (asbestos)[55]. They also are able to sew embroidered tissues with gold threads[56] [to form] gold-threaded tapestries[57]. They make coins from gold and silver, ten silver coins being equal to one gold coin.

[52] "(Full-moon) pearls" 明珠 (*mingzhu*) should be the "*mingyuezhu*" 明月珠 in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hou-Han shu*.

[53] "The jewel which shines at night" 夜光璧 (*yeguangbi*) is mentioned in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hou-Han shu*.

[54] "The rhinoceros which frightens chickens" 駭雞犀 (*haiji xi*) is mentioned in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hou-Han shu*.

[55] "Cloth washed in fire" 火浣布 (*huohuan bu*) is mentioned in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hou-Han shu*.

[56] "Embroidered tissues with gold threads" 金縷繡 (*jinlü xiu*) is mentioned in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hou-Han shu*.

[57] "Gold-threaded tapestries" 織錦縷罽 (*zhijinlüji*) should be the same as the "*zhicheng*" 織成 and "*jinlüji*" 金縷罽 in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hou-Han shu*.

安息[58]、天竺[59]人與之交市於海中，其利百倍。鄰國使到者，輒廩以金錢。途經大海，海水鹹苦不可食，商客往來皆齎三歲糧，是以至者稀少。[60]

The men of Anxi 安息[58] and Tianzhu 天竺[59] trade with them by sea, and the profit is a hundredfold. When envoys of neighboring states arrive, they are given gold coins. Crossing the great sea, the sea water is salty and bitter, and is undrinkable. Merchants who travel always take on board three years' provisions; that is why those who arrive are few.[60]

[58] Anxi 安息 refers to the Parthian Empire of Persia, first mentioned in the "Dayuan liezhuan" of *Shiji*.

[59] Tianzhu 天竺 refers to the Subcontinent of South Asia with the valley of the Indus River as its center, first mentioned in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hou-Han shu*.

[60] The record on Da Qin is mostly taken from the "Xi Rong zhuan" of *Weilüe*; nothing new is offered here.

漢時都護班超遣掾甘英使其國，入海，船人曰："海中有思慕之物，往者莫不悲懷。若漢使不戀父母妻子者，可入。"英不能渡。[61]武帝太康中，其王遣使貢獻。[62]

In Han times, the Protector General Ban Chao 班超 sent his adjutant Gan Ying 甘英 as envoy to this state. As he was (about to) go to sea, the sailors said: "The sea has something in it that makes one homesick; travelers all feel sad. (Only) if the Han envoy has forgotten his father and mother and wife and child can he put to sea." [Gan] Ying was unable to make the crossing.[61] During the Taikang reign-period of Emperor Wu [280-290 CE], their king sent an envoy to present tribute.[62]

[61] Gan Ying's western mission to Da Qin is included in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hou-Han shu*: "In the ninth year [of the Yongyuan reign-period (97 CE)], Ban Chao dispatched his adjutant Gan Ying all the way to the coast of the Western Sea (the Mediterranean) and back".

[62] According to the "Wudi ji" 武帝紀 of *Jinshu*, on the day *gengwu* 庚午 in the twelfth month in the fifth year of the Taikang reign-period (284), Da Qin "sent an envoy to present gifts".

APPENDIX

Annals Concerning Fu Jian [the Usurper]

Fu Jian zaiji 苻堅載記[63]

先是，王猛獲張天錫將敦煌陰據及甲士五千，堅既東平六州，西擒楊纂，欲以德懷遠，且跨威河右，至是悉送所獲還涼州。天錫懼而遣使謝罪稱藩，堅大悅，即署天錫爲使持節、散騎常侍、都督河右諸軍事、驃騎大將軍、開府儀同三司、涼州刺史、西域都護、西平公。[64]……先是，梁熙[65]遣使西域，稱揚堅之威德，并以繒彩賜諸國王，於是朝獻者十有餘國。大宛獻天馬千里駒，皆汗血、朱鬣、五色、鳳膺、麟身，及諸珍異五百餘種。堅曰："吾思漢文之返千里馬，咨嗟美詠。今所獻馬，其悉返之，庶克念前王，髣髴古人矣。"乃命羣臣作《止馬詩》而遣之，示無欲也。其下以爲盛德之事，遠同漢文，於是獻詩者四百餘人。[66]……鄯善[67]王、車師前部[68]王來朝，大宛獻汗血馬，肅慎[69]貢楛矢，天竺獻火浣布，康居、於闐[70]及海東諸國[71]，凡六十有二王，皆遣使貢其方物。[72]
《苻堅載記上》（卷一一三）

Prior to this, Wang Meng 王猛 had captured a general of Zhang Tianxi 張天錫, Yin Ju 陰據 of Dunhuang 敦煌, and 5,000 soldiers in armor. Since [Fu] Jian had pacified the

six provinces in the east and captured Yang Zuan 楊纂 in the west, he wished to embrace distant peoples by means of his virtue and to display his prestige in the Heyou 河右 [i.e., Hexi 河西 or Gansu 甘肅 Corridor] Region. He, at this time, returned all those who had been captured to Liang Province. [Zhang] Tianxi, out of fear, sent an envoy to offer an apology and to declare himself a vassal. [Fu] Jian was delighted, and appointed [Zhang] Tianxi Commissioner with Extraordinary Powers, Cavalier Attendant-in-ordinary, and Inspector-General of Military Operations in the Heyou Region, Cavalry Supreme General, Commander Unequalled in Honor, Governor of Liang Province, Protector-General of the Western Regions, and Duke of Xiping 西平.[64] … Previously, Liang Xi 梁熙 [65] had sent envoys to the Western Regions, publicized [Fu] Jian's power and prestige, and bestowed colored silk as presents on the kings of the various states. As a result, more than ten states came over to present tribute. The state of Dayuan presented heavenly horses, i.e., horses that could travel a thousand *li* a day, that all sweated blood, had a red mane, were of five colors, and had the breast of a phoenix and the body of unicorn, together with other treasures, totaling more than 500 items. [Fu] Jian said, "It reminds me of Emperor Wen 文 of Han, who returned the horses that traveled a thousand *li* a day, and who was praised for it. If we now return all the horses presented to us as tribute, then our action would be worthy of the former kings and the ancients". Thereupon, he ordered the crowd of officers to compose poems titled "Declining the [Gift of] Horses" and had all the horses returned, showing that he was without greed. His subordinates deemed this deed evidence of an abundance of virtue, a deed comparable to that of Emperor Wen of Han long ago. Thus more than 400 men presented their poems.[66]… The kings of the states of Shanshan 鄯善 [67] and Nearer Jushi 車師 [68] came to court to pay their respects. Dayuan presented horses. Sushen 肅慎 [69] presented arrows, whose shafts were made of three *hu* 楛. Tianzhu 天竺 presented fire-washed cloth. Kangju, Yutian 於闐 [70] and the various states to the east of the sea[71], a total of sixty-two kings, sent envoys to present their local products.[72] ["Fu Jian zaiji (shang)" 苻堅載記上, *Jinshu*, ch. 113.]

[63] The following is excerpted from the passages related to the Western Regions in the "Fujian zaiji" 苻堅載記 of *Jinshu*, in order to supplement this memoir.

[64] Zhang Tianxi declared himself a vassal to Fu Jian: The "Jinji" in *Zizhi tongjian* (ch. 103)

dated this event to the first year of the Xian'an 咸安 reign-period (371 CE). The appointment of Zhang Tianxi as the Governor of Liang Province and Protector-General of the Western Regions by Fu Jian can be seen as the beginning of the latter's interest in the affairs of the Western Regions.

[65] In the first year of the Taiyuan reign-period (376 CE), Fu Jian destroyed the Former Liang Dynasty. According to the "Fu Jian zaiji (shang)" of *Jinshu*, "[Fu] Jian appointed Liang Xi 梁熙 the Commissioner with Special Powers, Leader of the Gentlemen of the Palace of the West, Governor of Liang Province, and Concurrent Colonel Protecting the Western Qiang 羌 to govern Guzang 姑臧".

[66] This marked the beginning of the Former Qin's actual contacts with the Western Regions. Fu Jian returned the horses, showing, of course, not only that "he wanted to have remote peoples submit to him for moral reasons", but also that he did not have the capacity to manage the Western Regions at that period. According to the "Jinji" in *Zizhi tongjian*, Dayuan's presentation of the horses was in the tenth month of the third year of the Taiyuan reign-period (378 CE), when Fu Pi 苻丕, heading a horde of 100,000, launched a protracted attack on Xiangyang 襄陽 but was unable to take it. That "more than ten" states came to pay their respects to Qin is not mentioned in *Zizhi tongjian*, probably because, in the mind of its editor, the individual events did not occur in the same period as when Dayuan presented horses, and there was no way of determining the date of any event.

[67] Shanshan was an oasis state on the Southern Route of the Western Regions, first seen in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu*.

[68] "The state of Nearer Jushi" 車師前部 was a state on the Northern Route of the Western Regions, first seen in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu*.

[69] Sushen 肅慎 was the name of a tribe, distributed in an area extending from north of the present-day Changbai 長白 Mountains to the north of the Heilongjiang 黑龍江 River in the north, from the Sea of Japan in the east to as far as the Nenjiang 嫩江 River in the west.

[70] "Yutian" 於闐 should be the same as the "Yutian" 于闐, an oasis state on the Southern Route in the Western Regions mentioned in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu*.

[71] "The various states to the east of the sea" 海東諸國: The term is first seen in the "Xi Rong zhuan" of *Weilüe*. "The east of the sea" is in reference to "the west of the sea," with the sea referring to the Mediterranean. With Fu Jian's stabilization of Liang Province, his occupation of Gaochang, and his control of Shanshan and the Tribe of Nearer Jushi, his contacts with the various states in the Western Regions became increasingly frequent. The "Renshi (si)" 人事四 section of *Taiping yulan* 太平御覽 (ch. 363) quotes *Qinshu* 秦書 by Che Pin 車頻: "During the reign of Fu Jian, the Yi of the four quarters obeyed, and gathered together in Guanzhong 關中. People from every quarter were

there, all of exotic appearance and coloring". For another example, according to the "Fujian zaiji" *of Jinshu, more than ten states, including Dayuan, came to pay their respects at the court around the third year of the Taiyuan reign-period (378 CE). Of the sixty-two states which came to pay their* respects at the court in the sixth year of the Taiyuan reign-period (381 CE), quite a few of them must have belonged to the Western Regions.

[72] According to the "Jinji" in *Zizhi tongjian* (ch. 104), it was in the second month of the sixth year of the Taiyuan reign-period (381 CE) that the sixty-two states presented their local products, and it was in the ninth month of the seventh year (382 CE) that the kings of the states of Further Jushi and Shanshan came to pay their respects at the court. However, in the "Jiumoluoshi zhuan" 鳩摩羅什傳 (Biography of Jiumoluoshi, i.e., Kumārajīva) in *Gaoseng zhuan* 高僧傳 (Biographies of eminent monks), it is also recorded that the kings of the states of Nearer Jushi and Shanshan came to pay their respects at the court: "[Jiumoluo]shi's Way had flowed into the Western Regions and his reputation had spread throughout the plains in the east. At that time, Fu Jian usurped the imperial title in Guanzhong 關中. When the king of the Tribe of Nearer [Jushi], the outer state, came over, along with the younger brother of the king of Qiuci, to pay their respects, [Fu] Jian received them. The two kings tried to persuade [Fu] Jian, telling him that the Western Regions produced many treasures, and asking him for troops to bring order to [the area] so that the [states there] would pledge allegiance to the court. In the first month of the thirteenth year of the Jianyuan 建元 reign-period (377 CE), the year of *dingchou* 丁丑, the Grand Astrologer presented a memorial, saying, 'A star has appeared at the border of the outer states, portending that a wise man with great virtue will come and assist the ruler in the Middle Kingdom'. [Fu] Jian said, 'We have heard that Jiumoluoshi is in the Western Regions and that there is the *śramaṇa*, i.e., the Buddhist monk, Dao'an 道安, at Xiangyang 襄陽. Wouldn't this refer to them?' He sent envoys to for them. In the second month of the seventeenth year (381 CE), the king of Shanshan, the king of the Tribe of Nearer [Jushi], and other kings tried again to persuade [Fu] Jian, asking him to launch an expedition against the Western Regions with [his] troops. In the ninth month of the eighteenth year (382 CE), [Fu] Jian sent the General of Resolute Cavalry, Lü Guang 呂光, and the General Crossing the River, Jiang Fei 姜飛, with the king of the Tribe of [Nearer Jushi], the king of Jushi, and others [should be "the kings of Nearer Jushi and Shanshan], leading a force of 70,000 men, to undertake a western expedition against the states of Qiuci, Wuqi 烏耆 [variation of Yanqi 焉耆], among others". This shows that the kings of Shanshan and Nearer Jushi came to pay their respects at the same time as when the sixty-two states sent their delegations to the court, since the sixty-two states that presented tribute in the sixth year of the Taiyuan reign-period (381 CE) as noted in the "Jinji"

of *Zizhi tongjian* (ch. 104) included the two states of Shanshan and Nearer Jushi. The event recorded under the entry of the ninth month of the seventh year is that Fu Jian ordered Lü Guang and others to prepare for an expedition against the Western Regions. Details about the presentation of tribute to Qin by the kings of Shanshan and the Tribe of Nearer Jushi and their involvement in the attack on the Western Regions only serve to clarify the motivation behind the western expedition. According to the "Jiumoluoshi zhuan" cited above, before the kings of Shanshan and the Tribe of Nearer Jushi presented tribute to Qin and gave advice to [Fu] Jian, the kings of the Tribe of Nearer Jushi and the younger brother of the king of Qiuci had counseled Fu Jian to attack the Western Regions. The date of the latter is not recorded in "Jiumoluoshi zhuan", but it is possible that it was after Liang Xi had been appointed Governor of Liang Province in the ninth month of the twelfth year of the Jianyuan 建元 reign-period of Fu Jian (376 CE) and before the first month of the following year. Therefore, as far as the king of Nearer Jushi is concerned, his presentation of tribute to Qin in the sixth year of the Taiyuan reign-period (381 CE) must have been the second such instance. In Dao'an's 道安 "*Moheboluore boluomi jing chao* xu" 摩訶鉢羅若波羅密經抄序 (Preface to the manuscript copy of *Mahāprajñāpāramitā-sūtra*), cited in the *Chu Sanzangji ji* 出三藏記集 (A collection of the records of translations of the Tripitaka) (ch. 8), it is recorded that "In the first month of the eighteenth year of the Jianyuan reign-period (382 CE), the king of the Tribe of Nearer Jushi, whose name was Midi 彌第, came to court, and his State Preceptor, Jiumoluobati 鳩摩羅跋提 (Kumārabuddhi), presented the *Dapin* 大品 (*Pañcavimśati-sāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā*)". Midi must have been the king of Nearer Jushi, Mitian 彌窴, as seen in *Jinshu* (ch. 114). From this, we know that Mitian came for the third time to the Qin court in the first month of the eighteenth year of the Jianyuan reign-period (382 CE). There are scholars who think that Mitian possibly reached Qin in the winter of the previous year, and paid his respects to Fu Jian in the first month of the eighteenth year (382 CE), the so-called *chaozheng* 朝正 (paying respects at the court in the first month).[40] Since Mitian came for the second time to the Qin court in the second month of the seventeenth year (381 CE), it is also possible that he did not return home and presented the Buddhist sūtra in the first month of the following year.

車師前部王彌窴、鄯善王休密馱朝於堅，堅賜以朝服，引見西堂。窴等觀其宮宇壯麗，儀衛嚴肅，甚懼，因請年年貢獻。堅以西域路遙，不許，令三年一貢，九年一朝，以爲永制。寘等請曰："大宛諸國雖通貢獻，然誠節未純，請乞依漢置都護故事。若王師出關，請爲鄉導。"[73] 堅於是以驍騎呂光爲持節、都督西討諸軍事，與陵江將軍姜飛、輕騎將軍彭晃等配兵七萬，以討定西域。苻融以

虛耗中國，投兵萬里之外，得其人不可役，得其地不可耕，固諫以爲不可。堅曰："二漢力不能制匈奴，猶出師西域。今匈奴既平，易若摧朽，雖勞師遠役，可傳檄而定，化被崑山，垂芳千載，不亦美哉！"朝臣又屢諫，皆不納。……明年，呂光發長安，堅送於建章宮，謂光曰："西戎荒俗，非禮義之邦。羈縻之道，服而赦之，示以中國之威，導以王化之法，勿極武窮兵，過深殘掠。"[74] 加鄯善王休密馱使持節、散騎常侍、都督西域諸軍事、寧西將軍，車師前部王彌窴使持節、平西將軍、西域都護，率其國兵爲光鄉導。[75]……時呂光討平西域三十六國，所獲珍寶以萬萬計。堅下書以光爲使持節、散騎常侍、都督玉門以西諸軍事、安西將軍、西域校尉，進封順鄉侯，增邑一千戶。《苻堅載記下》（卷一一四）

The king of the tribe of Nearer Jushi, Mitian 彌窴, and the king of Shanshan, Xiumituo 休密馱, came to present tribute to [Fu] Jian. [Fu] Jian bestowed court dresses on them and received them in the Western Hall. [Mi]tian and others were awe stricken when they witnessed the majesty of his palaces and the might of his guard of honor and armed escort, so they requested permission to present tribute every year. [Fu] Jian would not allow this because the Western Regions was far away, and he ordered them to present tribute once every three years, and to come to court once every nine years, and this became a lasting institution. [Mi]tian and others said, "Various states, such as Dayuan, came to present tribute, but their loyalty was not genuine. We beg [the Court] to appoint a Protector-General as in Han times. Should the imperial army set out from the barrier [for a western expedition], we would ask for the permission to act as guides to show the way".[73] [Fu] Jian thereupon appointed the General of Resolute Cavalry, Lü Guang, the Commissioner with Special Powers and Commander-in-chief of Military Operations for the Western Expedition; he was to resolve matters in the Western Regions along with the General of Crossing River, Jiang Fei 姜飛, the General of Light Cavalry, Peng Huang 彭晃, among others, leading a force of 70,000 men. Fu Rong 苻融 remonstrated against this endeavor, thinking that it should not be carried out: it would deplete the Middle Kingdom's [treasury], and it would take the army to places beyond 10,000 *li*, where the people obtained could not be put to use, and the lands obtained could not be cultivated. [Fu] Jian said, "The two Han dynasties dispatched troops to the Western Regions even though their strength was not sufficient to subdue the Xiongnu. Now that the Xiongnu have been pacified, [controlling the Western Regions] would be as

easy as smashing a piece of rotten wood. We would wear down the troops on a long expedition, but pacification in this case could be achieved by issuing an official circular. To educate and influence the people beyond the Kun[lun] 崑崙 Mountains, and leave a good name in history, wouldn't this be great?" The officials in the court again repeatedly admonished him, but [Fu Jian] completely rejected their objections.... In the next year, when Lü Guang set out from Chang'an, Fu Jian saw him off at the Palace of Jianzhang 建章 and said to him: "The Western Rong 戎 is called a wild and distant domain, and it is not a land of ceremony and propriety. The way of winning them over is to pardon them if they submit, and guide them with kingly ways by using the might of the Middle Kingdom. You should not wantonly engage in military ventures and murder and loot excessively."[74] [Fu Jian] bestowed on the king of Shanshan, Xiumituo, the titles of Commissioner with Extraordinary Powers, Cavalier Attendant-in-ordinary, Commander-in-chief of Military Operations in the Western Regions, and General Stabilizing the West; and on the king of the tribe of Nearer Jushi, Mitian, the titles of Commissioner with Extraordinary Powers, General of Pacifying the West and the Protector-General of the Western Regions, and ordered them, leading the troops of their states, to show [Lü] Guang the way. [75]... Then Lü Guang pacified the thirty-six states in the Western Regions, obtaining innumerable treasures. [Fu] Jian issued an edict, appointing him Imperially Commissioned to Bear Emblems of Command, Cavalier Attendant-in-ordinary, Inspector-General of Military Operations West of the Yumen 玉門 [Barrier], General Pacifying the West, and Commandant of the Western Regions. He was also granted the title of the Marquis of Shunxiang 順鄉侯, and his fief was increased by 1,000 households. ["Fu Jian zaiji (xia)", *Jinshu*, ch. 114.]

[73] From this, it can be seen that the king of the Tribe of Further Jushi and the king of Shanshan urged Fu Jian to launch an expedition against the Western Regions, in order to have Qin appoint a Protector-General, a scenario quite similar to the case at the beginning of the Eastern Han Dynasty. According to the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hou-Han shu*, various states, such as Shanshan and Nearer Jushi, sent their envoys again and again, seeking to pledge allegiance to the court and asking for the appointment of a Protector-General, mainly because the state of Suoju used its might to bully the other states. Because of the paucity of historical records, the situation in the Western Regions during the reign of Fu Jian is not known in detail. One can only say that the reason why the states of Shanshan

and others begged Fu Qin to appoint a Protector-General was possibly because they could not bear the bullying from a powerful state. It is most likely that the power which bullied the various states was Qiuci, the largest state of walled towns in the Western Regions since the Western Han. We know that Qiuci undoubtedly enjoyed great military and economic power at that time, given the course of Lü Guang's western expedition. In a petition submitted by Lü Guang, included in the *Shiliuguo Chunqiu* 十六國春秋 and cited in *Taiping yulan* 太平御覽 (ch. 895), the following is mentioned: "Only Qiuci is at the center of the thirty-six states and controls the destinies of their kings and nobles", which can be regarded as evidence. The two kings spoke of Dayuan only as an excuse. In order to persuade Fu Jian to follow the precedent set in the Han period, it was unavoidable for them to speak of an attack on Dayuan. Their original intention was not necessarily to persuade Fu Jian to launch an expedition against Dayuan. In fact, Lü Guang's western expedition reached only as far as Qiuci; he did not emulate the Ershi General.[41]

[74] Fu Jian regarded himself as a lord who ruled his domain in a kingly way, and it was to leave a good name forever that he dispatched troops to the Western Regions. In Fu Jian's mind the Western Regions could be pacified as soon as an official circular was issued, since there was no interference coming from the Xiongnu. "To educate and influence the people beyond the Kun[lun] Mountains" was immensely appealing to him, and he therefore ignored the repeated admonishments from his officers. It should be pointed out that another reason for which Fu Jian dispatched troops to the Western Regions was to have the "wise man with great virtue", Jiumoluoshi. According to the "Jiumoluoshi zhuan" in *Gaoseng zhuan*, when he held a farewell banquet for Lü Guang, Fu Jian said to him, "We have heard that there is a Jiumoluoshi in the Western Regions, who profoundly understands *dharmalakasana* and is proficient in *yin* 陰 and *yang* 陽, and is the greatest master of that learning. We have longed for him ardently. A person outstanding in virtue and learning is a great asset to a nation. Send Jiumuluoshi [to Us] speedily by the post road as soon as Qiuci is taken". This reveals Fu Jian's fervent wish.[42] Jiumoluoshi was in Qiuci at that time, which was an important reason why that state was attacked.

[75] The official positions bestowed on them seem to indicate that the two kings were not distant subjects. It also bears witness to the close relationship between the Former Qin and Shanshan and even the Tribe of Nearer Jushi. According to the "Yishu zhuan" 藝術傳 of *Jinshu*, "the kings of Shanshan and the Tribe of Nearer Jushi came to court. When they returned to the west, the king of Shanshan died in Guzang 姑臧 ". From this, it can be seen that only Mitian acted as a guide for Lü Guang.

NOTES

1 The passage used to be seen as two pieces, but since they are identical in terms of syntax and penmanship, they began to be regarded as one piece. See Wang Guowei 王國維, "Niyacheng bei gucheng suo chu Jin jian ba" 尼雅城北古城所出晉簡跋, in *Guantang jilin* 觀堂集林 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1984), pp. 865-869.

2 In the "Zu Ying zhuan" 祖瑩傳 of *Weishu* (ch. 82), it is recorded that "During the Xiaochang 孝昌 reign-period (525-527 CE) an ancient jade seal was unearthed in the mansion of the King of Guangping 廣平. The emperor called together [Zu] Ying 祖瑩 and the Gentleman Attendant at the Palace Gate, Li Yanzhi 李琰之, ordering them to date it. [Zu] Ying said that it was what the king of the state of Yutian had presented [to the court] during the Taikang 太康 reign-period of Jin (280-289 CE). They then smeared the characters on it with ink and looked at the impression. It was exactly as [Zu] Ying had said, and he thus was called erudite by his contemporaries". From this, it can be seen that Yutian had presented tribute during the Taikang reign-period of Jin.

3 Cf. Rong Xinjiang 榮新江, "Long jia kao" 龍家考, *Zhongya xuekan* 中亞學刊 4 (1995): 144-160.

4 See Zhou Yiliang 周一良, *Wei Jin Nanbeichao shi zhaji* 魏晉南北朝史劄記 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1985), pp. 117-118.

5 Rao Zongyi 饒宗頤, "Zhongguo gudai 'xiesheng' de chuanshuo" 中國古代脇生的傳說, *Yanjing xuebao* 燕京學報 3 (1997): 15-28.

6 Cf. H. W. Bailey, "Ttaugara", *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies* 8 (1935-37): 883-921; Feng Chengjun 馮承鈞, *Xiyu Nanhai shidi kaozheng lunzhu huiji* 西域南海史地考證論著彙輯 (Zhonghua shuju Xianggang fenju, 1976), pp. 158-175.

7 Matsuda Hisao 松田壽男, *Kodai Tenzan no rekishi-chirigakuteki kenkyū* 古代天山の歷史地理學的研究 (Geo-historical studies on the ancient Tianshan region) (Tokyo: Waseda daigaku, 1970), pp. 127-137.

8 Cf. Tang Zhangru 唐長孺, "Gaochang jun jinian" 高昌郡紀年, in Wuhan daxue Lishixi Wei Jin Nanbeichao Sui Tang shi yanjiu shi 武漢大學歷史系魏晉南北朝隋唐史研究室, ed., *Wei Jin Nanbeichao Sui Tang shi ziliao* 魏晉南北朝隋唐史資料 3 (1981): 22-38.

9 See Lin Meicun 林梅村, comp., *Loulan Niya chutu wenshu* 樓蘭尼雅出土文書, No. 13 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1985).

10 The seat of Sha Province 沙州 was in Dunhuang 敦煌 Prefecture.

11 The seat of He Province 河州 was in present-day Linxia 臨夏, Gansu Province.

12 The seat of Dunhuang 敦煌 was to the west of present-day Dunhuang.

13 The seat of Jinchang 晉昌 was to the southeast of present-day Anxi 安西, Gansu Province.

14 The seat of Gaochang 高昌 was at the present-day site of ancient Gaochang.

15 The record in the "Zhang Jun zhuan" of *Weishu* (ch. 99) is roughly the same as that in the "Dili zhi (shang)" of *Jinshu* (ch. 14A), but the former text states explicitly that "Yang Xuan 楊宣, the Colonel of the Western Hu, was appointed Provincial Governor". Also according to the former, Zhang Jun, at the same time when he "made Liang Province out of the eleven prefectures and appointed his eldest son, [Zhang] Chonghua, the Provincial Governor", "made He Province out of the eight prefectures and appointed the Colonel Stabilizing the Rong 戎, Zhang Guan 張瓘, the Provincial Governor".

16 Chen Ge 陳戈, "Yanqi, Weili, Weixu ducheng kao" 焉耆尉犂危須都城考, *Xibei shidi* 西北史地 1985.2: 22-31. The locations of Tiemen 鐵門 and the Zheliu valley 遮留谷 below are also from this article.

17 One theory is that this is the same as the "Jueli Barrier" 爵離關 in the "Ban Yong zhuan" 班勇傳 of *Hou-Han shu*. See Meng Fanren 孟凡人, *Beiting shidi yanjiu* 北庭史地研究 (Urumqi: Xinjiang renmin chubanshe, 1985), pp. 212-213.

18 Cf. Yu Taishan, *Liang Han Wei Jin Nanbeichao yu Xiyu guanxi shi yanjiu* 兩漢魏晉南北朝與西域關係史研究 (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 1995), pp. 126-127.

19 The "Qian-Liang lu" 前涼錄 of *Shiliuguo Chunqiu* 十六國春秋 by Cui Hong 崔鴻, cited in *Taiping yulan* 太平御覽 (ch. 124), states: "In the eighth year [i.e., the sixth year of the Xianhe 咸和 reign-period, 331 CE], many officials advised [Zhang] Jun to proclaim himself the King of Liang and to establish his own government. [Zhang] Jun said, 'These words should not come from vassals. If anyone dares to say this [again], his offense cannot be pardoned'. They also begged to have the heir named, and thereupon Chonghua 張重華 was established. In the twelfth month, the king of the state of Shanshan, Yuanmeng 元孟, presented his daughter, who was extremely pretty, and was called the Beautiful One. Zhang Jun founded the Binxia 賓遐 (Accommodating the Guest from Afar) Palace to house her".

20 According to the "Fu Jian zaiji" 苻堅載記 of *Jinshu*, it occurred in the seventh year of the Taiyuan reign-period (382 CE), but the "Jinji" of *Zizhi tongjian* (ch. 104) dated it to the ninth month of the year. According to both sources, Lü Guang set out from Chang'an in the first month of the next year.

21 Fu Jian's invasion of Jin happened in the seventh month in the eighth year of the Taiyuan reign-period (383 CE) according to the "Jinji" of *Zizhi tongjian* (ch. 105).

22 Li Guangli 李廣利 was the Ershi 貳師 Gerneral, whose biography is included in *Hanshu* (ch. 61). The legend about Li Guangli who "concentrated sincerity until the heavens were influenced and a fountain gushed forth" is not included in his biography, but is first mentioned in the "Geng Gong zhuan" 耿恭傳 of *Hou-Han shu* 後漢書: "I have heard that the Ershi General stabbed the mountain with the sword he carried, and water gushed from the mountain".

23 Bo Zhen 帛震 was established as king for his closeness to Qin. Lü Guang made Bo Zhen the king of Qiuci, and renewed the certificates of the various states, which shows that his way of controlling the Western Regions was no different from that of the previous dynasties. In sum, during the reign of the Fu Qin Dynasty, with the exception of Gaochang, Shanshan, and the state of Nearer Jushi, it was unable to control the Western Regions. In the "Lü Guang zaiji" of *Jinshu* (ch. 122), it is recorded that Lü Guang exchanged the *jie* 節 and *zhuan* 傳 (the certificates to undertake trade and to ride in carriages and use the horses of posthouses) of the Fu Qin for those of Han after he had pacified the Western Regions, but this was sheer formality. The "Dao'an zhuan" 道安傳 in *Gaoseng zhuan* 高僧傳 states that Fu Jian annexed Qiuci in the west, obviously an instance of Lü's accomplishment being attributed to the Fu Qin.

24 The "Jiumoluoshi zhuan" in *Jinshu* records: "Jiumoluoshi was a native of Tianzhu.... The various states in the Western Regions were all awed by Jiumoluoshi's spiritual insight. Whenever it was time for him to teach, the various kings would kneel for a long time by the side [aisle], so that he could reach the platform by stepping on them. When Fu Jian heard of this, he had a secret desire to receive him [in his court]. It so happened that at that time the Grand Astrologer presented a memorial, saying, 'A star has appeared at the border of the outer states, portending that a wise man with great virtue shall come and assist the ruler in the Middle Kingdom'. [Fu] Jian said, 'We heard that Jiumoluoshi was in the Western Regions. Wouldn't this refer to him?' [Fu Jian] therefore sent the General of Resolute Cavalry, Lü Guang, with a force of 70,000 men to undertake a western expedition against the state of Qiuci. He instructed Lü Guang, 'If you take Jiumuluoshi, send him [to Us] speedily by the post road'. The army of Lü Guang had not reached Qiuci when [Jiumo]luoshi advised Bai Chun 白純 , the king of Qiuci: 'The fortune of the state has declined, and there will be a formidable force coming from Chang'an. You should receive this force with respect, instead of resisting it'. [Bai] Chun did not follow this advice, and set out to fight. Lü Guang then completely defeated him and obtained [Jiumo]luoshi". It is also recorded in the "Yishu zhuan" of *Jinshu* and "Jiumoluoshi zhuan" in *Gaoseng zhuan* that [Jiumo]luoshi urged Lü Guang to return east. This, however, shows that Jiumoluoshi wanted to spread his religion to the east with the support of Lü

Guang.

25 The words "with over 20,000 camels", etc., show how rich Qiuci and its neighboring states were. Lü Guang's policy of robbing without restraint violated Fu Jian's original intention. Therefore, the note that "in [Lü] Guang's pacification of the Western Regions his prestige and benevolence were highly conspicuous" refers only to a ploy adopted by him during the period when it was uncertain whether he should advance or retreat. The culture of the Western Regions spread eastwards along with expert entertainers, marvelous actors, and others taken by Lü Guang, but one should understand that his confiscations were detrimental to cultural exchange between east and west in the final analysis.

26 According to the "Jinji" in *Zizhi tongjian*, Fu Jian "appointed Yang Gan 楊幹 of Gaochang the Administrator of Gaochang Prefecture at the same time when he appointed Liang Xi 梁熙 the Governor of Liang Province in the first year of the Taiyuan reign-period (376 CE)". Yang Gan 楊幹 might be Yang Han 楊翰; Han 翰 or Gan 幹, one version must be wrong. At that time Gaochang was subordinate to Liang Province because Sha Province had been abolished. According to the "Fu Jian zaiji (xia)" of *Jinshu* (ch. 114), in the seventh year of the Taiyuan reign-period (382 CE), "the Duke of Donghai 東海, [Fu] Yang 苻陽—the son of [Fu] Fa 苻法, the elder brother of [Fu] Jian--, rebelled with the Gentleman Cavalier Attendant [Wang] Pi 王皮, the son of Wang Meng 王猛, and the plot was uncovered". Fu Jian, "absolving them, did not put them to death. He removed Fu Yang to Gaochang and Wang Pi to the north of Shuofang 朔方". From this, it can be seen that Gaochang was still regarded as a place where those banished to guard the frontier were sent even after it was established as a prefecture.

27 "Gaotong" 高桐 should be "Gaowu" 高梧 according to the "Shanxi (shisi)" 陕西十四 in *Dushi fangyi jiyao* 讀史方輿紀要 (ch. 65): "Gaowu 高梧 is a corruption of Jiaohe 交河". Jiaohe used to be the seat of the king's government of Nearer Jushi.

28 Yiwu 伊吾 is near present-day Hami 哈密.

29 The "Fu Pi zaiji" 苻丕載記 of *Jinshu* records: "At that time, Lü Guang returned with his forces from the Western Regions and arrived at Yihe 宜禾. The Governor of Liang Province appointed by [Fu] Jian, Liang Xi 梁熙, considered closing the borders to resist him. The Administrator of Gaochang, Yang Han 楊翰, said to [Liang] Xi, 'Lü Guang has just stabilized the states in the west. His is a formidable force with a superior morale, whose momentum is irresistible. Considering his intentions, I think he must have his own schemes. These days the area west of Hangu 函谷 Barrier is in chaos, and no one can predict the fate of the capital. The land extending west from the

Yellow River as far as the Flowing Sands is an area of 10,000 square *li* with 100,000 troops. The three powers will be positioned like a tripod: this is unfolding right now. If [Lü] Guang marches from the Flowing Sands, the situation is difficult to predict. The entrance into the Gaowu 高梧 valley is a vital strategic position with a water supply, which should be guarded in order to deprive [Lü Guang] of water source. If thirsty, his troops will lay down their arms. If Gaowu is too far away to defend, then the Yiwu 伊吾 Barrier can be used to resist [Lü Guang]. If he passes the two positions, even one with [Zhang] Zifang's [i.e., Zhang Liang] brilliance will be at a loss as to what to do. Some places have to be taken, and this is the critical moment'. [Liang] Xi did not follow this advice".

30 According to the "Jinji" in *Zizhi tongjian*, in the third month of the tenth year of the Taiyuan 太元 reign-period (385 CE), Lü Guang decided to return east. Gaochang, Dunghuang, and Jinchang 晉昌 submitted to him one by one. The Administrator of Wuwei 武威 captured Liang Xi and surrendered. Lü Guang killed Liang Xi and entered Guzang 姑臧, and concurrently assumed himself the Governorship of Liang Province.

31 These matters occurred after Lü Guang had sent a punitive expedition against Qifu Qiangui 乞伏乾歸 and Peng Xinian 彭奚念 (392 CE), and before he declared himself the Celestial King (396 CE), according to the "Zaiji". In the "Jinji" of *Zizhi tongjian*, this is dated to the nineteenth year of the Taiyuan reign-period (394 CE). From this, one can see that Lü Guang re-established the Administrator to control Gaochang, and that his attention to Gaochang surpassed that of the former dynasties. Cf. Tang Changru, "Gaochang jun jinian".

32 "The king of Qiuci, Bo Chun, resisted Guang. Guang bivouacked south of his town" 龜茲王帛純距光，光軍其城南: "Hou Liang lu" 後涼錄 of *Shiliuguo Chunqiu* 十六國春秋 (ch. 10) reads, "[Guang] arrived at Qiuci; its king, Bo Chun, resisted [Guang's] orders, refusing to surrender. Guang bivouacked south of his town".

33 Wensu 溫宿 was an oasis state on the Northern Route of the Western Regions, first mentioned in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hou-Han shu*. The seat of its king's government was in the vicinity of present-day Ush.

34 Weitou 尉頭 was an oasis state on the Northern Route of the Western Regions, first mentioned in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu*. The seat of its king's government was probably located near the site of Tumshuq to the northeast of present-day Bachu 巴楚.

35 The "Hou-Zhao lu (san)" 後趙錄三 of *Shiliuguo Chunqiu* (ch. 13) reads, "Ma Shen brought maps, offered to surrender, presented tribute, and declared himself a vassal. The envoys of Gaochang, Yutian, Shanshan, and Dayuan all presented their local products".

36 Some scholars believe that "mi" 靡 is a transcription of the Tocharian "*wäl*" or "*walo*"; see E. G. Pulleyblank, "The Consonantal System of Old Chinese", *Asia Major* n.s. 9 (1962): 58-144, 206-265, esp. 227.

37 For detail, see Yu Taishan, *Saizhong shi yanjiu* 塞種史研究 (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 1992), pp. 102-104.

38 Yu Taishan, *Saizhong shi yanjiu.*

39 For details on the geography of Da Qin, see Yu Taishan, *Saizhong shi yanjiu,* pp. 182-209.

40 Tang Changru, "Gaochang jun jinian".

41 Ise Sentaro 伊瀬仙太郎, *Chūgoku Seiiki kēiēishi kenkyū* 中國西域經營史研究 (A study of the history of Chinese administration in the Western Regions) (Tokyo: Gannandō shoten, 1968), p. 106. Ise Sentaro argues that the two kings persuaded Fu Jian, asking him for troops to make an expedition against the Western Regions and for the appointment of the Protector-General, in order to stimulate trade between east and west so they could profit from it. Matsuda Hisao, *Kodai Tenzan no rekishi-chirigakuteki kenkyū*, p. 135, holds roughly the same opinion. If their theory is right, there must have been a power able to monopolize the trade between east and west. It is quite possible that the state of Qiuci played this role.

42 The *Taiping yulan* (ch. 122) quotes the "Qian-Qin lu" 前秦錄 by Cui Hong 崔鴻: "In the first month of the thirteenth year of the [Jianyuan 建元 reign-period], the Grand Astrologer presented a memorial, saying, 'A star has appeared at the border of the outer states, portending that a wise man with great virtue shall come and assist the ruler in the Middle Kingdom. Whoever gets him will prosper'. [Fu] Jian heard that Jiumoluoshi was in the Western Regions, and Shi Dao'an 釋道安 in Xiangyang 襄陽. He sent [people] to search for both". "Shi Dao'an zhuan" 釋道安傳 of the *Gaoseng zhuan* states: "[Fu] Jian said to the Supervisor Quan Yi 權翼, 'I sent an army of 100,000 troops to take Xiangyang, and got one man and a half'. [Quan] Yi asked, 'Who are they?' [Fu] Jian said, 'The one man is Dao'an; the half is Xi Zaochi 習鑿齒 '."

七 《梁書·西北諸戎傳》(節錄) [1] 要注

A CONCISE COMMENTARY ON CHAPTER 54 OF *LIANGSHU*, "MEMOIR ON THE VARIOUS RONG OF THE NORTHWEST" (EXCERPT) *

西北諸戎，漢世張騫始發西域之迹，[2] 甘英遂臨西海，[3] 或遣侍子，或奉貢獻，于時雖窮兵極武，僅而克捷，比之前代，其略遠矣。魏時三方鼎跱，日事干戈，晉氏平吳以後，少獲寧息，徒置戊己之官，[4] 諸國亦未賓從也。繼以中原喪亂，胡人遞起，西域與江東隔礙，重譯不交。呂光之涉龜兹，[5] 亦猶蠻夷之伐蠻夷，非中國之意也。自是諸國分并，勝負強弱，難得詳載。明珠翠羽，雖仞於後宮，蒲梢龍文 [6]，希入於外署。有梁受命，其奉正朔而朝闕庭者，則仇池 [7]、宕昌 [8]、高昌 [9]、鄧至 [10]、河南 [11]、龜兹、于闐 [12]、滑 [13] 諸國焉。今綴其風俗，爲"西北戎傳"云。[14]

As for the various Rong 戎 of the northwest, Zhang Qian 張騫 in Han times first opened up the knowledge about the Western Regions, [2] and then Gan Ying 甘英 reached the Western Sea. [3] Some of the states sent their princes to attend at the court, while others sent envoys to present tribute. At that time, [the imperial court] could win a victory only by exhausting the troops to the fullest extent in military exertions, but the strategy was more long-range than that in preceding generations. With three parties at loggerheads in Wei 魏 times, there was ongoing military conflict, but after the Jin 晉 Dynasty had put down the state of Wu 吳, relative peace and calm prevailed. Thereupon an officer of Wuji 戊己 was established, [4] but the various states [in the Western Regions] were not subject to the court. Following this, the Central Plains were thrown into confusion, and the barbarian states rose in succession. Communications between the Western Regions and south of the Yangtze River were blocked, and the intermediary

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* The memoir is translated by Yu Taishan and edited by Victor H. Mair.

interpreters were not available. Lü Guang's 吕光 entry into Qiuci 龜茲 [5] was merely a case of one barbarian attacking another, not the intention of the Middle Kingdom. From then on the various states were divided or combined, victorious or defeated, strong or weak. It is difficult to record all of the details. Rarities such as luminous pearls and kingfisher feathers [were seen] in plenty in the empress' palace; but seldom did *pushao* 蒲梢 and dragon-stripe horses enter the outer offices. [6] From the time when Liang 梁 received the heavenly mandate, those states who accepted the Chinese calendar and paid their respects at the imperial court were Chouchi 仇池[7], Dangchang 宕昌[8], Gaochang 高昌[9], Dengzhi 鄧至[10], Henan 河南[11], Qiuci 龜茲, Yutian 于闐[12], Hua 滑[13], among others. Now we have compiled their customs into the "Memoir on the Various Northwestern Rong". [14]

[1] The parallels between this memoir and the portraits of the envoys from the various states in the northwest along with inscriptions in the fragment of "Liang zhigong tu" 梁職貢圖 (Envoys paying tribute to Liang) in the Palace Museum of Nanjing indicate that they are based on similar sources. The prototype of this fragment is "Fangguo shi tu" 方國使圖 (Portraits of envoys from remote states) by Pei Ziye 裴子野. In other words, this memoir or at least the records of the ten states it contains are based on this piece. The following passage is recorded in the "Pei Ziye zhuan" 裴子野傳 of *Liangshu*: "At that time, envoys came via the Mianshan 岷山 (Mian Mountain) Route from the states of Baiti 白題 and Hua 滑, both beyond the north-western frontier, to present tribute. These two states had never had any contact with [the Middle Kingdom] and no one knew anything about their history. [Pei] Ziye said, 'The Marquis of Yingyin 潁陰 of Han killed a Hu general from Baiti'. Fu Qian's 服虔 commentary reads, 'Baiti is a Hu name'. On another occasion, the Marquis of Dingyuan 定遠 attacked the savages, and Bahua 八滑 followed him. Could this [Hua] have been a descendant of [Bahua]?' The people at that time were impressed by his expansive knowledge. The emperor therefore ordered him to continue the compilation of the 'Fangguo shi tu', which included twenty states, from the remote areas to overseas, in order to provide a sweeping description of the splendor which attracted many states to [Liang] to pay their respects". The "twenty states" referred to here were obviously those that came to pay their respects to Liang, and these undoubtedly included those in the Western Regions. The purpose of Pei Ziye's work was to "provide a sweeping description"; it also attests to the fact that the states came to pay their respects to Liang mainly for political reasons. The fragment of the Song copy of the original work is in the collection of the Nanjing Museum. Only twelve portraits of the envoys

are extant; eight states from the Western Regions are represented: Hua, Bosi 波斯, Qiuci, Zhouguke 周古柯, Hebatan 呵跋檀, Humidan 胡蜜丹, Baiti, and Mo 末. By the side of the portrait of every envoy there is an inscription (although that concerning the state of Mo is damaged). Many of the events recorded there are the same as in this memoir, although the inscriptions provide more details, a fact that shows that the portraits are true records and constitute the basis of the records in this memoir. The various states in the Western Regions came to present tribute to the Liang court also by the "Henan 河南 Route", as in the Liu Song 劉宋 times. According to the "Hainan zhu Yi zhuan" 海南諸夷傳 of *Liangshu*, "the various states south of the sea are, generally speaking, on the large islands in the Great Sea to the south and southwest of Jiao 交 Province. From them to the capital of Liang, the closest route is three to five thousand *li*, and the more distant is twenty to thirty thousand *li*. To the west they adjoin the various states in the Western Regions". Therefore, the possibility cannot be ruled out that the envoys from the various states in the Western Regions, such as Bosi, also came by sea to pay their respects at the court.[1]

[2] The biography of Zhang Qian 張騫 can be found in the "Dayuan liezhuan" of *Shiji* and the "Zhang Qian, Li Guangli zhuan" of *Hanshu*. Emperor Wu 武 of Han sent Zhang Qian on a mission to the west in order to fight against the Xiongnu with the Yuezhi 月氏; this can be seen as the beginning of communications between the dynasties on the Central Plains and the Western Regions.

[3] According to the "Wudi ji" 武帝紀 of *Jinshu* 晉書, among others, the Western Jin had established the Wuji 戊己 colonelcy in the Western Regions. The Wuji Colonel in the Western Jin, as in the age of the Cao Wei 曹魏, was subordinate to the Governor of Liang 涼 Province. The seat of the colonelcy was also in Gaochang 高昌; in fact, the office can be seen as a continuation of the Wuji Colonel of the Cao Wei era.

[4] The biography of Gan Ying 甘英 can be found in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hou-Han shu*. In the ninth year of the Yongyuan 永元 reign-period of Emperor He 和, Ban Chao 班超, the Protector-General of the Western Regions, sent Gan Ying on a mission to Da Qin 大秦, i.e., the Roman Empire. Gan Ying returned after reaching the eastern shore of the Western Sea, i.e., the Mediterranean. Gan Ying's mission can be seen as the apogee in the Eastern Han's management of the Western Regions.

[5] For Lü Guang's expedition against Qiuci, see the "Xi Rong zhuan" 西戎傳 and the "Lü Guang zaiji" 呂光載記 of *Jinshu*. Qiuci was an oasis state on the Northern Route of the Western Regions, first mentioned in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu*.

[6] "*Pushao*" 蒲梢 and "*Longwen*" 龍文 ("Dragon Stripe") were the names of fine horses.

[7] Chouchi 仇池 was also called the state of Wuxing 武興, a regime founded by the Yangs 楊

of the Di 氐; it was located in the border area between present-day Gansu 甘肅 and Sichuan 四川.

[8] Dangchang 宕昌 was a regime founded by the Dangchang Qiang 宕昌羌; it was located west of Chouchi and south of Tianshui 天水.

[9] The precursor of Gaochang 高昌 was the Fortress of Gaochang 高昌壁 in the state of Nearer Jushi 車師前國 in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu*. Its site is the present-day ruins of old Gaochang.

[10] Dengzhi 鄧至 was one branch of the Western Qiang 西羌, also known as the Baishui Qiang 白水羌.

[11] Henan 河南 refers to the Tuyuhun 吐谷渾, originally a branch of the Murong 慕容 tribe of the Xianbei 鮮卑, who later relocated to the south of present-day Gansu 甘肅, Qinghai 青海, and other places, where they founded their own regime. In the 660s, they were wiped out by the Tubo 吐蕃.

[12] Yutian 于闐 was an oasis state on the Southern Route of the Western Regions, first mentioned in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu*.

[13] Hua 滑 is the Yeda 嚈噠 in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Weishu*. "Hua" 滑 is an abbreviation of "Huadun" 滑匜. "Huadun" [hoat(kuət)-duən] is seen in the "Xi Rong (wu)" 西戎五 of the "Bianfang (jiu)" 邊防九 in *Tongdian* 通典, a transcription of Huna. This is probably because the Hua people once called themselves the Xiongnu 匈奴; the people of Liang only heard the pronunciation without knowing what it really meant: hence the term Huadun, or Hua.[2]

[14] The states in the Western Regions included in this memoir had all paid their respects at the imperial court. Regarding the statement that they "accepted the Chinese calendar and paid their respects at the imperial court", the latter is correct, but it is not true that they "accepted the Chinese calendar".

…………[15]

[15] Prior to Gaochang there is a section on the king of Henan 河南, which is omitted here, because it does not belong to the Western Regions.

高昌國，闞氏爲主，[16]其後爲河西王沮渠茂虔弟無諱襲破之，其王闞爽奔于芮芮[17]。無諱據之稱王，一世而滅。[18]國人又立麴氏爲王，名嘉，元魏授車騎將軍、司空公、都督秦州諸軍事、秦州刺史、金城郡開國公。[19]在位二十四年卒[20]，謚曰昭武王。[21]子子堅，使持節、驃騎大將軍、散騎常侍、都督瓜州諸軍事、瓜州刺史、河西郡開國公、儀同三司高昌王嗣位。[22]

The state of Gaochang 高昌: Its ruler was from the Han 闞 family.[16] Later, it was attacked and defeated by [Juqu] Wuhui [沮渠] 無諱, the younger brother of Juqu Maoqian 沮渠茂虔, the King of Hexi 河西, and its king Han Shuang 闞爽 fled to the Ruirui 芮芮 [17]for shelter. [Juqu] Wuhui occupied it and proclaimed himself king but was destroyed after one king.[18] The countrymen then established a man of the Qu 麴 family, whose name was Jia 嘉, as king. The Yuan Wei 元魏 Dynasty conferred upon him the titles of General of Chariots and Cavalry, Duke of the Minister of Works, Commander-in-Chief of Military Operations of Qin 秦 Province, Governor of Qin Province, and Duke of Kaiguo 開國 ["Founder of the Dynasty"] of Jincheng 金城 Prefecture.[19] [Qu Jia 麴嘉] was on the throne for twenty-four years,[20] and was given the posthumous title of "King of Zhaowu" 昭武 ["Illustrious Military Accomplishments"].[21] His son Zijian 子堅, granted the titles of Commissioner with Extraordinary Powers, Cavalry Supreme General, Cavalier Attendant-in-Ordinary, Commander-in-Chief of Military Operations of Gua 瓜 Province, Governor of Gua Province, Duke of Kaiguo 開國 ["Founder of the Dynasty"] of Hexi 河西 Prefecture, Unequaled in Honor and King of Gaochang 高昌, succeeded to the throne.[22]

[16] The "Xiyu zhuan" of the *Beishi* 北史: "During the reign-period of Taiwu 太武 (424-452) Han Shuang 闞爽 appointed himself the Administrator of Gaochang."

[17] The Ruirui 芮芮 are a nomadic tribe in North Asia; the name is the same as Ruru 蠕蠕 in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Weishu*. At that time the Ruirui were vying with the Wei 魏 of the Tuoba 拓跋 family for the control of the Western Regions.[3]

[18] The "Xiyu zhuan" of *Beishi* records: "During the [Taiping] Zhenjun 太平真君 reign-period (440-451), [Han] Shuang was unexpectedly attacked by [Juqu] Wuhui 沮渠無諱, who occupied Gaochang. On the death of Wuhui, his younger brother Anzhou 安周 took his place". It was in the third year of the Zhenjun reign-period (442) that the Juqu family occupied Gaochang; it was in the first year of the Heping 和平 reign-period (460) that the Juqus were wiped out by the Ruirui: the occupation lasted for two kings and nineteen years. It is stated in this memoir that the Juqu regime "was destroyed after one king", which was not correct.[4]

[19] The "Xiyu zhuan" of *Beishi* records: "During the Yanchang 延昌 reign-period (512-515 CE), [the emperor] conferred on [Qu] Jia 麴嘉 the titles of Commissioner with Special Powers, General Pacifying the West, Governor of Gua 瓜 Province, and the Earl of Kaiguo 開國 of Tailin 泰

臨 County. [Qu Jia] continued to refer to himself as king in private". For details about how Qu Jia declared himself king, see the record on Gaochang in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Beishi*.

[20] "Qu Jia was on the throne for twenty-four years": From 501 to 524.

[21] Qu Jia "was given the posthumous title of 'King of Zhaowu'": According to the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Beishi*, "At [Qu] Jia's death, he was conferred the titles of General Pacifying the West and Governor of Liang Province".

[22] According to the "Chudi ji" 出帝紀 of *Weishu*, in the second year of the Yongxi 永熙 reign-period (533 CE), "in the winter, the tenth month, on the day *guiwei* 癸未, the emperor invested the General of the Guards, Governor of Gua Province, Earl of Kaiguo of Tailin County, and King of Gaochang, Qu Zijian 麴子堅, with the title of Unequaled in Honor, and promoted him to Prefectural King [or king, second class]". According to the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Beishi*, the name of the successor was Qu Jian 麴堅; his name did not contain the character *zi* 子; we do not know which version is correct.

其國蓋車師之故地也。[23]南接河南，東連燉煌[24]，西次龜兹，北隣敕勒[25]。置四十六鎮[26]，交河[27]、田地[28]、高寧[29]、臨川[30]、橫截[31]、柳婆[32]、洿林[33]、新興[34]、由寧[35]、始昌[36]、篤進[37]、白力[38]等，皆其鎮名。官有四鎮將軍及雜號將軍，長史，司馬，門下校郎，中兵校郎，通事舍人，通事令史，諮議，校尉，主簿。[39]國人言語與中國略同。[40]有五經、歷代史、諸子集。[41]面貌類高驪，辮髮垂之於背[42]，著長身小袖袍、縵襠袴。女子頭髮辮而不垂，著錦纈纓珞環釧。[43]姻有六禮。[44]其地高燥，築土爲城，架木爲屋，土覆其上。寒暑與益州相似。[45]備植九穀，人多噉麨及羊牛肉。出良馬、蒲陶酒、石鹽[46]。多草木，草實如璽，璽中絲如細纑，名曰白疊子[47]，國人多取織以爲布。布甚軟白，交市用焉。[48]有朝烏者，旦旦集王殿前，爲行列，不畏人，日出然後散去。

The state of [Gaochang] is in the former land of Jushi 車師. [23] It adjoins Henan 河南 in the south, connects to Dunhuang 敦煌 in the east[24], joins Qiuci 龜兹 in the west, and is a neighbor of Chile 敕勒 in the north. [25] Forty-six defense commands have been established. [26] Jiaohe 交河[27], Tiandi 田地[28], Gaoning 高寧[29], Linchuan 臨川[30], Hengjie 橫截[31], Liupo 柳婆[32], Wulin 洿林[33], Xinxing 新興[34], Youning 由寧[35], Shichang 始昌[36], Dujin 篤進[37] and Baili 白力[38] are all the names of its defense commands. For officials, there are generals of the four defense commands, and generals of varied titles, as well as one Chief Official, Major, Examiner for the Chancellery, Examiner for

the Army of the Center, Interpreter-Clerk, Interpreter Secretary, Consultant, Colonel, and Archivist.[39] The spoken language of the people somewhat resembles that of the Middle Kingdom. [40] They possess *The Five Classics*, the historical books of successive dynasties, and works by the exponents of the various schools of thought from the Spring and Autumn period onwards. [41] The features of the people are generally the same as those of the people of Gaoli 高驪. They braid their hair into a queue and let it hang down their backs. [42] They wear long robes with small sleeves and pants without vents in the seat. The women's hair is braided and does not hang down. They wear figured silk fabrics, tassels, rings, and bracelets. [43] For weddings they practice the six ceremonies. [44] The land is elevated and dry, and the town walls are built by piling up tamped earth. The houses are built by erecting timbers, which in turn are covered by earth. The climate is similar to that of Yizhou 益州. [45] The nine grains are all grown. The staple diet comprises parched oat flour and mutton. The land produces fine horses, wine made of grapes, and rock salt. [46] There is an abundance of vegetation. One type of grass has a fruit that is just like a silkworm cocoon, and the silk from the cocoon is like fine hempen thread. It is called *baidiezi* 白疊子 (white cotton cloth)[47]. The countrymen pick it and weave it into cloth which is very soft and white, and used in trade. [48] There are birds called "early crows", which gather in front of the king's palace every morning. They line up without fear of human beings, and do not disperse until the sun rises.

[23] Jushi 車師 was an oasis state on the Northern Route, first seen in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu*. The precursor of the state of Gaochang was the Fortress of Gaochang in Nearer Jushi; this is why it was referred to as "the former land of Jushi".

[24] Dunhuang 燉煌 was a prefecture; its seat was west of present-day Dunhuang 敦煌.

[25] Chile 敕勒 here refers to the regime of the tribe of Fufuluo 副伏羅 of the Gaoche 高車. For detail, see the record on Gaoche in *Weishu*.

[26] "Forty-six defense commands": The number of Gaochang's defense commands varies with time. According to some, *si* 四 is redundant, because it was impossible for the number of Gaochang's defense commands to increase to forty-six in the era of the Xiao Liang 蕭梁.[5]

[27] Jiaohe 交河 is generally believed to have been located at the site of Jiaohe west of Turfan.

[28] Tiandi 田地 is generally believed to have been located in the old town of Liuzhong 柳中 in the west of Lükqün to the southwest of present-day Shanshan County.

[29] Gaoning 高寧 is generally believed to have been located in present-day Tuyuk.

[30] Linchuan 臨川 is generally believed to have been located in present-day Ləmjin in Shanshan County.

[31] Hengjie 横截 is believed by some to have been located in Handu (Handukarizi) west of present-day Ləmjin.[6]

[32] For the location of Liupo 柳婆 there are three contenders: Tugung (Lämpä) to the southeast of present-day Turfan;[7] east of Aydingkol;[8] and Liucheng 柳城 (Lükqün) to the southeast of the ancient town of Jiaohe 交河.[9]

[33] Wulin 洿林 is believed by some to have been located in present-day Buyluq.[10]

[34] Xinxing 新興 is believed to have been located north of present-day Singgimtay.[11]

[35] Youning 由寧 should be the Ningrong 寧戎 in the documents unearthed in Turfan.[12] It is believed by some to be present-day Singgimtay.[13]

[36] Shichang 始昌 is believed by some to have been the ancient town north of Datong to the east of Toksun.[14]

[37] Dujin 篤進 is generally believed to have been located in present-day Toksun. Its precursor was perhaps the town of Douzi 兜訾 in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu*. "Douzi" 兜訾 [to-tzie] and "Dujin" 篤進 [təuk-tzien] should be variant transcriptions of the same name.

[38] Baili 白力 is generally believed to have been located in the seat of present-day Shanshan County.

[39] Gaochang's bureaucracy: According to the bricks with engravings, epitaphs carved on stones, and the tombstones unearthed in the Gaochang area, as well as the documents unearthed in Turfan, the bureaucracy fell into six systems, two belonging to the military, and the other four belonging to the central royal government, the prefecture and the county. The composition of the bureaucracy was inherited from that of the Central Plains in Qin and Han times, with the exception of some additional minor positions, which were established only in Gaochang.[15] The "generals of the four defense commands" may refer to the generals of the four commands in the east, west, north, and south, positions that were not permanently filled.

[40] The "Yiyu zhuan" 異域傳 of *Zhoushu* 周書 records: "They possess the *Odes of Mao*, the *Analects*, and the *Classic of Filial Piety*, and have established Educational Functionaries with disciples to provide for the study of and instruction in these, but although they learn to read the texts, they still translate them all into the Hu language". The account differs from the text in this memoir.

[41] The examples of the pre-Tang historical works excavated in Turfan are: "Yu Fan zhuan" 虞翻傳 of *Sanguo zhi* 三國志 (excavated in Turfan in 1924; Jin manuscript copy; presently in the

collection of Japan Calligraphy Museum); "Yu Fan, Lu Ji, Zhang Wen zhuan" 虞翻陸績張溫傳 of *Sanguo zhi* (Jin manuscript copy, currently in the collection of Ueno Junichi 上野淳一, Japan);[16] "Wuzhu [Sun Quan] zhuan" 吳主 [孫權] 傳 of *Sanguo zhi* (excavated from Turfan on 10 January 1965; Jin manuscript copy; now in the collection of the Museum of Xinjiang Uighur Autonomous Region); "Zang Hong zhuan" 臧洪傳 of *Weishu* 魏書 (excavated at the same time as the previous piece; Jin manuscript copy; now in the collection of the Museum of Xinjiang Uighur Autonomous Region), *Jin yangqiu* 晉陽秋 (unearthed from Tomb No. 151 of Astana in Turfan); *Qian-Han ji* 前漢紀 (unearthed in the Thousand-Buddha Grottos in Bezeklik in 1980-1981),[17] among others. Other works include *Qianziwen* 千字文 (unearthed from Tomb No. 151 of Astana), *Jijiuzhang* 急就章 with an old commentary (unearthed from Tomb No. 337 of Astana), *Youtongfu* 幽通賦 by Ban Gu 班固 (Ch3693, 3699, 2400, 3865),[18] "Gaochang shuyi" 高昌書儀 (unearthed from Tomb No. 169 of Astana), medical prescriptions 醫方 (unearthed from Tombs Nos. 153 and 204 of Astana), "Chengfa jue" 乘法訣 (old manuscript copy), *Shifa* 謚法 (old manuscript copy, unearthed from Tomb No. 316 of Astana), a fragment of the genealogy of a family in Gaochang (unearthed from Tomb No. 113 of Astana), the genealogy of a certain family (unearthed from Tomb No. 50 of Astana), "Yanshou qinian liri canjuan" 延壽七年曆日殘卷 (unearthed from Tomb No. 387 of Astana), and many Buddhist sūtras and Taoist scriptures.

[42] "They braid their hair into a queue and let it hang down their backs": This coiffure is generally believed to have been influenced by the nomadic tribes to the north.

[43] "Long robes with small sleeves and pants without vents in the seat" are Hu clothing, whereas the "figured silk fabrics, tassels, rings, and bracelets" are traditional attire of the Han on the Central Plains. The male clothing at Gaochang was influenced by that of the nomadic tribes to the north. When the Qu family ruled, people mostly followed the Türks.

[44] "The six ceremonies": The six rites governing matrimony, from betrothal to the wedding ceremony, namely *nacai* 納采, *wenming* 問名, *naji* 納吉, *nazheng* 納徵, *qingqi* 請期, and *qinying* 親迎.

[45] The seat of Yi Province 益州 in the era of the Xiao Liang was present-day Chengdu 成都, Sichuan. Chengdu and Gaochang share the same kind of basin climate, so they are mentioned together.

[46] "Shiyan" 石鹽: Rock salt.[19]

[47] "*Baidie*" 白疊 refers to cotton. It is believed by some to have originally been designated *pambak dip* in Persian.[20]

[48] "Cloth which is very soft and white, and used in trade": Cotton cloth was used as currency. The 400-year history of currency in that area can be divided into three periods, namely the period

of the "fabric standard" (367-560), the period of the "silver standard" (560-680), and the period of the "copper standard" (710-755). In the first phase of the first period (367-482), because the Central Plains was embroiled in wars and turmoil, various powers, such as the Ruirui, the state of Hua, the state of Henan 河南 , among others, controlled the Silk Route. Gaochang mostly conducted trade with these people, using blankets as currency; cotton cloth was complementary. After 482, as the scale of cotton plantations was enlarged, cotton cloth took the place of woolen blankets. In the last few years of the regime of the Qu family, silver coins became the currency in circulation, with the result that cotton cloth no longer served as standard currency. Cotton cloth, however, still served occasionally as security or pledge.[21]

大同中，子堅遣使獻鳴鹽枕 [49]、蒲陶、良馬、氍毹 [50] 等物。[51]

During the Datong 大同 reign-period [Qu] Zijian [麴] 子堅 sent envoys to present whistling salt pillows[49], grapes, fine horses, *qushu* 氍毹 (wool carpets)[50], and other goods.[51]

[49] "Mingyan zhen" 鳴鹽枕 is believed to have been the plaster pillow.[22]

[50] "*Qushu*" 氍毹 is seen in the "Xi Rong zhuan" 西戎傳 of *Weilüe*.

[51] The tribute mission during the Datong reign-period (535-546) was not recorded in the basic annals of *Liangshu*.

滑國者，車師之别種也。[52] 漢永建元年，八滑從班勇擊北虜有功，勇上八滑爲後部親漢侯。[53] 自魏、晉以來，不通中國。[54] 至天監十五年，其王厭帶夷栗陁始遣使獻方物。[55] 普通元年，又遣使獻黃師子、白貂裘、波斯錦等物。[56] 七年，又奉表貢獻。[57]

The state of Hua 滑: The people originate from a branch of the Jushi people.[52] In the first year of the Yongjian 永建 reign-period of the Han Dynasty, Bahua 八滑 followed Ban Yong 班勇 to attack the northern savages and rendered great service. The Han made Bahua the Marquis of Further Jushi Who Is Allied with Han.[53] From Wei 魏 to Jin 晉 times it did not communicate with the Middle Kingdom.[54] In the fifteenth year of the Tianjian 天監 reign-period [516 CE], its king Yedaiyilituo 厭帶夷栗陁 first sent envoys to present its local products.[55] In the first year of the Putong 普通 reign-period the king

also sent envoys to present yellow lions, white marten coats, Persian brocade, and other gifts. [56] In the seventh year [of the Putong reign-period] the king also, presenting a memorial, paid tribute. [57]

[52] "The people originate from a branch of the Jushi people": This is an example of this memoir's appropriation of Pei Ziye's "Fangguo shi tu". The view that the Hua people were descended from the Jushi people was only conjecture on the part of Pei Ziye. In the "Pei Ziye zhuan" of *Liangshu* quoted above, Pei regarded the Hua people as descendants of Bahua 八滑 of Jushi, which was also his own willful thinking and not to be relied on.[23]

[53] Bahua was the name of a nobleman in Jushi; see the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hou-Han shu*.

[54] "From Wei to Jin times": This reflects the opinion that the Hua people were descended from the Jushi people. Actually, during Wei and Jin times there had been no state of Hua.

[55] This is not seen the basic annals of *Liangshu*. According to the inscription in the fragment of "Liang zhigong tu," the name of the envoy sent by the king of Hua, Yedaiyilituo, was Puduoda 蒲多達, and the local products presented were "娫［延?］賔名纈杯" (*yanbin* 延賔, to entertain guests; *xie* 纈, woolen fabric; the items were probably woolen carpets with floral patterns and cups for entertaining guests).

[56] The "Wudi ji (xia)" 武帝紀下 of *Liangshu* records: On the day of *bingxu* 丙戌 in the third month of the first year of the Putong reign-period (520), "the state of Hua sent an envoy to present local products". The inscription on the portrait of the envoy from the state of Hua in "Liang zhigong tu" states that the name of the envoy was Fuheliaoliao 富何了了, and the local products presented included yellow lions, white marten coats, and Persian [pleated?] brocade. It also states that "the king's wife also sent an envoy, by the name of Kang Fuzhen 康符真, to present tribute at the same time". The envoy sent by the king's wife, "Kang Fuzhen", could possibly have been someone from the state of Samarkand. The people of Samarkand were famous traders; perhaps this is why someone from that state was sent by the wife of the king of Hua. It is stated in the inscription that the envoy "has his hair clipped but does not wear any hair dressing, and wears an upper garment made of Persian brocade and brocade trousers, and long boots of red elk hide".

[57] The "Wudi ji" of *Liangshu* records: On the day *dingmao* 丁卯 in the first month of the seventh year in the Putong reign-period (526), "the state of Hua sent an envoy to present local products". It also states: "On the day *xinwei* 辛未 in the third month of the first year of Datong 大同 reign-period (535), the king of Hua, Anlesadanwang 安樂薩丹王, sent an envoy to present local products". On the

day *yihai* 乙亥 in the third month of the seventh year of the Datong reign-period, "… and Hua each sent an envoy to present local products".

元魏之居桑乾也，滑猶爲小國，屬芮芮。[58] 後稍強大，征其旁國波斯 [59]、盤盤 [60]、罽賓 [61]、焉耆 [62]、龜茲、疏勒 [63]、姑墨 [64]、于闐、句盤 [65] 等國，開地千餘里。[66] 土地溫暖，多山川，［少］樹木 [67]，有五穀。國人以麨及羊肉爲糧。[68] 其獸有師子、兩脚駱駝，野驢有角。人皆善射，著小袖長身袍，用金玉爲帶。女人被裘，頭上刻木爲角，長六尺，以金銀飾之。[69] 少女子，兄弟共妻。[70] 無城郭，氈屋爲居，東向開戶。[71] 其王坐金牀，隨太歲轉，與妻並坐接客。[72] 無文字，以木爲契。[73] 與旁國通，則使旁國胡爲胡書，[74] 羊皮爲紙。無職官。[75] 事天神、火神，[76] 每日則出戶祀神而後食。其跪一拜而止。[77] 葬以木爲槨。[78] 父母死，其子截一耳 [79]，葬訖卽吉。其言語待河南人譯然後通。[80]

When the Yuan Wei 元魏 had its residence at Sanggan 桑乾, Hua was still a small state and subject to the Ruru 蠕蠕.[58] Later it gradually became stronger and invaded the neighboring states of Bosi 波斯[59], Panpan 盤盤[60], Jibin 罽賓[61], Yanqi 焉耆[62], Qiuci 龜兹, Shule 疏勒[63], Gumo 姑墨[64], Yutian 于闐, Goupan 句盤[65], and others, and opened up territories which extended for over 1,000 *li* [66]. The soil is warm, and there are many rivers and mountains, with few trees[67], and the five grains are grown. The staple diet consists of parched oat flour and mutton.[68] Beasts native to it are the lion, the two-footed camel, and a wild donkey with horns. The men all excel at shooting arrows from horseback, and they wear a long robe with small sleeves and decorate their belts with gold and jade. The women wear fur cloaks and on their heads there is a piece of wood carved into a horn six *chi* 尺 long, which is decorated with gold and silver.[69] There are few women, and older and younger brothers marry one wife. [70] They are without walled cities, living in felt tents with a window open to the east. [71] Their king sits on a golden couch, which is revolved following the planet Jupiter. The king and his wife sit shoulder to shoulder to receive visitors. [72] They have no script, but use wooden pieces as tallies. [73] In communications with neighboring states, they make use of the Hu script of neighboring states in order to prepare documents in the Hu language, [74] using parchment instead of paper. They are without officials. [75] They worship the God of Heaven and the Fire God.[76] Every day they go outside [of their tents] to sacrifice to the

gods and then they take breakfast. They prostrate themselves only once. [77] When there is a death the coffin is made of wood; [78] when a parent dies, the child will cut one of his ears. [79] As soon as the burial is over, things go on as usual. Their language is intelligible only through oral interpretation conducted by the people of Henan. [80]

[58] "When the Yuan Wei had its residence at Sanggan": If the record here is correct, then the people of Hua were once subject to the Ruirui; the question is when and for how long. Hua first sent an envoy to the Northern Wei in the second year of Tai'an reign-period (456) of Emperor Wencheng 文成, and the year it moved south could be deduced by counting "eighty to ninety years" back from 456. Therefore, it should be approximately between 366 and 376. At that time the Ruirui were not yet flourishing, so the people of Hua, when they were residing north of the defense lines of China, could not have been subject to the Ruirui. When the people of Hua migrated to the south from north of the defense lines, they first arrived in Sogdiana. Around 437 they moved south, crossing the Amu Darya, invaded Tukhārestān, and drove out the Kidāra Kushāns who resided there. After this they became increasingly stronger, becoming the most powerful state in Central Asia.[24] Thus, seen from the history of the Hua people, the state was subject to the Ruirui only in the interval after it had moved south to Sogdiana and before it invaded Tukhārestān. The statement that "the Yuan Wei had its residence at Sanggan" refers to the period when the Tuoba 拓跋 family had its capital in Pingcheng 平城 (398-494). So the time when the people of Hua were subject to the Ruirui could be dated to between 402 and 437. Over these three decades, the Ruirui expanded westwards; it is therefore not impossible for the people of Hua, a nomadic tribe west of the Cong Mountains, to have been subject to them. According to the inscription on the fragment ("Liang zhigong tu") of the portrait of the envoy from the state of Hua, after the statement that the state was "subject to the Ruirui", there is this sentence: "At the time of Qi 齊 they drove out the Moxian 莫獻 and lived in their land". The time when they occupied the east of Iran was implied, since "Moxian" [mak-xian] may well be seen as an abbreviated transcription of Margiana. After the people of Hua had thoroughly defeated the Kidāra Kushāns, they moved westward to invade Sassanian Persia and expanded to the southeast of the Caspian Sea. But it was not until Pērōz died in fighting in 484 that they consolidated their grip on Tukhārestān and Khorasan. The statement that they "drove out the Moxian and lived in their land" refers to the Hua occupation of Khorasan, an event that heralded its increasing power. This is why the inscription, following the sentence about the Moxian, states: "It later became powerful and invaded the neighboring states".

[59] Bosi 波斯 refers to Sassanian Persia. By the end of the 430s, the Hua people moved south to

Tukhārestān, defeating the Kidāra Kushāns who had resided there and driving away their king, Kidāra. Following this, they invaded Sassanian Persia to the west from Tukhārestān; at that time, Yazdgird II (r. 438-457) had only recently ascended the throne. The war started between Hua and Persia, lasting for more than a century. In the first decade or so, the Persian army successfully kept the Hua people at bay; in the twelfth year of Yazdgird II's reign (449), the Persians even moved to offensive from defensive positions, but only four years later, the Hua people crushed Yazdgird II's forces, not only consolidating their control of Tukhārestān, but also occupying some territories in the east of Sassanian Persia. After the death of Yazdgird II, his two sons contended for the throne. When his younger son, Hurmazd III (r. 457-459), prevailed, his eldest son, Pērōz (r. 459-484), fled to seek protection from Hua and took the throne with the help of Hua's military power. After the enthronement of Pērōz, the Persians and the Hua people fought continuously; both sides scored victories and suffered defeats. But in one battle, Pērōz was ambushed and had to sign a humiliating peace treaty with Hua. In 484, Pērōz, to avenge the insult, nullified the treaty and started the war again, which ended with his death in battle and complete victory on the part of Hua. Pērōz's successor, Balāsh (r. 484-488), was forced to declare himself a vassal, and pay tribute, to Hua. After Balāsh was deposed, Kavād I (r. 488-496, 498-531), Pērōz's son who had been a hostage in Hua, ascended the throne. In 496, Kavād I was deposed by Persian nobles for his support of the followers of Mazdak. He fled from prison to the Hua people, and they formed an alliance with him through marriage, which led to his restoration. In 503, while Kavād I was fighting against Byzantium, Hua took advantage of this situation to invade Persia again. Kavād I had to retreat from that front by negotiating a peace with Byzantium to engage Hua. For some time after this, Hua and Persia waged wars intermittently, with neither side able to prevail over the other. After Khusrau I (r. 531-579) ascended the throne, he initiated a series of political, economic, and military reforms, which resulted in the prosperity of Persia. While competing for hegemony over the Mediterranean with Byzantium, Khusrau I forged an alliance with the Türks through marriage so as to fight against Hua jointly. Toward the end of 550s and the beginning of the 560s, the Türks and Persians together made a joint attack on Hua and destroyed it. The Türks and Persians divided its land, with the Amu Darya as the border.

[60] Panpan 盤盤 is perhaps the Kepantuo 渴盤陁 in the text below. The "Xiyu zhuguo zhuan" 西域諸國傳 of *Nanshi* reads Kepantuo 渴盤陀.

[61] Jibin 罽賓 here refers to Kashmir. In 517-520 the Hua people had border conflicts with Jibin. The "Song Yun xingji" 宋雲行紀 in *Luoyang qielan ji* 洛陽伽藍記 (ch. 5) records: "In the middle of the fourth month in the first year of the Zhengguang 正光 reign-period (520), they entered

the state of Qiantuoluo 乾陀羅 (Gandhāra, in the north of modern Punjab), where the land was similar to that of Wuchang 烏場. Originally known as the state of Yeboluo 業波羅 (Gopāla), it was conquered by [the ruler] of Yeda 嚈噠 [i.e., Hua] who installed Chiqin 敕懃 as the king. Now two generations of this family had reigned. … Relying on his military power, [the king] had been fighting for more territory against Jibin 罽賓 (Kāśmīra, modern Kashmir) for three years. The king attacked his enemy [with a force of] seven hundred combat elephants, each carrying ten men armed with swords and clubs. Swords to strike against the enemy were attached to the trunk of each elephant. The king, as a rule, stayed at the frontier all day long without returning [to his residence]. His army grew weary and his people overburdened. [As a result,] the masses sighed with resentment". (Yang Hsüan-chih [Yang Xuanzhi] 楊衒之, *A Record of Buddhist Monasteries in Lo-yang* [*Luoyang qielan ji*], trans. Yi-t'ung Wang [Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984], pp. 235-236; with modifications; most interpolations original.)

[62] Yanqi 焉耆 was an oasis state on the Northern Route, first seen in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu*. Concerning the relationship between the state of Hua and Yanqi, the following is recorded in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Beishi*: "Formerly, the entire Hu population of Nearer [Jushi] was moved to Yanqi by Gaoche 高車. [Yanqi,] in turn, was destroyed by the Yeda [i.e., Hua]. The people were scattered, and were unable to take care of themselves, so they asked Qu Jia 麴嘉 to appoint a king [for them]. Jia sent his second son to be the king of Yanqi and to rule it". The exact date of Hua's destruction of Yanqi is unknown; it should have occurred in the first five or six years of the sixth century. Since Yanqi was destroyed, the various states in the northwest were undoubtedly subject to Yeda.

[63] Shule 疏勒 was an oasis state on the Northern Route, first seen in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu*.

[64] Gumo 姑墨 was an oasis state on the Northern Route, first seen in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu*.

[65] "Goupan" 句盤 [kiuo-buan] should be the "Zhouguke" 周古柯 [tjiu-ka-ka] in the subsequent text. Both originate from *čukupa* or *čukuban*, i.e., the *ču-go-ban* or *ču-go-panin* in Tibetan sources, and both are transcriptions of *čakukalka*.

[66] "Opened up territories which extended for over 1,000 *li*": Soon after killing Pērōz, the king of Sassanian Persia, the Hua people were eager to expand towards the Tarim Basin, and push from west to east along the Southern and Northern Routes. On the Northern Route, their power reached east of Yanqi; on the Southern Routes, it reached Yutian 于闐. Shule, Gumo, Qiuci, Bohe 鉢和, and Kejietuo, among other states, all submitted to Hua. This happened by the end of the fifth century and the beginning of the sixth century. While the state of Hua expanded toward the Tarim Basin, the Hua people moved north to contend with Gaoche for the Dzungharian Basin and the area west of it.

Probably towards the beginning of the sixth century, the Hua people effectively controlled the state of Gaoche, hence reaching the peak of their power.

[67] Here 少 is inserted in front of 樹木, in conformity to the text in the "Xiyu zhuguo zhuan" 西域諸國傳 of *Nanshi*.

[68] "Five grains are grown": This refers to conditions in Central Asia under the control of Hua.

[69] "On their heads there is a piece of wood carved into a horn…": *Luoyang qielan ji* (ch. 5) records: "The queen of Yeda also wore a brocade garment, the train of which, three *chi* long, was lifted by an attendant. She also wore a cornered [turban] eight *chi* in length and three *chi* on the diagonal. It was adorned with pearls in rose and five other colors on top. When the queen went out, she was seated in a golden, bejeweled sedan, carried on the back of a 'six-tusked' white elephant. Wives of ranking officials would accompany her under parasols. On their heads, each seemed to wear a cornered turban that was round and trailing. [Such head pieces] presented the appearance of a gem-decorated canopy of precious materials". (Yi-t'ung Wang, trans., *A Record of Buddhist Monasteries in Lo-yang*, p. 226; the interpolations are Wang's.) Such attire was related to the practice of polyandry in the areas under Hua.

[70] "There are few women, and older and younger brothers marry one wife": Polyandry was popular among various ethnic groups in Central Asia. That is to say, the Hua people who migrated to the west followed the local customs.[25]

[71] "They are without walled cities, living in felt tents with a window open to the east": The state of Hua first paid its respects to Liang in the fifteenth year of the Tianjian reign-period (516). It is probable that they still led a nomadic life as late as the beginning of the sixth century.

[72] "The king and his wife sit shoulder to shoulder to receive visitors": The king of the state of Hua was called "Kehan" 可汗, and his wife, "Kedun" 可敦, both seen in the historical works in Arabic.[26]

[73] "They … use wooden pieces as tallies": In the inscription ("Huaguo shichen tu tiji," or the inscription to the portrait of the envoy from the state of Hua) in the fragment of "Liang zhigong tu", following 以木爲契 there are five additional characters, 刻之約物數, meaning "approximate numbers of things are carved on them".

[74] "In communications with neighboring states, they make use of the Hu writing of neighboring states in order to prepare documents in the Hu language": This shows that their language is different from those of the neighboring Iranian races.[27]

[75] "They are without officials": This was perhaps the situation at the beginning of their history.

The literature currently available shows that in the state of Hua there were officials called Yehu 葉護 (Jovula)[28] and Tele 特勤[29]. According to the inscription ("Huaguo shichen tu tiji," or the inscription on the portrait of the envoy from the state of Hua) in the fragment of "Liang zhigong tu", following 無職官 there is an additional sentence: 所降小國使其王爲［奴］隸, meaning "they made slaves out of the kings of smaller states who had surrendered".

[76] Here the God of Heaven and the Fire God were mentioned together. It is generally believed that they are gods of Zoroastrianism. The belief in Zoroastrianism among the people of Hua should have developed once they communicated with peoples in Central Asia and Persia after migrating west. *Luoyang qielan ji* (ch. 5) describes the Qiantuoluo under the Hua: "Now two generations of this family had reigned. The present king was violent, cruel, and frequently carried out killings. He did not believe in Buddhism but indulged himself in worshipping ghosts and spirits. All the inhabitants were Brahmins who respected Buddhist teaching and enjoyed reading sūtras. It was deeply against their will to suddenly have [this man as] such a king". (Yi-t'ung Wang, trans., *A Record of Buddhist Monastaries in Lo-yang*, p. 235). "He … indulged himself in worshipping ghosts and spirits" [or gods]: This refers to the gods of Zoroastrianism.

[77] Following 其跪一拜而止 ("They kneel down to bow only once"), in the inscription ("Huaguo shichen tu tiji", or the inscription to the portrait of the envoy from the state of Hua) in the fragment of "Liang zhigong tu" there are an additional twelve characters: 止卽嗚其王手足，賤者嗚王［衣］(meaning, "after this they kiss the hand or the foot of the king, while those of lower social status kiss the garments of the king").

[78] "When there is a death the coffin is made of wood": The burial custom in the state of Hua was different from that of the Zoroastrians, who leave the body, dismembered, on top of hills for birds of prey. The practice mentioned here is the original custom. This may indicate that originally the Hua people were not Zoroastrians.

[79] "When a parent dies, the child will cut one of his ears": This custom may have originated to the north of the Great Wall. According to the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Weishu*, "They originated north of the Great Wall and had come southward from the Jin 金 Mountains". In addition, there was also the custom of burying people who were alive with the dead; see the record of Procopius (I, iii).[30] There was also the custom of slashing one's face; see the *Raghuvamsa* by Kālidāsa.[31]

[80] "Their language is intelligible only through oral interpretation conducted by the people of Henan": Henan 河南 refers to Tuyuhun 吐谷渾. Their ability to interpret the language of the Hua people is not because of the similarity between their two languages, but because of closeness of their

place of origin, Liaodong 遼東, to the land where the Hua people rose and to which they can be traced historically.[32]

周古柯國，滑旁小國也。[81]*普通元年，使使隨滑來獻方物。*[82]

The state of Zhouguke 周古柯: It is a small state near Hua.[81] In the first year of the Putong 普通 reign-period it sent envoys, following [the envoys] of Hua, to present its local products.[82]

[81] The state of Zhouguke was located in the upper valley near Kosrāb, where the Yarkand River and the Asgan-sal converge.[33]

[82] This event is not recorded in the basic annals of *Liangshu*. In the inscription ("Zhougukeguo shichen tu tiji" 周古柯國使臣圖題記, or the inscription on the portrait of the envoy from the state of Zhouguke) in the fragment of "Liang zhigong tu", the memorial submitted by the envoy of the state of Zhouguke reads: "All that is to be respected, all that is auspicious, is abundantly found here. Like the cloudless tranquil firmament, like the shining and bright full moon, the Son of Heaven himself is peaceful and virtuous, whose abundance and perfection resemble these. [He] has made this great vow, to serve as a sail on the Four Seas. Yangzhou 揚州 is the greatest nation in Jambudvīpa, inhabited by the many happy and dignified people, [the place] no different from heaven. The King of Zhouguke, kneeling and bowing in worship, greeted the Son of Heaven with his palms put together [innumerable times]. Now he presents a golden ... a glazed bowl, and a horse."

呵跋檀國[83]，亦滑旁小國也。凡滑旁之國，衣服容貌皆與滑同。[84]普通元年，使使隨滑使來獻方物。[85]

The state of Hebatan 呵跋檀[83]: It is also a small state near the state of Hua. For all states that are near Hua, the clothes and appearance of the residents are the same as those of Hua.[84] In the first year of the Putong 普通 reign-period it sent envoys, following the envoys of Hua, to present its local products.[85]

[83] The state of Hebatan 呵跋檀國 is generally believed to have been located north of Samarkand, in the foothills of the Kodym Tau and in the valley of the Bulangghyr. "Hebatan" 呵跋檀 [xa-buat-dan]

is a transcription of Kabādiyān.

[84] "The clothes and appearance of the inhabitants are the same as those of Hua": From the portraits of the envoys from Hua and the neighboring states, we can only see that their clothes are the same, but we cannot conclude that they are of the same appearance. From their faces, we see that the envoy from Hua is a Mongoloid, whereas the face of the envoy from Hebatan resembles that of a Caucasian. Since the editors of the "Xibei zhu Rong zhuan" in *Liangshu* relied mainly on the inscriptions on the portraits in the fragment, and had no other means to observe the appearance of the people of Hua and the neighboring states, we cannot help but conclude that the so-called similarity in appearance only refers to clothing. Of course, another possibility cannot be ruled out: the similarity in appearance between the people of Hua and those of the neighboring states does not refer to the conquerors represented by the envoy; it refers to the inhabitants of Hua and Hebatan, since the people of Hua, the conquerors, are of a different race from the population of the vanquished areas. The latter are of Iranian stock; their appearance is similar to that of the Hebatan people.

[85] This event is not seen in the basic annals of *Liangshu*. In the inscription ("Hebatanguo shichen tu tiji" 呵跋檀國使臣圖題記, or the inscription on the portrait of the envoy from the State of Hebatan) in the fragment of "Liang zhigong tu", the envoy of the state of Hebatan follows the envoy of the state of Hua to present tribute; its memorial reads: "The most honorable and most favored Son of Heaven, who rules the vast land in the east, the King of Hebatan greets him innumerable times with his palms put together, wishing the Son of Heaven peace and stability. Now I send my envoy who brings this letter I have written with my own hand. In order to show that it is not empty, I present a horse and a silver object".

胡蜜丹國[86]，亦滑旁小國也。普通元年，使使隨滑使來獻方物。[87]

The state of Humidan 胡蜜丹[86]: It is also a small state near Hua. In the first year of the Putong reign-period it sent envoys, following the envoys of Hua, to present its local products.[87]

[86] The state of Humidan 胡蜜丹 was located in the vicinity of Sarik-Čaupan in the valley of present-day Wakhan. "Humidan" 胡蜜丹 is a transcription of Kumidae.[34]

[87] This event is not recorded in the basic annals of *Liangshu*. In the inscription ("Humidanguo shichen tu tiji" 胡蜜丹國使臣圖題記, or the inscription on the portrait of the envoy from the state of

Humidan) in the fragment of "Liang zhigong tu", the envoy from Humidan accompanied those from Hua to pay his respects at court. Humidan's memorial reads: "The Son of Heaven in Yangzhou, Holy Lord of the great nation, from where the sun rises, the King of Humi[dan] 胡蜜 [丹], whose name is ... falling on his knees and holding his palms together in the distance, salutes innumerable times. Now the envoy of the State of Hua will arrive in the holy country, and through him I present a letter, as well as a crystal bell and a horse. If the Holy Lord has orders for me I dare not disobey".

白題國[88]，王姓支名史稽毅，其先蓋匈奴之別種胡也。[89]漢灌嬰與匈奴戰，斬白題騎一人。[90]今在滑國東，去滑六日行[91]，西極波斯[92]。土地出粟、麥、瓜菓，食物略與滑同。普通三年，遣使獻方物。[93]

The state of Baiti 白題[88]: Its king is surnamed Zhi 支, and named Shijiyi 史稽毅. Its ancestors were probably descended from a branch of the Xiongnu.[89] When he fought with the Xiongnu, Guan Ying 灌嬰 killed a cavalryman under a Baiti [general] in Han times.[90] At present, the state is to the east of the state of Hua at a distance of six days' journey.[91] To the west it extends as far as Bosi 波斯.[92] The land produces millet, wheat, watermelons, and other kinds of fruit. Their foods more or less resemble those of Hua. In the third year of the Putong reign-period, it sent envoys to present its local products.[93]

[88] The state of Baiti 白題 should have been located near present-day Balkh. "Baiti" 白題 [beak-dye] is a transcription of Baχtri.

[89] "Its ancestors were probably descended from a branch of the Xiongnu": As we have pointed out while discussing the "Pei Ziye zhuan" of *Liangshu* above, this is no more than Pei Ziye's imagination, and should not be relied on. "Its king is surnamed Zhi": They were probably the descendants of the Yuezhi, because the state was located in the former lands of the Yuezhi.

[90] For Guan Ying 灌嬰, see the "Guan Ying zhuan" in *Hanshu*.

[91] "Six days' journey": This should be the distance between the seat of the king's government of Baiti and that of Hua. The inscription on the portrait of the envoy from the state of Baiti in the fragment of "Liang zhigong tu" records that the state of Baiti "was situated east of the state of Hua. It takes sixty days to reach it [from Hua]. To the west it extends as far as Bosi; it takes a journey of twenty days [to reach there]". That is, from the seat of its king's government to that of Hua one needs to travel west for sixty days before reaching the seat of the king's government of Baiti, and from the

seat of the king's government of Hua to that of Bosi one needs to travel for twenty days. Since many of the details about the people in the northwest in this memoir come from "Liang zhigong tu", "six" 六 here might have been a corruption of "sixty" 六十. However, if we examine the records on the state of Baiti in the "Zhu Yi zhuan" 諸夷傳 of *Liangshu*, given such statements as "it is situated east of the state of Hua" and "their diet more or less resembles that of Hua" (there are similar descriptions in "Liang zhigong tu"), it seems that, adjoining the state of Hua, Baiti should not be as far away as "sixty days' journey". Therefore, either the character *shi* 十 was redundant in the inscription, or the "Zhu Yi zhuan" of *Liangshu* was relying on other sources. In my opinion, "six" here should refer to the number of temporary stays that Baiti's king made while travelling from the seat of his government west toward Hua, since at that time "[the area] was kept in order by a patrolling army" 遊軍而治 (Wang, trans, *A Record of Buddhist Monasteries in Lo-yang*, p. 225).

[92] "To the west it extends as far as Bosi": This probably means that one can travel from the state of Hua further west to Bosi, not that the state of Baiti adjoins Bosi. In this memoir the four characters, 二十日行 (it takes a journey of twenty days [to reach Bosi]) was omitted, perhaps because, to its editors, it was impossible for someone from the state of Baiti, which was six days' journey to the east of the state of Hua, to reach Bosi in twenty days.

[93] According to the "Wudi ji (xia)" 武帝紀下 of *Liangshu*, on the day *jiazi* 甲子 in the eighth month of the third year of the Putong reign-period (522), the state of Baiti "sent an envoy to present local products". According to the inscription ("Baitiguo shichen tu tiji" 白題國使臣圖題記, or the inscription on the portrait of the envoy from the state of Baiti) in the fragment of "Liang zhigong tu", in that year, Baiti sent a Buddhist monk, Zhanduhuo 氊獨活, and an envoy, Anyuanlianjia 安遠憐伽, to the capital to present tribute".

龜茲者，西域之舊國也。後漢光武時，其王名弘，爲莎車王賢所殺，滅其族。賢使其子則羅爲龜茲王，國人又殺則羅。匈奴立龜茲貴人身毒爲王，由是屬匈奴。[94] 然龜茲在漢世常爲大國，所都曰延城。[95] 魏文帝初卽位，遣使貢獻。[96] 晉太康中，遣子入侍。[97] 太元七年，秦主苻堅遣將呂光伐西域，至龜茲，龜茲王帛純載寶出奔，光入其城。城有三重，外城與長安城等。室屋壯麗，飾以琅玕金玉。光立帛純弟震爲王而歸。[98] 自此與中國絕不通。普通二年，王尼瑞摩珠那勝遣使奉表貢獻。[99]

[The state of] Qiuci 龜茲: It is an old state in the Western Regions. During the

reign of Emperor Guangwu 光武 in Later Han times, its king, who was named Hong 弘, was killed by Xian 賢, the king of Suoju 莎車, and his clan was exterminated. Xian established his son Zeluo 則羅 as king of Qiuci. The countrymen in turn killed Zeluo. *The Xiongnu established the Marquis of Qiuci, Shendu 身毒, as king. From then on it* was subject to the Xiongnu. [94] However, Qiuci had been a large state for generations in Han times. It capital is called the town of Yan 延.[95] When Emperor Wen 文 of the Wei 魏 Dynasty had just ascended the throne, it sent envoys to present tribute. [96] During the Taikang 太康 reign-period of the Jin Dynasty it sent the prince to attend at court. [97] In the seventh year of the Taiyuan 太元 reign-period Fu Jian 苻堅, the ruler of Qin, sent the general Lü Guang to attack the Western Regions and he reached Qiuci. Bo Chun 帛純, the king of Qiuci, escaped with loads of treasure. [Lü] Guang entered the town, which has three sets of enclosing walls. [The girth of] the outer town is equal to that of the city of Chang'an. The buildings are splendid and beautiful, decorated with *langgan* 琅玕 and gold and jade. [Lü] Guang established Bo Chun's younger brother Zhen 震 as king and returned. [98] From then on there was no communication [between Qiuci] and the Middle Kingdom. In the second year of the Putong reign-period [521 CE], the king of Qiuci, Niruimozhunasheng 尼瑞摩珠那勝, sent envoys to offer a memorial and present its local products. [99]

[94] The king of Qiuci was killed by Xian, the king of Suoju: This event occurred in the winter of the twenty-second year of the Jianwu 建武 reign-period (46) of Emperor Guangwu. For relevant records, see the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hou-Han shu*. The name of the king of Qiuci killed by the king of Suoju, Xian, is only recorded in this memoir.

[95] The town of Yan 延 is generally believed to be the old town of Pilang 皮郎 in the western suburbs of the seat of present-day Kuche 庫車 County.

[96] According to the "Wendi ji" 文帝紀 of the *Weishu* 魏書 in *Sanguo zhi* 三國志, in the second month of the third year of the Huangchu 黃初 reign-period (222), the state of Qiuci "sent an envoy to present tribute".

[97] According to "Wudi ji" 武帝紀 in *Jinshu* 晉書, in the tenth month in the winter of the sixth year of the Taikang reign-period (285), Qiuci "sent a prince to attend at the court".

[98] According to the "Jinji" 晉紀 in *Zizhi tongjian* 資治通鑑 (ch. 105), in the first month of the eighth year of the Taiyuan 太元 reign-period (383), Lü Guang set out from Chang'an; in the seventh

month of the ninth year, he defeated Qiuci. This memoir states that the event occurred in the seventh year of the Taiyuan reign-period, which is inaccurate.

[99] This event is not recorded in the basic annals of *Liangshu*. According to the inscription ("Qiuciguo shichen tu tiji" 龜兹國使臣圖題記, or the inscription on the portrait of the envoy from the state of Qiuci) in the fragment of "Liang zhigong tu", the names of the envoys were Kangshiyi 康石憶 and Qiubona 丘波郍. According to the "Wudi ji (zhong)" 武帝紀中 in *Liangshu*, in the seventh month of the second year of the Tianjian 天監 reign-period (503), Qiuci "sent envoys to present local products".

于闐國，西域之屬也。[100] 後漢建武末，王俞爲莎車王賢所破，徙爲驪歸王，以其弟君得爲于闐王，暴虐，百姓患之。永平中，其種人都末殺君得，大人休莫霸又殺都末，自立爲王。霸死，兄子廣得立，後擊虜莎車王賢以歸，殺之，遂爲强國，西北諸小國皆服從。[101]

The state of Yutian 于闐: It is a state of the Western Regions. [100] At the end of the Jianwu reign-period of the Later Han, Yu 俞, the king, was defeated by Xian, the king of Suoju, and was transferred to be king of Ligui 驪歸. Xian established his younger brother Junde 君得 as king. Junde was brutal, and the common people were troubled by him. During the Yongping reign-period Dumo 都末, a kinsmen [of Yutian], killed Junde. The noble Xiumoba 休莫霸 in turn killed Dumo and established himself as king. When [Xiumo]ba died, his elder brother's son Guangde 廣德 was established as king. Later Guangde attacked Suoju, captured its king, Xian, returned, and then killed him. Yutian thereupon became a strong state, and all of the various small states in the northwest were subject to it. [101]

[100] The seat of the king's government of Yutian 于闐 is generally believed to have been near present-day Hotan (Hetian) 和闐.

[101] "At the end of the Jianwu reign-period of the Later Han…": For more details concerning the events narrated here, see the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hou-Han shu*. The name of the king of Yutian who was transferred to be king of Ligui was Yulin 俞林. Junde was a "general of Suoju". It was in the third year of the Yongping reign-period (60) that Dumo killed Junde. Yutian became powerful after Guangde's destruction of Suoju. "All the thirteen states from northwest of Jingjue to Shule submitted to it".

其地多水潦沙石，氣溫，宜稻、麥、蒲桃[102]。有水出玉[103]，名曰玉河[104]。國人善鑄銅器。其治曰西山城。有屋室市井[105]。菓蓏菜蔬與中國等。尤敬佛法。王所居室，加以朱畫。王冠金幘，如今胡公帽。與妻並坐接客。國中婦人皆辮髮[106]，衣裘袴。其人恭，相見則跪，其跪則一膝至地。書則以木爲筆札，以玉爲印。國人得書，戴於首而後開札。

The land suffers from flooding and is made up mostly of rocks and gravel. The climate is warm and suitable for rice, wheat and grapes[102]. It has a jade-bearing river[103] called Jade River[104]. The people are skilled at casting bronze utensils. The seat of the king's government is called the town of Xishan 西山. There are houses and marketplaces,[105] and the melons and vegetables are just like those of the Middle Kingdom. The people especially revere the teachings [or *Dharma*] of the Buddha. The king's palace is painted red. Its king puts on a golden turban, like the present Hugong's 胡公 turban. Its king and his wife sit shoulder to shoulder to receive visitors. In the state the women all braid their hair into a queue[106] and wear fur trousers. The people are polite and respectful: when they see each other they kneel, doing so with one knee on the ground. Their letters are written on wooden strips with wooden pens and they use seals of jade. When a countryman receives a letter, the first thing he does is place it on top of his head, and only after that does he open the envelope.

[102] *Putao* 蒲桃 should be the *putao* 蒲陶 in the "Dayuan liezhuan" of *Shiji*.

[103] "It has a jade-bearing river": Even today Hotan (Hetian) is famous for the jade produced there.[35]

[104] The Jade River (Yuhe 玉河) is the River Shouzhi 首枝 in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Weishu*, with "*Yu*" being the literal translation and "*Shouzhi*" being the transcription.

[105] According to the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hou-Han shu*, in the first year of the Yuanjia 元嘉 reign-period (115), Shubo 輸僰, a nobleman and general of Yutian, beheaded Wang Jing 王敬, the Chief Official of the Western Regions, "hanging his head in the market". It seems that Yutian had markets at a very early date. The records in *Hou-Han shu* can be read in the context of this section.

[106] "The women all braid their hair into a queue": This is generally believed to have shown Tibetan influence.

魏文帝時，王山習獻名馬。[107] 天監九年，遣使獻方物。[108] 十三年，又獻波羅婆步鄣。[109] 十八年，又獻瑠璃罌。[110] 大同七年，又獻外國刻玉佛。[111]

During the reign of Emperor Wen of the Wei Dynasty, its king Shanxi 山習 presented a renowned horse.[107] In the ninth year of the Tianjian 天監 reign-period he sent envoys to present its local products.[108] In the thirteenth year [of the Tianjian reign-period] he presented a *prabha buzhang* 步鄣 [*buzhang* was a portable large silk screen sheltering court ladies from public view].[109] In the eighteenth year he presented glazed small-mouthed jars.[110] In the seventh year of Datong 大同 reign-period he also presented a jade Buddha carved abroad.[111]

[107] "Its king Shanxi presented a renowned horse": This probably occurred in the third year of the Huangchu 黄初 reign-period (222). According to the "Wendi ji" of the *Weishu* in *Sanguo zhi*, in the second month of this year, the king of Yutian "sent an envoy to present tribute". The name of Shanxi is only seen in this memoir.

[108] According to the "Wudi ji (zhong)" 武帝紀中 of *Liangshu*, on the day *yiwei* 乙未 in the third month in the ninth year of the Tianjian reign-period (510), "the state of Yutian sent an envoy to present local products".

[109] According to the "Wudi ji (zhong)" in *Liangshu*, on the day *guimao* 癸卯 in the eighth month in the thirteenth year of the Tianjian reign-period (514), "… and the state of Yutian each sent envoys to present local products". "Boluopo" 波羅婆 is probably a transcription of *prabha* in Sanskrit, meaning "bright". *Buzhang* 步鄣: The poem "Qie bo ming" 妾薄命 (My sad fate) by Cao Zhi 曹植 (no. 2) includes the lines: "Flowery lamps suffuse screens with light, / White as the sun rising from Leaning Mulberry" 華燈步鄣舒光，皎若日出扶桑.[36] (Anne Birrell, trans., *New Songs from a Jade Terrace* [London: George Allen & Unwin, 1982], p. 237.)

[110] According to the "Wudi ji (zhong)" in *Liangshu*, on the day of *jiashen* 甲申 in the seventh month of the eighteenth year of the Tianjian reign-period (519), "the state of Yutian … sent envoys to present local products".

[111] This episode is not recorded in the basic annals of *Liangshu*.

渴盤陁國 [112]，于闐西小國也。西隣滑國，南接罽賓國，北連沙勒國 [113]。所治在山谷中。城周迴十餘里，國有十二城。風俗與于闐相類。衣古貝布 [114]，著

長身小袖袍，小口袴。地宜小麥，資以爲糧。多牛馬駱駞羊等。出好氈、金、玉。王姓葛沙氏[115]。中大同元年，遣使獻方物。[116]

The state of Kepantuo 渴盤陁[112]: It is a small state, which is located to the west of Yutian. To the west it neighbors on the state of Hua, to the south it adjoins the state of Jibin 罽賓, and to the north it connects to the state of Shale 沙勒[113]. The seat of the king's government is in a valley. The [capital] town is over ten *li* in circumference, and there are twelve towns in the country. The customs are similar to those of Yutian. The people have clothes made of silky cotton cloth[114], wear a long robe with small sleeves and trousers with narrow openings. The soil is suitable for wheat, which is a staple. There is an abundance of cattle, horses, camels, sheep, and other animals. The country produces good felt, gold, and jade. Its king is surnamed Gesha 葛沙[115]. In the first year of the Zhong Datong 中大同 reign-period it sent envoys to present its local produce.[116]

[112] The state of Kepantuo 渴槃陁 is generally believed to have been situated in the Valley of Sarikol in the upper reaches of the Yarkand River. The seat of its king's government is present-day Tashkurghan. "Kepantuo" 渴槃陁 [khat-buan-dai] is a transcription of Garband or Karband.

[113] "Shale" 沙勒 [shea-lek] should be a variation of Shule 疏勒 in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu*.

[114] *Gubei* 古貝 refers to silky cotton 木棉 (*Ceiba Bombacaceae*).37

[115] Gesha 葛沙: The "Heshui" 河水 section of *Shuijing zhu* 水經注 records: "According to the Buddhist *Xiyu ji* 釋氏西域記, 'There is a state called Jiasheluoshi 迦舍羅逝. This state is narrow [in outline] and small [in size], but the roads to many states pass through that state". Jiesheluoshi and Kepantuo are the same place. "Jiashe" 迦舍 [keai-sjya] and "Gesha" 葛沙 [kat-shea] are variant transcriptions of the same name. "Luoshi" 羅逝 [lai-zjiat] should be the transcription of *raja* in Sanskrit; "Jiasheluoshi" means roughly the same as "king of Gesha".38

[116] According to the "Wudi ji (xia)" in *Liangshu*, on the day *jiawu* 甲午 in the eighth month in the first year of the Zhong Datong reign-period (546), "the state of Kepantuo sent an envoy to present local products".

末國[117]，漢世且末國也。[118]勝兵萬餘戶。北與丁零[119]，東與白題，西與波斯接。土人剪髮[120]，著氈帽，小袖衣，爲衫則開頸而縫前。多牛羊騾驢。其

王安末深盤，普通五年，遣使來貢獻。[121]

The state of Mo 末[117]: It was originally the state of Qiemo 且末 in Han times.[118] There are more than 10,000 households able to bear arms. It adjoins the Dingling 丁零[119] in the north, Baiti in the east, and Bosi in the west. The natives all clip their hair[120] and wear felt hats and short-sleeved clothes, simply making an opening for the neck and sewing up the front. There is an abundance of cattle, sheep, mules, and donkeys. Their king, Anmoshenpan 安末深盤, in the fifth year of the Putong reign-period, sent envoys to present tribute.[121]

[117] It is suspected that the state of Mo 末 is the Mulu 木鹿 (Mōuru) in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu*. "Mo" 末 [muat] may well be seen as the transcription of Merv.

[118] Since the state of Mo "adjoins Baiti in the east and Bosi in the west", it could not by any means have been "the state of Qiemo in Han times". The people of Liang took the words at their face value, in the same way as they regarded the people of Hua as descended from a branch of the Jushi people, for example.

[119] Dingling 丁零 here should refer to the tribe of Fufuluo 副伏羅 of Gaoche 高車. The tribe moved northwest of present-day Turfan in 487 to become an independent state, until it was destroyed by the Ruirui 芮芮 in 541. This memoir states that the state of Mo "adjoins the Dingling in the north", which is incorrect.

[120] "The natives all clip their hair": According to the "Yiyu zhuan (xia)" 異域傳下 of *Zhoushu* 周書, it was the custom of the Bosi people to clip their hair. The state of Mo adjoins Bosi and shares this custom.

[121] This is not seen in the basic annals of *Liangshu*. According to the inscription ("Moguo shichen tu tiji" 末國使臣圖題記, or the inscription on the portrait of the envoy from the state of Mo) in the fragment of "Liang zhigong tu", the king's name was "Anshimozipan" 安石末粢盤.

波斯國[122]，其先有波斯匿王[123]者，子孫以王父字爲氏，因爲國號。[124]國有城，周迴三十二里。城高四丈，皆有樓觀。城內屋宇數百千間，城外佛寺二三百所。[125]西去城十五里有土山，山非過高，其勢連接甚遠，中有鷲鳥[126]啗羊，土人極以爲患。國中有優鉢曇花[127]，鮮華可愛。出龍駒馬。鹹池生珊瑚樹，長一二尺。亦有琥珀[128]、馬腦[129]、真珠、玫瑰[130]等，國內不以爲珍。市買用

金銀。婚姻法：下聘訖，女婿將數十人迎婦，婿著金線錦袍，師子錦袴，戴天冠，婦亦如之。婦兄弟便來捉手付度，夫婦之禮，於茲永畢。國東與滑國，西及南俱與婆羅門國[131]，北與汎慄國[132]接。中大通二年，遣使獻佛牙。[133]

The state of Bosi 波斯[122]: Of their ancestors there was a King of Bosini 波斯匿 (Prasenajit)[123], whose descendants took the name of their father king as the family name, and then the name turned into the title of their state. [124] In the state there is a city that is 32 *li* in circumference. The city wall is four *zhang* 丈 high, and there are buildings everywhere on it. There are several hundred to a thousand houses and temples inside the city, and there are two or three hundred Buddhist temples outside the city.[125] Fifteen *li* west of the city there are earthen mountains. The mountains are not too high, but they stretch far into the distance. In the mountains there are vultures[126] that devour sheep, troubling the natives greatly. In the state there is a flower named *udumnara* (*Ficus glomerata*)[127], which is lovely and has gay colors. The land produces spirited colts. In soda pools there are coral trees as long as one or two *chi* 尺. There are also amber[128], agate [129], true pearls and mica[130], which are not valued highly in the state. In the markets goods are paid for with gold and silver. The wedding law is as follows: having presented betrothal gifts, the son-in-law (i.e., the groom) leads men who can be numbered in the tens to the bride's home to bring her back to his home. The son-in-law wears a brocade robe embroidered with golden thread and brocade trousers with a lion design, and wears a heavenly hat, as does his bride. The bride's brothers then come and grasp her by her wrist to hand her over to the son-in-law. At that point, the wedding ceremony is completed. This state adjoins the state of Hua in the east, the state of Brahman[131] to the west and south, and the state of Fanli 汎慄 [132] in the north. In the second year of the Zhong Datong 中大通 reign-period it sent envoys to present a Buddha's tooth. [133]

[122] The state of Bosi 波斯, according to the date here, refers to Sassanian Persia, although many unrelated details are mistakenly included. First, this memoir states that Bosi "adjoins the state of Hua in the east". The state of Hua is undoubtedly the Yeda 嚈噠 in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Weishu* and the Yeda 嚈噠 in the "Yiyu zhuan" of *Zhoushu*. It is stated in another place that Hua invaded the neighboring states, among them Bosi, which corroborates the point. Second, it is stated here that Bosi

"adjoins … the state of Brahman to the west and south". The state of Brahman should be India, and the state of Bosi which adjoins it could not be the state of Kosala 憍薩羅 in Central India, where the King of Bosini (Prasenajit) reigned. Third, it is stated in this memoir that the state of Bosi "adjoins the state of Fanli 汎慄 in the north". If read together with the statement in the *Da Tang Xiyu ji* 大唐西域記 (ch. 11) about the state of Bolasi 波剌斯, which "adjoins the state of Folin" 拂懍 [i.e., Fanli 汎慄], one can also see that the location of the state of Bosi in this memoir is the same as Sassanian Persia.[39]

[123] "King of Bosini" 波斯匿 (Sanskrit: Prasenajit; Pali: Pasenadi, Pasenaji): The king of the state of Kosala 憍薩羅 in Central India (the so-called state of North Kosala). For relevant details, see the entry on the state of Shiluofaxidi 室羅伐悉底 in the *Da Tang Xiyu ji* (ch. 6).[40] According to the inscription ("Bosiguo shichen tu tiji" 波斯國使臣圖題記, or the inscription on the portrait of the envoy from the state of Bosi) in the fragment of "Liang zhigong tu", preceding 子孫以王父字爲氏 (whose descendants took the name of their father king as family name) there are five additional characters, 王子祇陁之. It is said in this memoir that there was first a King of Bosini, another case of taking words at their face value.

[124] After this inscription there is the following section: "According to *Xiyu zhuguo zhi* 西域諸國 by Shi Dao'an 釋道安, to the west of Jiantuoyue 揵陁越 [41] and in the middle of the Western Sea 西海 is the state of Anxi 安息,[42] to the south of Jiantuyue is the state of Boluotuo 波羅陁,[43] and to the west of Boluotuo is the state of Boluosi 波羅斯 ".[44]

[125] "There are two or three hundred Buddhist temples outside the city": This is probably a record about the state of Qiaosaluo 憍薩羅 (Kosala) in Central India.

[126] "Jiuniao" 鷲鳥 (vultures) here should refer to ostriches. The "Xi Rong zhuan" 西戎傳 of *Jiu Tangshu* 舊唐書 records: "There are birds shaped like camels. They are unable to fly high, but they eat grass and meat, even devouring dogs and … sheep. The natives regard them as a pest".

[127] "Youbotanhua" 優鉢曇花, according to some, should read "youbo[luo]" 優鉢 [羅] and "tanhua" 曇花. "Youbo[luo]" 優鉢 [羅] is a transcription of *utpala*. For "*tanhua*" 曇花, another name is "*meirenjiao*" 美人蕉 (canna).[45]

[128] *Hupo* 虎魄 (amber) is seen in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hou-Han shu*.

[129] *Manao* 馬腦 (agate) is seen in the "Xi Rong zhuan" of *Weilüe*.

[130] *Meigui* 玫瑰 (mica) is seen in the "Xi Rong zhuan" of *Weilüe*.

[131] The "Poluomenguo" 婆羅門國 (state of Brahman) seems to refer to India. "Poluomen" 婆羅門 [bua-la-muən] is generally believed to be the transcription of "Brāhmaṇadeśa". According to

Da Tang Xiyu ji (ch. 2): "The families of India are divided into castes, the Brāhmaṇs particularly (are noted) on account of their purity and nobility. Tradition has so hallowed the name of this tribe that there is no question as to difference of place, but the people generally speak of India as the country of the Brāhmaṇs". (Samuel Beal, trans., *Si-yu-ki: Buddhist Records of the Western World* [Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1981], 2: 69)

[132] Fanli 汎慄 should be Fulin 拂菻, i.e., Eastern Rome. "Fanli" 汎慄 [biuəm-liet], according to some, is a transcription of Fūrūmi (Roman territories), an Iranian corruption of Rūmi.[46]

[133] This is not recorded in the basic annals of *Liangshu*. According to the inscription ("Bosiguo shichen tu tiji" 波斯國使臣圖題記, or the inscription on the portrait of the envoy from the state of Bosi) in the fragment of "Liang zhigong tu", the envoy's name was "Anliuyue" 安柳越. According to the "Wudi ji (xia)" 武帝紀下 in *Liangshu*, on the day *jiazi* 甲子 in the eighth month of the Zhong Datong 中大通 reign-period (533), "the state of Bosi sent an envoy to present local products". On the day *gengzi* 庚子 in the fourth month of the first year of the Datong 大同 reign-period (535), "the state of Bosi presented local products".

…………[134]

[134] The records on the four states of Dangchang 宕昌, Dengzhi 鄧至, Wuxing 武興, and Ruirui 芮芮 are omitted.

史臣曰：海南東夷西北戎諸國，地窮邊裔，各有疆域。若山奇海異，怪類殊種，前古未聞，往牒不記，故知九州之外，八荒之表，辯方物土，莫究其極。高祖以德懷之，故朝貢歲至，美矣。

Thus comments the official historian: The states of Hainan 海南, the Eastern Yi 夷, and the Northwestern Rong 戎 are all located in remote and isolated areas, each possessing its own territories. The treasures obtained and produced in their mountains and seas, as well as the various kinds of strange species were unheard of in antiquity and not recorded in any works. Thus, it is impossible to comprehend completely the local conditions and customs of the areas beyond the Nine Regions and Eight Directions. The people there are attracted to [us] by Emperor Gaozu's 高祖 exemplary virtue, so they come to court to pay their respects and offer tribute every year. How magnificent!

NOTES

1 Yu Taishan, *Liang Han Wei Jin Nanbeichao zhengshi Xiyu zhuan yanjiu* 兩漢魏晉南北朝正史西域傳研究 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2003), pp. 26-64.

2 See Yu Taishan, *Yeda shi yanjiu* (Ji'nan: Qi Lu shushe, 1986), pp. 8-43.

3 Cf. Yu Taishan, *Yeda shi yanjiu*, pp. 193-216.

4 Cf. Matsuda Hisao 松田壽男, *Kodai Tenzan no rekishi-chirigakuteki kenkyū* 古代天山の歷史地理學的研究 (Geo-historical studies on the ancient Tianshan region) (Tokyo: Waseda daigaku, 1970), pp. 127-127.

5 Feng Chengjun 馮承鈞, "Gaochang chengzhen yu Tang dai Puchang" 高昌城鎮與唐代蒲昌, *Xiyu Nanhai shidi kaozheng lunzhu huiji* 西域南海史地考證論著彙輯 (Zhonghua shuju Xianggang fenju, 1976), pp. 84-95.

6 Shimazaki Akira 嶋崎昌, "Kōsyō-koku no jyōyū ni tsuite" 高昌國の城邑について (On the walled towns in Gaochang state), *Zui Tō jidai no Higashi-Torukisutan kenkyū—Kōsyōkokushi kenkyū wo chūshin toshite* 隋唐時代の東トゥルキスタン研究——高昌國史研究を中心として (Tokyo: 1977), pp. 113-147, esp. 121.

7 Tao Baolian 陶保廉, *Xinmao shixing ji* 辛卯侍行記 (ch. 6).

8 Qian Boquan 錢伯泉, "Gaochangguo junxian chengzhen de jianzhi jiqi diwang kaoshi" 高昌國郡縣城鎮的建置及其地望考實, *Xinjiang daxue xuebao* 新疆大學學報 1988.2: 34-41.

9 Feng Chengjun, "Gaochang chengzhen yu Tang dai Puchang".

10 Shimazaki Akira, "Kōsyō-koku no jyōyū ni tsuite", esp. p. 132.

11 Ma Yong 馬雍, "Tujue yu Gaochang Qushi wangchao shi jianjiao kao" 突厥與高昌麴氏王朝始建交考, in *Xiyu shidi wenwu congkao* 西域史地文物叢考 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1990), pp. 146-154, esp. 147.

12 See "Gaochang Wulin deng cheng dingshu muxin e wenshu" 高昌洿林等城丁輸木薪額文書, in *Tulufan chutu wenshu* 吐魯番出土文書 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1981), 3: 92. Hou Can 侯燦, "Qushi Gaochangguo junxian cheng kaoshu" 麴氏高昌王國郡縣城考述, in *Gaochang Loulan yanjiu lunji* 高昌樓蘭研究論集 (Urumqi: Xinjiang renmin chubanshe, 1990), pp. 73-84.

13 Feng Chengjun, "Gaochang chengzhen yu Tang dai Puchang".

14 Huang Wenbi 黃文弼, "Gaochang jiangyu juncheng kao" 高昌疆域郡城考, *Xibei shidi luncong* 西北史地論叢 (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 1981), pp. 149-159, esp. p. 158.

15 Hou Can, "Qushi Gaochangguo jun xian cheng kaoshu", pp. 1-72.

16 *Chinese and Japanese scholars have studied this piece extensively, but concerning the place where* it was unearthed there are various opinions. According to some, it was unearthed in Shanshan, Xinjiang; see Bai Jian 白堅, "Jin xieben *Sanguo zhi* 'Wuzhi' canjuan ba" 晉寫本三國志吳志殘卷跋, *Shinagaku* 支那學 3.11 (1925): 82-83. According to others, it was unearthed in Turfan, Xinjiang; see Luo Fucheng 羅福成, "Jin xieben Chen Shou *Sanguozhi* 'Wuzhi' canjuan jiaozi ji" 晉寫本陳壽三國志吳志殘卷校字記, *Shinagaku* 3.11 (1925): 83-84.

17 Liu Hongliang 柳洪亮, in *Xinchu Tulufan wenshu jiqi yanjiu* 新出吐魯番文書及其研究 (Urumqi: Xinjiang renmin chubanshe, 1997), pp. 126-127, thinks that it is a Jin manuscript copy of the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu*. But in view of the plate and transcribed text included in the book, it seems to be a fragment of the entry on "the sixth month of the sixth year in the Yuanshuo 元朔 reign-period" in the *Hanji* 漢紀 by Xun Yue 荀悦 (ch. 12).

18 Rong Xinjiang 榮新江, "Deguo 'Tulufan shoujipin' zhong de Hanwen dianji yu wenshu" 德國吐魯番收集品中的漢文典籍與文書, *Huaxue* 華學 3: 309-325.

19 See Zhang Hongzhao 章鴻釗, *Shiya, Baoshishuo* 石雅・寶石說 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji, 1993), pp. 187-189; and Sato Keishiro 佐藤圭四郎, "Hokugi jidai ni okeru tōzai kōshō" 北魏時代における東西交涉 (East-West relations during the Northern Wei period), in *Tōzai bunka kōryūshi* 東西文化交流史 (Tokyo: Yuzankaku, 1975), pp. 378-393.

20 For details, see B. Laufer, *Sino-Iranica;* Lin Yunyin, trans., *Zhongguo Yilang bian*, pp. 316-321. Cf. also Schafer, *The Golden Peaches of Samarkand;* trans. by Wu Yugui, *Tangdai wailai wenming*, pp. 442-445; and Lu Xun 盧勳 and Li Genpan 李根蟠, *Minzu yu wuzhi wenhua kaolüe* 民族與物質文化史考略 (Beijing: Minzu chubanshe, 1991), pp. 324-327.

21 See Lu Xiangqian 盧向前, "Gaochang Xizhou sibainian huobi guanxi yanbian shulüe" 高昌西州四百年貨幣關係演變述略, *Dunhuang Tulufan wenshu lungao* 敦煌吐魯番文書論稿 (Jiangxi renmin chubanshe, 1992), pp. 217-266.

22 Wang Binghua 王炳華, *Tulufan de gudai wenming* 吐魯番的古代文明 (Xinjiang renmin chubanshe, 1989), pp. 142-143.

23 Yu Taishan, *Yeda shi yanjiu*.

24 Cf. Yu Taishan, *Yeda shi yanjiu,* pp. 44-75.

25 On the practice of polyandry in the state of Hua, cf. Yu Taishan, *yeda shi yanjiu*, pp. 26-27, 155-156.

26 Cf. Song Xian 宋峴, trans., Yu Taishan, commentary, "Taiboli shi suozai Yada shiliao jianzheng" 太伯里史所載嚈噠史料箋證 (Notes on the Tabari's *Annals* concerning the Hephthalites), *Zhongya*

xuekan 中亞學刊 2: 51-64.

27 Concerning the language of the Hua people, cf. Yu Taishan, "Yeda shi ruogan wenti de zai yanjiu" 嚈噠史若干問題的再研究, *Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan Lishi yanjiusuo xuekan* 中國社會科學院歷史研究所學刊 1 (2001): 180-210.

28 This is seen in the inscriptions of Gupta India; see G. Bühler, "The New Inscription of Toramana Shaha", *Epigraphia India* (Calcutta: 1894), 1: 238-241.

29 See *Luoyang qielan ji* 洛陽伽藍記 (ch. 5), quoting "Song Yun xingji" 宋雲行記.

30 Procopius, *History of the Wars*, with an English Translation by H. B. Dowing, 7 vols. (New York: 1914-1940).

31 D. H. Velankar, ed., *Raghuvamśa of Kālidāsa*, with the Commentary of Mallinātha (Bombay: 1948), 4: 68.

32 See Yu Taishan, "Yeda shi ruogan wenti de zai yanjiu".

33 Matsuda Hisao 松田壽男, "Iran nandō ron" イラン南道論 (On the Iranian Southern Road), in Matsuda Hisao hakushi koki kinen shuppan iinkai 松田壽男博士古稀記念出版委員會, *Tōzai bunka kōryūshi* 東西文化交流史 (Tokyo: Yuzankaku, 1975), pp. 217-251.

34 Cf. J. Marquart, *Ērānšahr* (Berlin: 1901), pp. 223-225, 242-243; Shiratori Kurakichi 白鳥庫吉, "Seiikishi jyō no sinkenkyū: Dai Getsushi kō", pp. 97-227, esp. 101-105; "Putoremaiosu ni mietaru sōrei Tsūkaro ni tsuite" プトレマイオスに見えたる葱嶺通過路に就いて (The routes across the Congling described by Ptolemaeus), in *Shiratori Kurakichi zensyū*, vol. 7: *Seiikishi kenkyū* (ge) 白鳥庫吉全集・西域史研究下 (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1971), pp. 1-41; esp. pp. 16-17; Yu Taishan, *Saizhong shi yanjiu* (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 1992), pp. 30-32.

35 On the jade of Yutian, see Zhang Hongzhao, *Shiya, Baoshishuo*, pp. 120-125.

36 "Zaqu geci (er)" 雜曲歌辭二, *Yuefu shiji* 樂府詩集 (ch. 62) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1979), p. 902.

37 Cf. Lu Xun and Li Genpan, *Minzu yu wuzhi wenhua kaolüe,* pp. 328-331.

38 Yu Taishan, *Liang Han Wei Jin Nanbeichao zhengshi Xiyu zhuan yanjiu*, pp. 439-476.

39 Uchida Ginpū 内田吟風, "Gisyo seiikiden genbun kōshaku (chū)" 魏書西域傳原文考釋, 中 (Studies on the Original Text of the "Memoir on the Western Regions" in the *Weishu*, B), *Tōyōshi kenkyū* 東洋史研究 30.2 (1971): 82-101; Enoki Kazuo 榎一雄, "Ryō shokukōzu ni tsuite" 梁職貢圖について (A Study on the "*Liang zhigongtu*", *Tōhōgaku* 東方學 26 (1963): 31-46.

40 Ji Xianlin 季羡林, et al., *Da Tang Xiyu ji jiaozhu* 大唐西域記校注 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1985), pp. 481-506.

41 "Jiantuoyue"揵陁越 (Gandhavat) is "Jiantuoluo"犍陀羅 (Gandhara).

42 The state of Anxi 安息 is first seen in the "Dayuan liezhuan" of *Shiji*, referring to the Parthian Empire of Persia. Here, the "state of Anxi" is situated in the middle of the Western Sea (i.e., the Gulf of Persia), so its meaning and location are yet to be determined.

43 *"Boluotuo" 波羅陁 is perhaps "Boluona" 波羅柰 (Varanasi), which is located in present-day* Muzaffarpur, India.

44 "Boluosi" 波羅斯 is perhaps "Bolasi" 波剌斯 (Parsa).

45 Oda Yoshihisa 小田義久, "Nanshi maki shichijyūkyu ibaku-ge Seiikiden yakuchū kō" 南史卷七十九夷貊下西域傳譯注稿, in Uchida Ginpū 内田吟風, ed., *Chūgoku seishi Seiikisden no yakuchū* 中國正史西域傳の譯注 (An annotated translation of the Memoirs on the Western Regions in the Chinese official histories) (Kyoto: Kahoku, 1980), pp. 35-40.

46 Enoki Kazuo, "Ryō shokukōzu ni tsuite".

八 《魏書·西域傳》(原文)[1] 要注

A CONCISE COMMENTARY ON CHAPTER 102 OF *WEISHU*, "THE MEMOIR ON THE WESTERN REGIONS" (ORIGINAL TEXT)*

《夏書》稱“西戎即序”[2]，班固云：“就而序之，非盛威武，致其貢物也。”[3]

In the *Book of Documents* it is written, "The Western Rong 戎 were then reduced to order".[2] Ban Gu 班固 states, "It was simply Yu's 禹 arrival that reduced them to order. Had he not been [a man of] abundant power and prestige, he would have had no means of inducing them to bring tribute".[3]

[1] The "Xiyu zhuan" by Wei Shou 魏收 in *Weishu* 魏書 has long been lost; the current text is collected from the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Beishi* 北史. Since the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Beishi* was edited by Li Yanshou 李延壽 on the basis of the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Weishu*, the "Yiyu zhuan" 異域傳 of *Zhoushu* 周書, and the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Suishu* 隋書, the commentary here is only concerned with the text of the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Weishu*; the writings that constitute the "Yiyu zhuan" of *Zhoushu* and the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Suishu* are excluded.

[2] See the "Yu gong" 禹貢 chapter of *Shangshu* 尚書.

[3] The "Zan" 贊 (Appreciation) in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu*: "It was simply Yu's 禹 arrival that reduced them to order. Had he not been [a man of] abundant power and prestige, he would not have had the means of inducing them to bring their tribute." (A. E. P. Hulsewé and M. A. N. Loewe, *China in Central Asia*, p. 202.)

太祖初，經營中原，未暇及於四表。既而西戎之貢不至，[4]有司奏依漢氏故事，請通西域，可以振威德於荒外，又可致奇貨於天府。太祖曰：“漢氏不保境

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* The memoir is translated by Yu Taishan and edited ty Victor H. Mair.

安（人）[民][5]，乃遠開西域，使海內虛耗[6]，何利之有？今若通之，前弊復加百姓矣。"遂不從。歷太宗世，竟不招納。[7]

At the beginning of his reign, Emperor Taizu 太祖 had no time to attend to the four borders because of managing the Central Plains. Thenceforth, the Western Rong did not come to pay tribute.[4] The officials appealed to [the throne] to open up communications with the Western Regions as was done in Han times. This would both show Wei's 魏 power and virtue to the wild and distant domains, and attract rare goods into the Heavenly repository. Emperor Taizu replied, "The Han dynasty did not defend its borders and pacify the common people[5]. Instead, it opened up the distant Western Regions, and the resources within the four seas were spent and wasted.[6] How can there be any benefit? If we now open up [the West], the former misrule will be visited again upon the common people". So he did not follow their advice. Finally, [Wei] did not solicit and receive [the various states in the Western Regions] during the reign of Emperor Taizong 太宗.[7]

[4] "The Western Rong did not come to pay tribute": This was mainly because the Tuoba Wei 拓跋魏 regime was unable to control the Hexi 河西 region. Since Emperors Taizu and Taizong did not have the time to pay attention to the west, the various states in the Western Regions did not take the dynasty seriously.

[5] For *ren* 人 here, the original reads *min* 民. It was altered by Li Yanshou to observe the taboo concerning an emperor's name. Such issues will not be noted again in the subsequent text.

[6] "It opened up the distant Western Regions, and the resources within the four seas were spent and wasted": This refers particularly to Han's management of the Western Regions during the reign of Emperor Wu 武.

[7] "[Wei] did not solicit and receive [the various states in the Western Regions]": This shows the lack of resources for controlling the area among the members of the Tuoba clan, as well as their lack of insight—neither Emperor Taizu nor Emperor Taizong was able to see the significance of managing the Western Regions. It was only with Emperor Shizu 世祖 (Taiwu 太武) that the Tuoba Wei started to deal with the Western Regions.

太延中，魏德益以遠聞，西域龜茲[8]、疏勒[9]、烏孫[10]、悅般[11]、渴槃陁[12]、

鄯善[13]、焉耆[14]、車師[15]、粟特[16]諸國王始遣使來獻。[17]世祖以西域漢世雖通，有求則卑辭而來，無欲則驕慢王命，此其自知絕遠，大兵不可至故也。[18]若報使往來，終無所益，欲不遣使。有司奏九國不憚遐嶮，遠貢方物，當與其進，安可豫抑後來，乃從之。於是始遣行人王恩生、許綱等西使，恩生出流沙[19]，爲蠕蠕[20]所執，竟不果達。又遣散騎侍郎董琬、高明等多齎錦帛，出鄯善，招撫九國，厚賜之。初，琬等受詔，便道之國可往赴之。琬過九國，北行至烏孫國，其王得朝廷所賜，拜受甚悅，謂琬曰："傳聞破洛那[21]、者舌[22]皆思魏德，欲稱臣致貢，但患其路無由耳。今使君等既到此，可往二國，副其慕仰之誠。"琬於是自向破洛那，遣明使者舌。烏孫王爲發導譯達二國，琬等宣詔慰賜之。已而琬、明東還，[23]烏孫、破洛那之屬[24]遣使與琬俱來貢獻者十有六國[25]。自後相繼而來，不間于歲，國使亦數十輩矣。[26]

During the Taiyan 太延 reign-period [435-440 CE], the virtue of Wei became better known both far and wide and day by day. The kings of the various states in the Western Regions, such as Qiuci 龜茲[8], Shule 疏勒[9], Wusun 烏孫[10], Yueban 悅般[11], Kepantuo 渴槃陁[12], Shanshan 鄯善[13], Yanqi 焉耆[14], Jushi 車師[15], and Sute 粟特[16], all began sending envoys to present tribute.[17] Emperor Shizu 世祖 considered how the Han Dynasty had had contact with the Western Regions but that now, only if the states wanted something, they would come expressing humility; if there was nothing that they desired, their behavior was a display of arrogance in defiance of [our] royal order. This was because they knew themselves to be cut off from [Han] by a great distance and they were beyond the range of [Han's] huge army.[18] If envoys were sent back and forth in reply, they would ultimately gain no benefit. Therefore, Emperor Shizu did not want to send envoys. The officials sent a memorial to [the throne] that the nine states, braving hardship and danger, had submitted their local products from distant places. It was therefore proper to support them in their effort to move forward. How could we curb their successors in advance? Shizu agreed to their request. Thereupon, he finally sent envoys, Wang Ensheng 王恩生, Xu Gang 許綱, and others, to go on a mission to the Western [Regions]. When they emerged from the Flowing Sands[19], Wang Ensheng and the others were unexpectedly captured by the Ruru 蠕蠕[20], and thus were unable to reach [the Western Regions]. Emperor Shizu also sent the Gentleman Cavalier Attendant Dong Wan 董琬, Gao Ming 高明, and others. They took many brocaded silks with them,

and when they appeared in Shanshan they sought to summon and appease the nine states *by offering them large rewards. When [Dong] Wan and the others initially accepted* the imperial edict, it stated that they should proceed to those states accessible by road. [Dong] Wan, having passed through the nine states, then proceeded north and reached the state of Wusun, whose king received a reward from the imperial court, did obeisance in acceptance, and was duly pleased by this. He then said to [Dong] Wan, "I hear that both Poluona 破洛那 [21] and Zheshe 者舌 [22] longed for the virtue of Wei, and wanted to swear fealty and pay tribute, but were worried there was no way to reach Wei. Now that you have arrived here, it is proper to go to these two states to encourage them in their sincere admiration". [Dong] Wan thereupon went in person to Poluona, and sent [Gao] Ming to Zheshe. The king of Wusun provided them with guides and interpreters for each of the two states. [Dong] Wan and the others read out the imperial edict intended to pacify and reward them. When [Dong] Wan and [Gao] Ming later returned eastwards,[23] Wusun, Poluona and the like [24] sent envoys with [Dong] Wan, to proceed to pay tribute, on behalf of sixteen states in all [25]. From then on, the envoys of the various states came [to present tribute] in succession, without any annual breaks. National missions, which can be numbered in the tens, were also dispatched. [26]

[8] Qiuci 龜茲 was an oasis state on the Northern Route of the Western Regions, first mentioned in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu*.

[9] Shule 疏勒 was an oasis state on the Northern Route of the Western Regions, first mentioned in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu*.

[10] Wusun 烏孫 was a nomadic tribe, first mentioned in the "Dayuan liezhuan" of *Shiji*.

[11] Yueban 悅般 was a nomadic tribe. In the age described in this memoir, the state was located north of the Tianshan Mountains. "Yueban" [jiuat-peən] and "Avar" (Οὐάρ) in Western historical sources are transcriptions of the same name.[1]

[12] Kepantuo 渴槃陁 was an oasis state in the Pamirs. "Kepantuo" 渴槃陁 was probably a transcription of Garband or Karband.[2]

[13] Shanshan 鄯善 was an oasis state on the Southern Route of the Western Regions, first mentioned in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu*.

[14] Yanqi 焉耆 was an oasis state on the Northern Route of the Western Regions, first mentioned in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu*.

[15] Jushi 車師 was an oasis state on the Southern Route of the Western Regions, first mentioned in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu*. The "Jushi" in this memoir seems to refer to the state of Nearer Jushi.

[16] Sute 粟特 is generally considered to be the "Suyi" 粟弋 in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hou-Han shu*, referring to Sogdiana. "Sute" 粟特 [siok-dək] was a transcription of Sughd.

[17] According to the account here, during the Taiyan reign-period, nine states from the Western Regions sent envoys to present tribute. Emperor Shizu then sent Wang Ensheng and others on the first mission of the Tuoba Wei to the Western Regions. Wang Ensheng and his company did not reach their destination because they were detained by the Ruru. Then Dong Wan and Gao Ming, among others, were sent to continue the mission. However, if we compare this account with that in the "Shizu ji" 世祖紀 of *Weishu*, on the day *gengzi* 庚子 in the second month of the first year of the Taiyan reign-period (435), "the states of ...Yanqi, Jushi, among others, sent their respective envoys to present tribute". On the day *bingwu* 丙午 in the sixth month, "the states of ... and Shanshan all sent envoys to present tribute". On the day *bingxu* 丙戌 in the eighth month, "the state of Sute sent envoys to present tribute". On the day *guisi* 癸巳 in the third month of the third year of the Taiyan reign-period (437 CE), "the states of Qiuci, Yueban, Yanqi, Jushi, Sute, Shule, Wusun, Kepantuo, and Shanshan sent their respective envoys to present tribute". From these records, it can be seen that the tribute missions from the nine states in this text are not the first instances. At least four of the nine states—Yanqi, Jushi, Shanshan, and Sute—had already presented tribute in the first year of the Taiyan reign-period (435 CE). According to the "Shizu ji" of *Weishu*, on the day *gengshen* 庚申 in the fifth month of the first year of the Taiyan reign-period, Wei "sent twenty missions to the Western Regions". On the day *dinghai* 丁亥 in the eighth month of the second year (436 CE), Wei once again "sent six missions to the Western Regions". If the western mission of Wang Ensheng and Xu Gang was the first mission to the Western Regions sent by the Tuoba Wei, it should have been in the fifth month in the first year of the Taiyan reign-period (435 CE), namely after Yanqi and Jushi had come to present tribute in the second month of the same year. Since the "Shizu ji" of *Weishu* does not record any Wei missions to the Western Regions in the third year of the Taiyan reign-period (437 CE), it is possible that Dong Wan and Gao Ming were sent out in the eighth month in the second year (436 CE), namely after the state of Sute had come to present tribute. The nine states which came to pay tribute "during the Taiyan reign-period" arrived at the Wei capital in the third month of the third year (437 CE). Therefore, the "nine states" to be appeased only refers to the various states in the Western Regions generally. Since there was no way for Dong and Gao to foresee that nine states would come to pay tribute, these nine states could not have been the destination of their mission.[3]

[18] The "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu* states: "It [Jibin] knows itself to be cut off from [Han] by a long distance beyond the range of [Han] troops. If there is something which it requires, its language is servile; if there is nothing which it desires, its behavior is arrogant; and in the end the state will not be fit for acceptance as our subject". (A. E. P. Hulsewé and M. A. N. Loewe, *China in Central Asia*, p. 109.) *This is an example of the influence of the "Xiyu zhuan" of Hanshu on this memoir.*

[19] The Flowing Sands 流沙: Here it refers to the deserts west of the Yumen 玉門 and Yang 陽 Barriers.

[20] The Ruru 蠕蠕 were a nomadic tribe in North Asia, at that time vying with the Tuoba Wei for control of the Western Regions.[4]

[21] The precursor of Poluona 破洛那 is Dayuan in the "Dayuan liezhuan" of *Shiji* and the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu*. "Poluona" 破洛那 [phua-lak-na] is generally regarded as a transcription of Ferghāna.

[22] "Zheshe" 者舌 [tjya-djyat] is generally believed to be a transcription of *Čaš* or *Čač*.

[23] According to the "Shizu ji" of *Weishu*, on the day *jiashen* 甲申 in the eleventh month of the third year of the Taiyan reign-period, "the states of Poluona and Zheshe respectively sent envoys to pay tribute and present blood-sweating horses". This is the first time that the two states sent envoys to present tribute. Based on the text here, we know that the event was one of the achievements of Dong and Gao's mission to the West. Their envoys reached the Wei capital with Dong and Gao. We also know that Dong and Gao returned home in the eleventh month of the third year of the Taiyan reign-period.

[24] According to the "Shizu ji" of *Weishu*, only two states, Poluona and Zheshe, came to pay tribute in the eleventh month of the third year of the Taiyan reign-period (437 CE); it does not mention Wusun or the other states. "Wusun, Poluona and the like" is a textual error. Since Wusun belonged to the nine states which came to present tribute in the third month of the third year of the Taiyan reign-period (437 CE), it did not necessarily send an envoy once again when Dong and Gao returned to their homeland. On the basis of the "Shizu ji" of *Weishu,* only the envoys of the two states, Poluona and Zheshe, came along with Dong and Gao.

[25] The "sixteen states" should refer to the states in the Western Regions that sent envoys, along with the six Wei missions, such as that of Dong and Gao, to present tribute. Owing to the paucity of reliable sources, they cannot be indisputably identified individually.

[26] Subsequently, the envoys whose names were recorded in history are Gao Hui 高徽, who was sent to the state of Yeda 嚈噠[5] (see the "Gao Hu zhuan" 高湖傳 of *Weishu*); Han Yangpi 韓羊皮, who was sent to the state of Bosi 波斯 (see this memoir); Zhang Daoyi 張道義, who was also sent to Bosi (see the "Linghu Zheng zhuan" 令狐整傳 of *Zhoushu* 周書); and Gu Weilong 谷巍龍, who was

sent to Mimi 迷密[6], among others.

初，世祖每遣使西域，常詔河西王沮渠牧犍[27]令護送，至姑臧[28]，牧犍恒發使導路出於流沙。[29]後使者[30]自西域還，至武威[31]，牧犍左右謂使者曰："我君承蠕蠕吳提[32]妄說，云：'去歲魏天子自來伐我，士馬疫死，大敗而還，我禽其長弟樂平王丕[33]。'我君大喜，宣言國中。"又聞吳提遣使告西域諸國，稱："魏已削弱，今天下唯我爲強，若更有魏使，勿復恭奉。"西域諸國亦有貳者，牧犍事主稍以慢惰。[34]使還，具以狀聞，世祖遂議討牧犍。涼州[35]既平，[36]鄯善國以爲脣亡齒寒，自然之道也，今武威爲魏所滅，次及我也。若通其使人，知我國事，取亡必近，不如絕之，可以支久，乃斷塞行路，西域貢獻，歷年不入。[37]後平鄯善，[38]行人復通。

Originally, whenever Emperor Shizu sent envoys to the Western Regions, he usually issued edicts ordering the King of Hexi 河西, Juqu Mujian 沮渠牧犍[27], to provide a convoy for the envoys, and so when the envoys arrived in Guzang 姑臧[28], [Juqu] Mujian usually sent his own guides to lead the envoys of Wei across the Flowing Sands.[29] When the envoy[30] [on this occasion] subsequently returned from the Western Regions and reached Wuwei 武威[31], [Juqu] Mujian's ministers told him, "Our lord has accepted the rumor spread by the ruler of the Ruru 蠕蠕, Wuti 吳提[32], who said, 'Last year, the Son of Heaven of Wei came in person to attack me, was utterly defeated, and returned as his soldiers and horses died of the plague. I captured his younger brother, the King of Leping 樂平, Pi 丕'[33]. Our lord was delighted by this and declared this to the state". He also heard that Wuti sent envoys to proclaim to the various states in the Western Regions, "Wei had already been weakened, and now only I am powerful under the sun. If envoys of Wei come again, do not respect them and do not supply them with provisions". Some of the states in the Western Regions were thus half-hearted in their loyalty, and [Juqu] Mujian gradually became indolent in his attendance on the princess.[34] The envoy returned and reported all these facts. Emperor Shizu thereupon convened a council to discuss an expedition against Juqu Mujian. After Liang 涼 Province[35] had been pacified,[36] [the ruler of] the state of Shanshan considered that, if the lips were gone, it would be only natural that the teeth would be exposed to the cold. Now that Wuwei had been destroyed by Wei, the next in turn would be his own state. If we allow

Wei's envoys through to ascertain the situation in our state, we will court our own ruin. It is better to cut them off and then we can ensure our lives for time to come. Thereupon *[Shanshan] cut and blockaded the routes. Tribute from the Western Regions was not* presented for several years.[37] After Shanshan was pacified,[38] the envoys could pass again.

[27] The King of Hexi 河西, Juqu Mujian, ruler of the Northern Liang 北涼, reigned from 433 to 439. According to the "Juqu Mujian zhuan" 沮渠牧犍傳 in *Weishu*, when Juqu Mujian ascended to the throne, "Emperor Shizu sent Li Shun 李順 to confer upon [Juqu] Mujian the titles of the Commissioner with Extraordinary Powers, Palace Attendant, Commander-in-chief of Military Operations in the Three Provinces of Liang 涼, He 河, and Sha 沙 and among the Qiang 羌 and Rong 戎 [Peoples] of the Western Regions, General of Chariots and Cavalry, Commander Unequalled in Honor, Concurrent Colonel Protecting the Western Rong, Governor of Liang Province, and King of Hexi".

[28] Guzang 姑臧 was the name of a county. At that time the capital of the Northern Liang was located there. Guzang is present-day Wuwei 武威, Gansu Province.

[29] It should have been after the failure of the missions to the Western Regions by Wang Ensheng, Xu Gang, and others that Emperor Shizu of Wei ordered Juqu Mujian to provide guides for envoys, and it was possible that Dong Wan and Gao Ming relied on Juqu Mujian's guides to pass through the Flowing Sands in their mission to the Western Regions. Wang Ensheng and Xu Gang went on their mission to the Western Regions during the period when the Tuoba Wei was attempting to pacify the Ruru through marriage. In the third year of the Yanhe 延和 reign-period (434 CE), Wei married Princess Xihai 西海 to the Khan of the Ruru, Wuti 吳提, and took the younger sister of Wuti as wife with the title of the Left Zhaoyi 昭儀. However, Wuti still detained Wang and Xu, denying them passage to the Western Regions, despite everything. The case is quite similar to the detention of Zhang Qian 張騫 by the *Chanyu* 單于 of the Xiongnu in the era of the Western Han, because the Ruru had already regarded the Western Regions as their exclusive sphere of influence, and thus did not want the Northern Wei to have contacts with any state in the area. The possibility cannot completely be ruled out that the motivation behind Wang and Xu's mission to the Western Regions initiated by the Northern Wei was to cut off the right arm of the Ruru, although there is no explicit record of this in the histories. Because Wang and Xu had been detained by the Ruru, Emperor Shizu of Wei issued the edict, ordering Juqu Mujian to provide convoy to the envoys. However, Juqu Mujian was equally unhappy to see any contact between the Northern Wei and the Western Regions, out of consideration of his own self-interest.

[30] The "envoy" refers to He Duoluo 賀多羅. According to the "Juqu Mujian zhuan" in *Weishu*, "In the fifth year of the Taiyan reign-period (439), Emperor Shizu sent the Imperial Secretary, He Duoluo, on a mission to Liang Province, to scout the place in passing. Although [Juqu] Mujian declared himself a vassal and presented tribute to the Court, he actually committed treacherous and wicked acts. [Emperor Shizu] thus launched a punitive expedition against [Liang], leading the forces himself".

[31] Wuwei 武威 was the name of a prefecture; its seat of government was Guzang.

[32] Wuti 吳提 was the Khan of the Ruru (r. 429-444). He was referred to as Khan Chilian 敕連.

[33] The King of Leping 樂平, Pi 丕, was the son of Emperor Mingyuan 明元. The title of the King of Leping was conferred on him in the seventh year of the Taichang 泰常 reign-period (422). His biography is included in *Weishu* (ch. 17), but there is no record that he was ever captured by the Ruru; so this might have been a rumor spread by the Ruru themselves. According to the "Ruru zhuan" 蠕蠕傳 in *Weishu*, in the fourth year of the Taiyan reign-period (438), the King of Leping followed Emperor Shizu on the expedition against the Ruru.

[34] Juqu Mujian was delighted when he heard "the rumor" spread by Wuti because his own interest in the communications between the Northern Wei and the Western Regions was identical to that of Wuti. The territories of the various states in the Western Regions were close to the Ruru and the Northern Liang, and the latter two were unhappy to see contacts established between the Northern Wei and the various states; the states themselves also had reservations about such contacts. Probably because of this, "some of the states in the Western Regions were half-hearted in their loyalty". The fact that Juqu Mujian feigned compliance with the Northern Wei and at the same time obstructed communications between the Northern Wei and the Western Regions accelerated the destruction of the Northern Liang by the Northern Wei.

[35] The capital of Liang Province was Guzang. Here Liang Province refers to the regime of the Northern Liang.

[36] It was in the fifth year of the Taiyan reign-period (439 CE) that the Northern Wei destroyed the Northern Liang. With the destruction of the Northern Liang, the relations between the Northern Wei and the Western Regions reached a new stage.

[37] Shanshan's obstruction of the routes should have occurred in the third year of the Taiping Zhenjun 太平真君 reign-period (442 CE), when the Juqu family occupied Shanshan, not after the occupation of Liang Province (439 CE) by the Northern Wei. This is because, according to this memoir, when Juqu Anzhou 沮渠安周 attacked Shanshan in the second year of the Taiping Zhenjun reign-period

(441 CE), various envoys from Wei who were on their return journey to the east met at Shanshan, and exhorted its king, Bilong 比龍, to resist Juqu Anzhou. If the king of Shanshan actually believed that the relationship between his own state and Juqu's Northern Liang was like that between lips and teeth, and that a total destruction could be avoided by a blockade of the roads, then he would have acted before the Northern Liang was conquered. However, he still sent envoys to present tribute until the fourth month in the fifth year of the Taiyan reign-period (439 CE), indicating that the statement that "if the lips were gone, it would be only natural that the teeth would be exposed to the cold" was only an excuse used by some people of Shanshan close to the Juqu family to persuade the king of Shanshan before Juqu Mujian surrendered to Wei. After the third year of the Taiping Zhenjun reign-period (442 CE) it was certainly possible for the state of Shanshan to cut off and blockade the routes, because Shanshan was occupied by Juqu Anzhou after Bilong fled to Qiemo 且末 and Juqu Wuhui 無諱, soon after, fled to Shanshan from Dunhuang 敦煌. It is possible that the son of Bilong was still on the throne, but he was only a puppet, who had to bow to the will of Juqu Wuhui, among others. As a sworn enemy of the Northern Wei, the Juqu clan was, of course, not willing to see alliances forged between the Northern Wei and the Western Regions. Therefore, it is more likely that those who "cut and blockaded the routes" were the members of the Juqu family itself, rather than the people of Shanshan.[7]

[38] "Shanshan was pacified" by the Northern Wei: This refers to the expedition against Shanshan by Wan Dugui 萬度歸. According to the "Shizu ji" in *Weishu*, in the sixth year of the Taiping Zhenjun reign-period (445), in the summer, on the day *gengxu* 庚戌 in the fourth month, Emperor Shizu "issued an edict ordering the Gentleman Cavalier Attendant and Duke of Chengzhou 成周, Wan Dugui, to ride a [four-horse] post-carriage to call up the troops west of Liang Province for an expedition against Shanshan".

始琬等使還京師，具言凡所經見及傳聞傍國，云：西域自漢武時五十餘國，後稍相幷。[39] 至太延中，爲十六國 [40]，分其地爲四域。[41] 自葱嶺以東，流沙以西爲一域；[42] 葱嶺以西，海曲以東爲一域；[43] 者舌以南，月氏以北爲一域；[44] 兩海之間，水澤以南爲一域。[45] 内諸小渠長蓋以百數。其出西域本有二道，後更爲四：[46] 出自玉門 [47]，渡流沙，西行二千里 [48] 至鄯善爲一道；自玉門渡流沙，北行二千二百里 [49] 至車師爲一道；從莎車西行一百里 [50] 至葱嶺，葱嶺西一千三百里 [51] 至伽倍 [52] 爲一道；自莎車西南五百里 [53] ［至］[54] 葱嶺，西南一千三百里 [55] 至波路 [56] 爲一道焉。自琬所不傳而更有朝貢者，紀其名，不能具國俗也。其與

前使所異者錄之。[57]

Formerly, when [Dong] Wan and the others returned to the capital after their mission, they mentioned all the neighboring states they had seen with their own eyes or those they had heard about, and said: Since Emperor Wu 武 of Han, there have been more than fifty states in the Western Regions. Subsequently, they gradually annexed each other, [39] and by the middle of the Taiyan reign-period, there were [only] sixteen states in all [40]. Their lands can be divided into four regions. [41] East of the Cong 葱 Mountains and west of the Flowing Sands constitutes one region, [42] west of the Cong Mountains and east of the sea bend is another, [43] south of Zheshe and north of the Yuezhi 月氏 is the third, [44] and between the two seas and south of the marshes is the fourth. [45] In these four regions there are perhaps one hundred petty chieftains. Access to the Western Regions was originally provided by two routes, but later this changed to four. [46] From the Yumen Barrier[47] crossing the Flowing Sands going west for 2,000 *li* [48] to Shanshan is the first route. From the Yumen Barrier crossing the Flowing Sands and going north for 2,200 *li* [49] to Jushi 車師 is the second route. From Suoju 莎車 going west for 100 *li* [50] to the Cong Mountains, then west for 1,300 *li* [51] to Jiabei 伽倍 [52] is the third route. From Suoju going southwest for 500 *li* [53] to[54] the Cong Mountains, then southwest for 1,300 *li* [55] to Bolu 波路 [56] is the fourth route. As for those states that sent envoys to present tribute after [Dong] Wan, who did not report them, only their names are recorded, and an account of their customs cannot be given. In this chapter, we have compiled those matters which differ from the reports of the former envoys.[57]

[39] "Since Emperor Wu of Han, there have been over fifty states in the Western Regions…": This is based on the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu*.

[40] "Sixteen states": The preface in this memoir mentions "sixteen states" twice. If we rely on this, then during the Taiyan reign-period there were altogether sixteen states, distributed throughout four regions; and these sixteen states came to pay their respects at the court along with Dong and Gao when they returned from their western mission. But according to the record in the "Shizu ji" of *Weishu*, only the envoys from Poluona and Zheshe accompanied Dong and Gao. During the reign-period of Taiyan, there were definitely more than sixteen states. Thus, the first sentence is Wei Shou's mechanical copying of the statement in the "Dayuan liezhuan" of *Shiji* ("the deputy envoys whom

he [Zhang Qian] had sent to make contact with states such as Daxia 大夏 all came to court, in many cases with people from those places"), while the second sentence echoes a statement in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu* ("Communications with the Western Regions started only in the time of Emperor Xiaowu. Originally there had been thirty-six states, but afterwards these were gradually divided into more than fifty"). On the whole, what these sentences tell us is only, or at most, that the states in the Western Regions which Dong and Gao "had seen with their own eyes or those they had heard about" numbered sixteen, and these sixteen states were distributed in "four regions".

[41] The record in the "Xi Rong zongxu" 西戎總序 (General introduction to the Western Rong) included in the "Xi Rong (san)" 西戎三 of the "Bianfang (qi)" 邊防七 section of *Tongdian* 通典 is different: "Later, Emperor Taiwu of the Later Wei sent Dong Wan on a mission to the Western Regions. Upon his return, [Dong Wan] reported that the land of the Western Regions consisted of three regions: East of the Cong Mountains and west of the Flowing Sands was one region; south of Gumo and north of the Yuezhi was another; and between the two seas and south of the marsh was the third. In the three regions petty chiefs numbered a hundred or so". Of "the four regions" mentioned by Dong and Gao, the first region was the sphere of influence of the northern nomadic tribes; the second was Persia and its sphere of influence; the third was a buffer zone between the above-mentioned two powers, and thus was alternatively controlled by the Persians or by the nomadic tribes who moved south; and, finally, the fourth was Rome and its sphere of influence. This is to say that Dong and Gao drew quite an exact political map of their time. However, the "three regions" described in *Tongdian* does not provide us with a clear and integrated understanding of the Western Regions of that time, no matter how we may interpret the geographical location of each region. Such being the case, we can only conclude that the "four regions" was originally noted by Wei Shou and came from the report of Dong and Gao; the "three regions" in *Tongdian* was fabricated by Du You 杜佑.[8]

[42] The Cong Mountains 葱嶺 refers to the Pamirs; the Flowing Sands, as stated in the previous note, refers to the desert between the Yumen Barrier and Shanshan. Thus, the first region refers to the land east of the Pamirs, the Tarim Basin and the area north of the Tianshan Mountains.

[43] The "Cong Mountains" here refers to the Hindu Kush, because it was not the toponym indicating the Pamirs during the Southern and Northern Dynasties, and it was often used instead as a general term for various mountains, including the Hindu Kush, centering on the Pamirs.[9] Since the valley of the Amu Darya west of the Pamirs was relegated to the third region, the "Cong Mountains" here, as the eastern end of the second region, in fact refers to the Hindu Kush Mountains. The "sea bend" should refer to the sea or the coast of the Mediterranean from Syria and Palestine to Asia Minor

and the Balkans. The western end of the second region, opposite to the Hindu Kush Mountains, refers to the eastern coast of the Mediterranean.[10] Thus, the second region refers to the area west of the Hindu Kush Mountains and east of the Mediterranean.

[44] Zheshe 者舌 was located in the present-day Tashkent area, and the "Yuezhi" here refers to the Kidara Kushan, who occupied Tukhārestān and the north of Qiantuoluo 乾陁羅 (Gandhāra) at the time of Dong and Gao's mission to the West. Thus, the third region included Sogdiana, Tukhārestān, and a part of the Northwestern Subcontinent.

[45] The "two seas" refers to the Adriatic Sea to the east of the Italian Peninsula, and the Tyrrhenian Sea to the west of the peninsula. The "marshes" here refers to the Black Sea. Thus, the fourth region refers to the area south of the Black Sea whose center was the Italian Peninsula.

[46] The so-called "four routes" are in fact the "Southern and Northern Routes" in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu* and their extensions. The routes may be those that Dong and Gao had actually taken in their journey to the Western Regions. Of course, a part of the account is probably hearsay. It is notable that the order of the various states seen in this memoir is arranged along the trajectory of the "four routes", a proof that the compilation of this memoir was deeply influenced by the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu* as well as by the western mission of Dong and Gao.

[47] Yumen 玉門 here refers to the Yumen Barrier. Its site was located northwest of present-day Dunhuang, Gansu Province.

[48] "2,000 *li*" (Distance 1.1): The distance from Yumen to the seat of the king's government of Shanshan. According to the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu*, the distance from the Yang Barrier along the northern edge of the Altyn Tagh to the seat of the king's government of Shanshan is 1,600 *li*, so the "2,000 *li*" probably refers to the distance from the Yumen Barrier to the seat of the king's government of Shanshan via the present-day ruins of Loulan 樓蘭 northwest of the Lop Nor.

[49] "2,200 *li*" (Distance 1.2): The distance between the Yumen Barrier and the seat of the king's government of Jushi, probably via the present-day ruins of Loulan northwest of the Lop Nor.

[50] "100 *li*" (Distance 1.3): The distance from the seat of the king's government of Suoju westwards to the Cong Mountains.

[51] "1,300 *li*" (Distance 1.4): The distance from the seat of the king's government of Suoju westward to Jiabei 伽倍 after crossing the Cong Mountains. The distance from the seat of the king's government of Suoju to the Cong Mountains to the west is 100 *li*, so the distance from the seat of the king's government of Suoju across the Cong Mountains to that of Jiabei is altogether 1,400 *li*.

[52] The precursor of Jiabei 伽倍 should have been the *Xihou* 翕侯 of Xiumi 休密 in the "Xiyu

zhuan" of *Hanshu*. "Jiabei" 伽倍 [keai-buə] and "Xiumi" are variations in the transcription of the same name.

[53] "500 *li*" (Distance 1.5): The distance from the seat of the king's government of Suoju southwestwards to the Cong Mountains.

[54] Adding *zhi* 至 (to), in conformity to the text in the "Xi Rong zongxu" 西戎總序 in the "Xi Rong (san)" 西戎三 of the *Bianfang (qi)* 邊防七 section of *Tongdian* 通典.

[55] "1,300 *li*" (Distance 1.6): The distance from the seat of the king's government of Suoju southwestwards across the Cong Mountains to Bolu. It is 500 *li* from the seat of the king's government to the Cong Mountains to the southwest, so the distance from the seat of the king's government of Suoju to that of Bolu after crossing the Cong Mountains is altogether 1,800 *li*.

[56] "Bolu" 波路 [puai-lak] is generally believed to be a transcription of Bolor.

[57] In the context of the statement earlier ("Formerly, when [Dong] Wan and the others returned to the capital after their mission, they mentioned all the neighboring states they had seen with their own eyes or those they had heard about"), we can see that the main content in this memoir is from Dong and Gao.

鄯善國，都[58]扜泥城[59]，去代七千六百里[60]。至太延初，始遣使來獻。[61]四年，遣其弟素延耆入侍。[62]及世祖平涼州，沮渠牧犍弟無諱走保敦煌。[63]無諱後謀渡流沙，遣其弟安周擊鄯善，王比龍恐懼欲降。會（魏）[64]使者自天竺[65]、罽賓[66]還，俱會鄯善，勸比龍拒之，遂與連戰，安周不能克，退保東城。[67]後比龍懼，率衆西奔且末[68]，其世子乃應安周。[69]［其後（魏）遣使使西域，道出其國,］[70]鄯善人頗剽劫之，令不得通。世祖詔散騎常侍、成周公萬度歸乘傳發涼州兵討之，[71]度歸到敦煌，留輜重，以輕騎五千渡流沙，至其境。時鄯善人衆布野，度歸敕吏卒不得有所侵掠，邊守感之，皆望旗稽服。其王真達面縛出降，度歸釋其縛，留軍屯守，與真達詣京都。[72]世祖大悅，厚待之。[73]是歲，拜交趾公韓拔爲假節、征西將軍、領護西戎校尉、鄯善王以鎮之，賦役其（人）［民］，比之郡縣。[74]

The state of Shanshan 鄯善: Its capital[58] is located at the town of Wuni 扜泥[59], and it is 7,600 *li* [60] from Dai 代. It did not come to pay tribute until the beginning of the Taiyan reign-period [435 CE].[61] In the fourth year of the Taiyan reign-period [the king] sent his younger brother, Suyanqi 素延耆, to attend at the court.[62] When Emperor

Shizu pacified Liang Province, Wuhui 無諱, the younger brother of Juqu Mujian, fled to Dunhuang to seek protection.[63] Afterwards Wuhui planned to cross the Flowing Sands, and sent his younger brother Anzhou 安周 to attack Shanshan. The king [of Shanshan], Bilong 比龍, was afraid and wanted to surrender. It happened that Wei's[64] envoys were just then returning from Tianzhu 天竺[65] and Jibin 罽賓[66], and they all met in Shanshan, and advised Bilong to resist him. Bilong thus fought with him continuously. [Juqu] Anzhou was unable to overcome him, and retreated to defend the eastern town.[67] Afterwards, Bilong was afraid and, leading his followers, fled westwards to Qiemo 且末[68]. His prince thus responded to [Juqu] Anzhou.[69] [After this, when Wei sent envoys to the Western Regions by way of that state],[70] the people of Shanshan robbed them of much and would not let them pass. Emperor Shizu issued an edict ordering the Gentleman Cavalier Attendant and Duke of Chengzhou 成周, Wan Dugui 萬度歸, to ride a [four-horse] post-carriage to call up the troops of Liang Province to attack it [i.e., Shanshan].[71] [Wan] Dugui arrived in Dunhuang, and then, leaving the impedimenta behind him, and leading 5,000 light-horsemen, crossed the Flowing Sands and reached its border. The common people of Shanshan were all over the open country and [Wan] Dugui ordered the soldiers not to trespass and rob them. The officers of the border were moved, and all bowed touching the ground with their heads and submitted before his flag. The king, Zhenda 真達, appeared with his hands tied behind his back and surrendered. [Wan] Dugui untied his hands, and left the troops stationed there to defend it, then returned and arrived in the capital with Zhenda.[72] Emperor Shizu was delighted and treated him kindly and generously.[73] In this year, [Emperor Shizu] conferred on Han Ba 韓拔 the titles Commissioner with a Warrant, General of Conquering the West, Concurrent Colonel Protecting the Western Rong, and King of Shanshan, to defend Shanshan, levy its taxes, and work its people, as if it were a prefecture or county.[74]

[58] Originally the character was "*zhi*" 治 in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Weishu*; it was changed into "*du*" 都 by Li Yanshou to observe the taboo concerning an emperor's name.

[59] The location of Wuni, the seat of the king's government of Shanshan in this memoir, is the same as that recorded in the memoirs on the Western Regions in the official histories of Han and Jin. It was most likely the old town of Charquduq to the southwest of Lop Nor, near the seat of present-day Ruoqiang 若羌 County.

[60] "7,600 *li*" (Distance 2): This is the distance from Wuni to Dai via Dunhuang (Yumen); i.e., the aggregate of 2,000 *li*, the distance between Wuni and Dunhuang (Yumen); 3,700 *li*, the distance between Dunhuang and Chang'an; and 1,900 *li*, the distance between Chang'an and Dai.

[61] According to the "Shizu ji (shang)" of *Weishu*, on the day *bingwu* 丙午 in the sixth month of the first year of the Taiyan reign-period (435), on the day *guisi* 癸巳 in the third month of the third year of the Taiyan reign-period (437), and on the day *dingyou* 丁酉 in the fourth month of the fifth year of the Taiyan reign-period (439), the state of Shanshan "sent envoys to pay respects at the court and present tribute".

[62] According to the "Shizu ji (shang)" of *Weishu*, on the day *gengchen* 庚辰 in the third month of the fourth year of the Taiyan reign-period (438), "Suyanqi, the younger brother of the king of Shanshan, came to pay his respects at the court".

[63] For detail, see "Juqu Mujian zhuan" in *Weishu*.

[64] The character "*Wei*" 魏 should have been added by the editor of *Beishi*, Li Yanshou; it was not in the original by Wei Shou.

[65] Tianzhu 天竺 refers to the South Asian Subcontinent, centering on is the valley of the Indus, first mentioned in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hou-Han shu*.

[66] Jibin 罽賓 is first mentioned in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu*, but the location of Jibin in this memoir is different from that in *Hanshu*; it is generally believed to refer to Kashmir here. "Jibin" 罽賓 [kiat-pien] is an abbreviated transcription of Kashmira.

[67] This is how the Northern Wei, by using Shanshan, prevented the forces of the Juqu family from fleeing into the Western Regions. After the surrender of Juqu Mujian, his brother, Juqu Wuhui, occupied Jiuquan and Dunhuang to resist the Northern Wei.

[68] Qiemo 且末 was an oasis state on the Southern Route in the Western Regions, first mentioned in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu*.

[69] According to the "Shizu ji (xia)" of *Weishu*, in the third year of the Taiping Zhenjun reign-period (442 CE), "in the summer, the fourth month, [Juqu] Wuhui fled by crossing the Flowing Sands and occupied Shanshan. The grandson of Li Gao 李暠, [Li] Bao 李寶, occupied Dunhuang and sent an envoy requesting permission to declare allegiance to the court". According to the "Juqu Mujian zhuan" in *Weishu*, Juqu Wuhui "planned to cross the Flowing Sands and send [Juqu] Anzhou 安周 to attack Shanshan to the west. The king of Shanshan prepared to surrender out of fear, when some envoys from Wei persuaded him to resist and fight. [Juqu] Anzhou thus launched a protracted battle against him, but was not able to prevail, so he retreated to the town in the east. In the spring

of the third year [of the Taiping Zhenjun reign-period] (442 CE), the king of Shanshan, Bilong 比龍, fled west to Qiemo, but his heir joined the side of [Juqu] Anzhou. Shanshan was thrown into chaos. [Juqu] Wuhui then crossed the Flowing Sands, with more than half of his soldiers dying of thirst, and occupied Shanshan. Prior to this, the Administrator of Gaochang 高昌, Han Shuang 闞爽, was attacked by Tang Qi 唐契, the younger brother of Li Bao's 李寶 mother. Hearing that [Juqu] Wuhui had arrived at Shanshan, [Han Shuang] sent an envoy [to Juqu Wuhui], pretending to surrender; he wanted to have [Juqu] Wuhui and Tang Qi fight against each other. Leaving behind [Juqu] Anzhou to defend Shanshan, [Juqu] Wuhui made haste to Gaochang from the northeast of Yanqi. It happened that the Ruru had killed Tang Qi, and [Han] Shuang then refused to give in to [Juqu] Wuhui. Wei Xingnu 衛興奴, a general of [Juqu] Wuhui, beguiled [Han] Shuang and massacred the inhabitants of his town. With [Han] Shuang fleeing to the Ruru, [Juqu] Wuhui remained at Gaochang. In the summer of the fifth year, [Juqu] Wuhui died of illness, and [Juqu] Anzhou was installed in his place". Juqu Mengxun 沮渠蒙遜 had made contact with Shanshan as early as when he occupied Gaochang; Bilong went to his court to pay his respects.[11]

[70] Adding eleven characters, 其後（魏）遣使使西域道出其國, in conformity to the text in the "Xi Rong (xia)" 西戎下 in the "Si Yi (san)" 四夷三 section of *Tongzhi* 通志 (ch. 196).[12]

[71] The "Shizu ji (xia)" in *Weishu*: On the day *gengxu* 庚戌 in the fourth month in the summer of the sixth year of the Taiping Zhenjun reign-period (445), Emperor Shizu "issued an edict ordering the Gentleman Cavalier Attendant and Duke of Chengzhou, Wan Dugui, to ride a [four-horse] post-carriage to call up the troops of Liang Province for an assault on Shanshan".

[72] The "Tomb Epitaph for His Honor the Late Minister of Shan 鄯, Wei General Conquering Savages, Governor of He 河 Province, Marquis of Linze 臨澤, with the Posthumous Title of Ding 定" (魏故征虜將軍河州刺史臨澤定侯鄯使君墓銘, rubbing) in the collection of the National Library of China, states: "The Honorable Sir was named Qian 乾, was a native of Luobin 洛濱 village in Luoyang 洛陽 of Henan 河南 in the Si 司 Province. He was a grandson of Chong 寵, the Palace Attendant, General Governing the West, and King of Shanshan, and was the eldest son of Shi 視, the General Pacifying the West, Governor of the Three Provinces of Qing 青, Ping 平 and Liang 涼, King of Shanshan, Marquis of Linze with a posthumous title of Huai 懷. His late father came to pay his respects at the court in the sixth year of the [Taiping] Zhenjun reign-period [445 CE]. Ancestors before his grandfather were the lords of the Western Xia 夏 for generations. He was originally appointed the Supernumerary Gentleman Cavalier Attendant as suited his status as the offspring of nobility, then came to the court and was the Concurrent General Supporting the State of the Left and Right

and Colonel of the City Gate. When he was on assignment away from the capital, he was made the General Conquering Savages and Administrator of Anding 安定. He died in the fifth year of the Yongping 永平 reign-period [512 CE], namely, the year *renchen* 壬辰, in the first month, on the fourth day, at the age of forty-four. He was granted the titles of the General Conquering Savages and Governor of He 河 Province, and was invested with the posthumous title of 'Ding' 定. In the eighth month, on the twenty-sixth day of this year, which was changed into the first year of the Yanchang 延昌 reign-period [512 CE], his mausoleum was built, in accordance with the results of divination, at Mang 芒 north of the Luo 洛 River, where he was interred".[13] The kings of Shanshan mentioned here, Chong and Shi, must have been Bilong and Zhenda in this memoir. According to this epitaph, Shi "came to the court in the sixth year of the [Taiping] Zhenjun reign-period [445 CE]", which refers to the fact that Zhenda "arrived in the capital" with Wan Dugui after he had surrendered. We cannot know if Shi or Zhenda returned to the state of Shanshan, but it is possible that they stayed in the east. His official positions and his career as recorded in this epitaph indicate that he had never ascended the throne of the state of Shanshan. The inscription on his tomb reads, "He had been known for his moral integrity since childhood as he received strict family education in his early years. All his friends were wise men like Lian 廉 and Su 蘇, and there was never anyone invited only to make up the number among his guests. He had borne the Emperor's love since childhood and was involved in the affairs of the imperial palace at an early age". This seems to indicate that he grew up in the Wei capital. If this is true, the king of Shanshan, who "sent his son to present tribute" in the eighth year of the [Taiping] Zhenjun reign-period (447 CE), and who ascended the throne after the Northern Wei had withdrawn, must have been someone else.

[73] According to the "Shizu ji (xia)" in *Weishu*, in the autumn, the eighth month, of the sixth year of the Taiping Zhenjun reign-period (445), "on the day *renchen* 壬辰, [Wan] Dugui arrived at Shanshan with a force of light cavalry, captured its king, Zhenda, and returned to the capital with him. Emperor Shizu was delighted and treated him kindly and generously". Shanshan, located on a vital communication line, presented an obstacle to the Northern Wei's control of the Western Regions, and thus Wan Dugui was sent to launch the western expedition. Wan Dugui's attack on Shanshan, on the basis of the account in the "Shizu ji (xia)" of *Weishu*, occurred in the fourth month of the sixth year of the Taiping Zhenjun reign-period (445 CE). The whereabouts of Juqu Fengzhou 沮渠豐周, who was left behind to guard Shanshan, were unknown at that time, and it is possible that he had already left Shanshan. The king of Shanshan, Zhenda, forced to surrender by Wan Dugui, might have been the heir of Bilong.

[74] According to the "Shizu ji (xia)" in *Weishu*, [the king of] the state of Shanshan "sent his son to present tribute" in the twelfth month of the eighth year of the Taiping Zhenjun reign-period (447 CE). This seems to indicate that, after Zhenda had arrived in the capital, the government in the state of Shanshan continued to function. However, soon after this, the Northern Wei was determined to station troops in Shanshan to guard it. According to the "Shizu ji (xia)" in *Weishu*, in the ninth year of the Taiping Zhenjun reign-period (450 CE), "in the summer, the fifth month, on the day *jiaxu* 甲戌, [Emperor Shizu] conferred upon the Duke of Jiaozhi 交趾, Han Ba 韓拔, the titles of the Commissioner with a Warrant, General Conquering the West, Concurrent Colonel Protecting the Western Rong, and King of Shanshan, to defend Shanshan, levy taxes, and work its people as if it were a prefecture or county". "This year", according to this memoir, should be the year when Wan Dugui attacked Shanshan, namely the sixth year of the Taiping Zhenjun reign-period (445 CE). However, this is, actually, not the case. We know only that Han Ba was no longer in Shanshan after the second year of the Yanxing 延興 reign-period (472 CE) at the latest, but we do not know in which year Wei stopped stationing troops at Shanshan. According to the "Gaozu ji" 高祖紀 in *Weishu*, "in the spring [of this year], the first month, on the day *yimao* 乙卯, the Hu people in the Defense Command of Tongwan 統萬 rebelled and fled north one by one. An imperial edict ordered the General Stabilizing the South and Duke of Jiaozhi, Han Ba, to pursue and destroy them". The possibility cannot be ruled out that the state of Shanshan once again became independent after the withdrawal of the Wei troops.

且末國，都且末城[75]，在鄯善西，去代八千三百二十里[76]。真君三年，鄯善王比龍避沮渠安周之難，率國人之半奔且末，後役屬鄯善。

The state of Qiemo 且末: Its capital is located in the town of Qiemo[75] to the west of Shanshan, and it is 8,320 *li* [76] from Dai. In the third year of the [Taiping] Zhenjun reign-period, the king of Shanshan, Bilong, leading half of his people, fled to Qiemo to avoid the danger [from Juqu Anzhou]. Afterwards, this state was subject to Shanshan.

[75] The location of the seat of the king's government of Qiemo, the town of Qiemo, in this memoir is not different from that during the Han and Jin periods; it is generally believed to have been located southwest of present-day Qiemo County.

[76] "8,320 *li*" (Distance 3): This is the distance from the town of Qiemo to Dai via the seat of

the king's government of Shanshan; i.e., the aggregate of 720 *li*, the distance between the town of Qiemo and the seat of the king's government of Shanshan according to the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu*, and 7,600 *li*, the distance between the latter and Dai.

于闐國[77]，在且末西北[78]，去代九千八百里[79]。其地方亘千里，連山相次。于闐城東三十里有首拔河[80]，中出玉石[81]。土宜五穀幷桑麻，山多美玉，有好馬、駝、騾。

The state of Yutian 于闐[77]: It is located to the northwest of Qiemo[78] and is 9,800 *li* [79] from Dai. The country extends 1,000 *li*, and chains of mountains (nearby) are continuous. There is the Shouba 首拔 River[80] to the east of the town of Yutian which produces jadestone.[81] The soil is suitable for the five grains, mulberry, and hemp. There is much fine jade in the mountains. There are excellent horses, camels, and donkeys.

[77] Yutian 于闐 was an oasis state on the Southern Route in the Western Regions, first mentioned in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu*.

[78] The location of the seat of the king's government of Yutian is the same here as in the official histories of Han and Jin.

[79] "9,800 *li*" (Distance 4): This is the distance from the seat of the king's government of Yutian via that of Qiemo to Dai; i.e., the total of 1,480 *li*, the distance between the seat of the king's government of Yutian and that of Qiemo, and 8,320 *li,* the distance between the latter and Dai. According to the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu*, the distance between the seat of the king's government of Yutian and that of Qiemo should be 2,850 *li*; i.e., the aggregate of 390 *li*, the distance between the seat of the king's government of Yutian and that of Wumi 扜彌; 460 *li*, the distance from the seat of the king's government of Wumi to that of Jingjue 精絕; and 2,000 *li,* the distance between the king's government of Jingjue and that of Qiemo. This shows that the distance between Yutian and Qiemo is based on other references. Of course, it is also possible that only the distance between Jingjue and Qiemo is based on something else, whereas other sections were still based on the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu*.

[80] "Shouba" 首拔 is a corruption of "Shouzhi" 首枝 [sjiu-tjie], which is a transcription of "Sel-ču" (*yu he* 玉河 , jade river). The Shouzhi River refers to the Yurung Kaš and Kara Kaš, which flow northward from present-day Hotan (Hetian) 和闐.[14]

[81] In the "Zu Ying zhuan" 祖瑩傳 of *Weishu*, it is recorded that "during the Xiaochang 孝昌 reign-period (525-527 CE) an ancient jade seal was unearthed in the mansion of the King of Guangping 廣平. The emperor called together [Zu] Ying 祖瑩 and the Gentleman Attendant at the Palace Gate, Li Yanzhi 李琰之, ordering them to date it. [Zu] Ying said that it was what the king of the state of Yutian had presented [to the court] during the Taikang 太康 reign-period of Jin (280-289 CE). They then smeared the characters on it with ink and looked at the impression. It was exactly as [Zu] Ying had said, and he was thus called erudite by his contemporaries".[15]

真君中，世祖詔高涼王那擊吐谷渾慕利延[82]，慕利延懼，驅其部落渡流沙。那進軍急追之，慕利延遂西入于闐，殺其王，死者甚衆。[83]顯祖末，蠕蠕寇于闐，于闐患之，遣使素目伽上表[84]曰："西方諸國，今皆已屬蠕蠕，奴世奉大國，至今無異。今蠕蠕軍馬到城下，奴聚兵自固，故遣使奉獻，延望救援。"顯祖詔公卿議之，公卿奏曰："于闐去京師幾萬里，蠕蠕之性，惟習野掠，不能攻城，若爲所拒，當已旋矣。雖欲遣使，勢無所及。"[85]顯祖以公卿議示其使者，亦以爲然。於是詔之曰："朕承天理物，欲令萬方各安其所，應敕諸軍以拯汝難。但去汝遐阻，雖復遣援，不救當時之急，已停師不行，汝宜知之。朕今練甲養卒，一二歲間當躬率猛將，爲汝除患，汝其謹警候以待大舉。"[86]先是，朝廷遣使者韓羊皮使波斯，波斯王遣使獻馴象及珍物。經于闐，于闐（中于）王秋仁輒留之，[87]假言慮有寇不達。羊皮言狀，顯祖怒，又遣羊皮奉詔責讓之，自後每使朝獻。[88]

During the [Taiping] Zhenjun reign-period Emperor Shizu issued an edict ordering Na 那, the King of Gaoliang 高涼, to attack Muliyan 慕利延[82], the Khan of the Tuyuhun 吐谷渾. Muliyan was afraid and drove his tribes across the Flowing Sands. Na advanced and pursued him. Muliyan thus went west and entered the state of Yutian, killing its king. There were very large numbers of dead.[83] At the end of the reign of Xianzu 顯祖, the Ruru invaded Yutian. Yutian became worried and sent an envoy, Sumujia 素目伽[84], to present a memorial, which stated: "All the states in the West have already become subject to the Ruru, but your vassal has esteemed the Great State for generations and has not changed to this day. Now the infantry and cavalry of the Ruru have reached our city gate, and your vassal has called up soldiers to defend ourselves. Now we have sent our envoy to present tribute, and we eagerly look forward to being rescued." [85] Emperor

Xianzu ordered his senior ministers to discuss the matter. The senior ministers presented a memorial to the emperor and said, "Yutian is a distance of several tens of thousands of *li* from the capital. The nature of the Ruru is that they are used to robbing in the wilderness but are unable to attack towns. Once they suffer resistance, they retreat. Even if we wanted to dispatch troops, it would certainly be too late". Emperor Xianzu showed the memorial of his senior ministers to the envoy, who also considered it correct. Thereupon an imperial edict was issued, saying, "We put everything on earth in order according to God's will, and we wish that each place has a role to play. It is proper to order the various troops to rescue you from disaster. However, because your state is at a remote distance, even if the reinforcements were sent, it would be difficult to help you in your most pressing need. Thus our troops have stopped and do not advance. You should know this. Now We will drill and build up the army, and We will personally lead valiant generals within one or two years to rid you of the danger. Be vigilant and wait to wage warfare on a large scale". [86] Prior to this, the imperial court had sent its envoy, Han Yangpi, on a mission to Bosi. The king of Bosi sent envoys to present a trained elephant and rare goods. When [the envoys] went through the state of Yutian, the king of Yutian, Qiuren 秋仁, always detained them. [87] The king lied and said that this was out of concern that they would not arrive on account of bandits. When [Han] Yangpi reported the case, Emperor Xianzu was enraged and sent [Han] Yangpi back to upbraid him. From then on it often sent envoys to present tribute. [88]

[82] The "Shizu ji (xia)" of *Weishu* records that on the day *gengxu* 庚戌 in the summer, the fourth month, of the sixth year of the Taiping Zhenjun reign-period (445), "the General Conquering the West and King of Gaoliang, Na, and others, launched a punitive expedition against Muliyan of the Tuyuhun at Bailan 白蘭 in Yinping 陰平. [The emperor] ordered the Governor of Qin 秦 Province and the Duke of Tianshui 天水, Feng Chiwen 封敕文, to attack Shigui 什歸, the son of Muliyan's elder brother, at Paohan 枹罕".

[83] The "Shizu ji (xia)" of *Weishu* records that on the day *renyin* 壬寅 in the autumn, the eighth month, of the sixth year of the Taiping Zhenjun reign-period (445), "the troops led by the King of Gaoliang, Na, reached the town of Mantou 曼頭, and Muliyan drove his tribes west across the Flowing Sands. Na went after him in hot pursuit, but Beinang 被囊, the heir of Mugui 慕璝, the former king of Xiqin, defied the army and fought back. Na utterly defeated Beinang, who fled with light cavalry.

The Duke of Zhongshan 中山, Du Feng 杜豐, pursued him with a force of choicest cavalry. Crossing the Sanwei 三危 [Mountain] and reaching the Snow Mountain, he captured Beinang alive, as well as Shigui 什歸 and Zhipan's 熾磐 son, Chenglong 成龍, and had them sent to the capital. Muyanli then made his way west, invading the state of Yutian". The "Tuyuhun zhuan" of *Weishu* records: "Later [the emperor] again ordered the General Conquering the West and King of Gaoliang, Na, to attack him [Muliyan] at Bailan. Muliyan then invaded the state of Yutian and killed its king; several tens of thousands died. He then attacked Jibin 罽賓 to the south".

[84] The date when Yutian sent Sumujia 素目伽 to present the memorial is not recorded in the official histories, but there is no harm in supposing that it took place in 466-468 CE, because, according to the "Xianzu ji" 顯祖紀 of *Weishu*, Yutian sent envoys to pay respects at the court and present tribute four times between the first year of the Tian'an 天安 reign-period (466 CE) and the second year of the Huangxing 皇興 reign-period (468 CE). Of course, Sumujia's presentation of the memorial may have been omitted from the "Xianzu ji" of *Weishu*. In other words, it could have been later than the second year of the Huangxing reign-period (468 CE).[16]

[85] The statement that "all the states in the West have already become subject to the Ruru" refers to the states in the Tarim Basin, all of which became subject to the Ruru.[17] Although the state of Yutian lay secluded in the southwest, the same fate was imminent; so it presented the memorial to report the emergency. The disaster in Yutian was an inevitable result of the passive role that the Northern Wei had assumed in the Western Regions. Naturally, the Northern Wei had no intention of committing itself to the aid of Yutian, and thus prevaricated with the envoy of Yutian on the pretext that "Yutian is several tens of thousands of *li* from the capital". The statements that "we will personally lead valiant generals within one or two years", etc., were merely empty words. As is recorded in the "Wei Duohou zhuan" 尉多侯傳 of *Weishu*, "during the reign of Emperor Xianzu, [Wei Duohou] was appointed the Commissioner with a Warrant, General Conquering the West, Concurrent Colonel Protecting the Qiang and Rong, and Commander of the Defense Command of Dunhuang. Arriving at the defense command, he presented a memorial begging for permission to lead 5,000 light cavalry to advance west, enter Yutian, and, concurrently, bring order to all the various states. He would take provisions from the enemies until he prevailed over them [and stabilized the Western Regions]. The Emperor did not approve of his request". Wei Duohou made up his mind to render meritorious service in remote lands. Aiming to address the dire circumstances in which most states of the Western Regions were mired, being subject to the Ruru, and the threat to Yutian, he presented a memorial begging permission to "to advance west, enter Yutian, and, concurrently, bring order to all

the various states". He asserted that he would be able to take the expense from the enemies and that he would only need "5,000 light cavalry" because he feared that the imperial court would not consent, but even this request was rejected. According to the same biography, at the beginning of the reign of Emperor Gaozu 高祖, Wei Duohou also presented a memorial begging to be allowed to take Yiwu 伊吾 in the north, which was not approved. *Even the request to take Yiwu in the north was rejected, so* to advance west and enter Yutian would of course be out of the question. It should be after Sumujia's *presentation of the memorial that Wei Duohou submitted his request, begging to be allowed to* "advance west and enter Yutian".

[86] The relationship between Yutian and the Northern Wei was quite unusual. As early as the third year of the Tai'an reign-period (457 CE), the state of Yutian had already sent envoys to present tribute. In addition, it is possible that in this year, according to the "Da Wei Wencheng huangdi furen Yu muzhiming" 大魏文成皇帝夫人于墓誌銘 (Epitaph on Yu 于, the Lady of Emperor Wencheng 文成 of the Great Wei; a rubbing in the collection of the National Library of China), a princess of the king of Yutian, whose name was Xianji 仙姬 [fairy maiden], wedded Emperor Gaozong 高宗 of Wei. This princess had lived until the second year of the Xiaochang 孝昌 reign-period (526 CE), when she was "ninety years old".[18] In the year when Sumujia presented the memorial this lady was still in good health. The king of Yutian sent envoys to report the emergency and had recourse to the Emperor probably because of this relationship.

[87] The king of Yutian took trained elephants and rare goods from Persia, probably because he valued them highly. This could be seen as an example of the influence of Persian culture reaching Yutian.

[88] The instances of Yutian presenting tribute to Wei according to the basic annals of *Weishu* were as follows: On the day *wuchen* 戊辰 in the first month of the third year in the Tai'an 太安 reign-period (457), in the twelfth month of the third year of the Tai'an reign-period (according to "Gaozong ji"); on the day *xinhai* 辛亥 in the third month of the first year in the Tian'an reign-period (466), in the second month of the first year of the Huangxing 皇興 reign-period (467), on the day *renzi* 壬子 in the ninth month of the first year of the Huangxing reign-period, on the day of *xinchou* 辛丑 in the fourth month of the second year of the Huangxing reign-period (according to "Xianzu ji" 顯祖紀); on the day *guiyou* 癸酉 in the seventh month of the first year of the Jingming 景明 reign-period (502), on the day *dingsi* 丁巳 in the tenth month in the fourth year of the Zhengshi 正始 (507) reign-period, on the day *jihai* 己亥 in the third month of the first year of the Yongping 永平 reign-period (508), in the tenth month of the first year of the Yanchang 延昌 reign-period (512), and on the day *gengxu* 庚戌 in the eighth month of the second year of the Yanchang reign-period ("Shizong ji" 世宗紀).

蒲山國，故皮山國也。[89] 居皮城，[90] 在于闐南，去代一萬二千里 [91]。其國西南三里，有凍淩山 [92]。後役屬于闐。

The state of Pushan 蒲山: It was formerly the state of Pishan 皮山. [89] Its king resides at the town of Pi 皮 [90] to the south of Yutian, and it is 12,000 *li*[91] from Dai. To the south of the state there is Dongling 凍淩 Mountain.[92] In later times the state was subject to Yutian.

[89] Pushan 蒲山 should be the "Pishan" 皮山 in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu*. "Pushan" 蒲山 [bua-shean] and "Pishan" 皮山 [biai-shean] can be seen as variations in the transcription of the same name.

[90] The "Pi" in the town of Pi should be an abbreviation of "Pishan". It seems that location of the state of Pushan was the same as that of Pishan. It is believed by some that the state of Pushan was located in the vicinity of mountains (three *li* to the southwest). It lay to the south of Yutian, probably in the vicinity of Nissa, Karanghu, and Pisha in the valley of the upper reaches of the Yurung kash to the south of present-day Hetian 和闐. The statement that "it was formerly the state of …" may only refer to the historical and political reality, which may not necessarily mean that they are the same place.[19] This opinion is not groundless; but "south of Yutian" can be seen as an error for "southwest," and "three *li*" as an error for "three hundred *li*".

[91] "12,000 *li*" (Distance 5): This is the distance from the town of Pi to Dai via the seat of the king's government of Yutian. The figure is actually the aggregate of 10,050 *li*, the distance between the seat of the king's government of Pishan and Chang'an in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu*, and 1,950 *li*, the distance between Chang'an and Dai.

[92] The Dongling 凍淩 Mountain, according to one view, refers to the southern Cholpanglik Muztagh near the Karakul Lake.[20]

悉居半國 [93]，故西夜國也，一名子合。[94] 其王號子［合王］，治呼犍［谷］[95]。在于闐西，去代萬二千九百七十里 [96]。太延初，遣使來獻，自後貢使不絕。[97]

The state of Xijuban 悉居半[93]: It was formerly the state of Xiye 西夜, and it has another name, Zihe 子合. [94] Its king has the title "King of Zihe 子合". The seat of the king's government is located in [the valley of] Hujian 呼犍 [95] to the west of Yutian, and

it is 12,970 li [96] *from Dai. At the beginning of the Taiyan reign-period [435 CE], it sent* envoys to pay tribute. From then on it has presented tribute continually. [97]

[93] The state of Xijuban 悉居半 should be the "Zihe" 子合 in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu*. "Xijuban" 悉居半 [siet-kia-puan] and "Zihe" 子合 [tziə-həp] are variations in the transcription of the same name. The two terms as well as "Zhuju" 朱居 [tjio-kia] in this memoir are all transcriptions of *čakukalka*.

[94] "It was formerly the state of Xiye, and it has another name, Zihe": "Xiye" is the ethnonym; "Zihe," the toponym.

[95] The seat of the king's government of the state of Xijuban was located in the valley of Hujian. In the context of the record on the state of Zihe in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hou-Han shu* that "it has its residence in the Hujian valley", we can conclude that Xijuban should be the successor to the Zihe of the Han times.[21]

[96] "12,970 *li*" (Distance 6): This is the distance between the valley of Hujian and the seat of the king's government of Yutian. The figure is wrong, for the distance between the two places could not be more than 3,000 *li*.

[97] The instances of Xijuban presenting tribute to Wei according to the basic annals of *Weishu* are as follows: In the eleventh month of the fifth year of the Taiyan reign-period (439) according to "Shizu ji";[22] on the day *jiashen* 甲申 in the third month of the third year of the Heping 和平 reign-period (462) according to "Gaozong ji" 高宗紀; in the third year of the Jingming 景明 reign-period (502), on the day *jiayin* 甲寅 in the ninth month of the fourth year of the Yongping 永平 reign-period (511) according to "Shizong ji";[23] and on the day *wushen* 戊申 in the second month of the first year of the Shengui reign-period (518) according to "Suzong ji" 肅宗紀.[24]

權於摩 [98] 國，故烏秅國也。其王居烏秅城 [99]，在悉居半西南，去代一萬二千九百七十里 [100]。

The state of Quanyumo 權於摩[98]: It was formerly the state of Wucha 烏秅[99]. Its king resides in the town of Wucha to the southwest and it is 12,970 *li* [100] from Dai.

[98] "Quanyumo" 權於摩 [giuan-ia-muai]: The "Xi Rong (liu)" 西戎六 of the "Si Yi (yiba)" 四夷一八 section of *Taiping yulan* 太平御覽 (ch. 797) quotes the *Hou-Wei shu* 後魏書 (the character

shu 書 was erroneously written as *lüe* 略): "The state of Quanwumo 權烏摩: It was formerly the state of Wuhao 烏耗. Its king resides in the town of Wuhao. It adjoins Xijuban in the west. To the southwest it is 12,970 *li* from Dai". The quotation in the "Zhengtao (si)" 征討四 of the "Waichen (sanling)" 外臣三〇 in *Cefu yuangui* 冊府元龜 (ch. 958) is the same. "Wuhao" 烏耗 is undoubtedly a corruption of "Wucha" 烏秅. The "Xi Rong (si)" 西戎四 of the "Bianfang (ba)" 邊防八 section in *Tongdian* 通典 (ch. 192) states: "Wucha had ties [with the Middle Kingdom] in Han times.... It again established communications [with the Middle Kingdom] in the era of the Later Wei; it was called the state of Yumo 於摩 ". According to this, the character *quan* 權 in this memoir might have been redundant. If so, "*yumo*" (or *wumo*) 於摩 could be a corruption of "*wucha*" 烏秅 , since "*yu*" 於 (or "*wu*") and "*wu*" 烏 are homophones. "*Cha*" 秅 was corrupted as "*hao*" 耗; "*hao*" in turn became "*mo*" 摩.

[99] If the state of Quanyumo were really the state of Wucha of Han times, then the location of the seat of king's government should be the same as in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu*.

[100] "12,970 *li*" (Distance 7): This is the distance from the seat of the king's government of Wucha via that of Xijuban to Dai. The figure given here is incorrect, because, firstly, since it is stated in this memoir that the state of Quanyumo is to the southwest of the state of Xijuban, so the distance to Dai from the two states should not be the same; and, secondly, the distance from the town of Wucha to the seat of the king's government of Yutian should not be more than 3,000 *li*.

渠莎[101]國，居故莎車城[102]，在子合西北，去代一萬二千九百八十里[103]。

The state of Qusuo 渠莎[101]:Its king resides in the former town of Suoju 莎車[102] to the northwest of Zihe and it is 12,980 *li* [103]from Dai.

[101] It is stated in this memoir that the king of the state of Qusuo 渠莎 "resides in the former town of Suoju." "Qusuo" 渠莎 [gia-shea] should be a transcription of Gasiani (a Sai tribe).[25]

[102] The distance from the town of Suoju to Dai is not correct, and we are therefore unable to locate it. However, we might as well assume that the seat of the king's government of Qusuo, the town of Suoju, is the same as that recorded in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu*.[26]

[103] "12,980 *li*" (Distance 8): This is the distance from the town of Suoju to Dai via the seat of the king's government of Xijuban. This figure is incorrect, because, firstly, the distance between the town of Suoju and the valley of Hujian, the seat of the king's government of Xijuban, should be more than 10 *li*; and, secondly, the distance from the town of Suoju to the valley of Hujian via the seat of

the king's government of Yutian should not be more than 3,000 *li*.

車師國，一名前部。[104]其王居交河城[105]。去代萬五十里[106]，其地北接蠕蠕，本通使交易。[107]世祖初，始遣使朝獻，[108]詔行人王恩生、許綱等出使。[109]恩生等始度流沙，爲蠕蠕所執。恩生見蠕蠕吳提，持魏節不爲之屈。後世祖切讓吳提，吳提懼，乃遣恩生等歸。許綱到敦煌，病死，朝廷壯其節，賜謚曰貞。初，沮渠無諱兄弟之渡流沙也，鳩集遺人，破車師國。[110]真君十一年，車師王車夷落遣使琢進、薛直上書曰："臣亡父僻處塞外，仰慕天子威德，遣使表獻，不空於歲。天子降念，賜遺甚厚。及臣繼立，亦不闕常貢，天子垂矜，亦不異前世。敢緣至恩，輒陳私艱。臣國自無諱所攻擊，經今八歲[111]，人民饑荒，無以存活。賊今攻臣甚急，臣不能自全，遂捨國東奔[112]，三分免一，卽日已到焉耆東界。思歸天闕，幸垂賑救。"於是下詔撫慰之，開焉耆倉給之。正平初，遣子入侍，[113]自後每使朝貢。[114]

The state of Jushi 車師: It is also named the Tribe of Nearer [Jushi]. [104] Its king resides in the town of Jiaohe 交河 [105] and it is 10,050 *li* [106] from Dai. To the north the country adjoins the territory of the Ruru. It originally made contact [with Wei] by means of envoys and trade. [107] At the beginning of the reign of Emperor Shizu, [the state of Jushi] first came to the court to pay its respects. [108] An imperial edict [ordered] the Messengers, Wang Ensheng, Xu Gang and others to go on the mission. [109] [Wang] Ensheng and the others first crossed the Flowing Sands and were captured by the Ruru. [Wang] Ensheng met Wuti 吳提, the Khan of the Ruru, but retained the Wei insignia of authority and did not surrender them to him. Emperor Shizu later severely reproached Wuti. Wuti was afraid and thus sent [Wang] Ensheng and the others back. Xu Gang died of illness when he arrived at Dunhuang. The Imperial Court admired his integrity and granted him the posthumous title, Zhen 貞 ("Faithful"). At an early date, the brothers of Juqu Wuhui had crossed the Flowing Sands and gathered those who remained behind to destroy the state of Jushi. [110] In the eleventh year of the Taiping Zhenjun reign-period [450 CE] the king of Jushi, Ju Yiluo 車夷落, sent the envoys, Zhuo Jin 琢進 and Xue Zhi 薛直, to present a memorial, which stated: "The deceased father of your vassal, who lived far beyond the frontier, had admired the power and virtue of the Son of Heaven, and annually sent envoys to present a memorial and tribute. The Son of Heaven

thought very highly of him, and bestowed upon him rich rewards. Since your vassal has succeeded [him as king], regular tribute has never been deficient. The Son of Heaven shows sympathy to me as to the former generations. [Your vassal] ventures to state his difficulties relying on the extreme kindness of Your Majesty toward him. Since your vassal's state suffered the attacks of [Juqu] Wuhui, eight years have gone by,[111] and the people cannot survive because of famine. Now the traitor intensifies his attacks on your vassal. Your vassal held out by himself, but subsequently gave up his state and fled to the east. [112] One third [of his people] were able to escape and reach the eastern border of Yanqi 焉耆 that very day. They wish to return to the Heavenly palace. It would be very fortunate if Your Majesty brought relief to us." Thereupon, the Emperor issued an edict to conciliate them and opened up the granaries of Yanqi to provide them with food. At the beginning of the Zhengping 正平 reign-period [451 CE], [Ju Yiluo] sent his son to attend at the court. [113] From then on, he often sent envoys to present tribute. [114]

[104] "It is also named the Tribe of Nearer [Jushi]": This indicates that the Jushi in this memoir refers to Nearer Jushi.

[105] The town of Jiaohe 交河 was the seat of the king's government of Nearer Jushi, and it was first mentioned in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu*.

[106] "10,050 *li*" (Distance 9): This is distance from the town of Jiaohe to Dai via the Yumen Barrier. The figure is actually the aggregate of 8,150 *li*, the distance between Jiaohe and Chang'an recorded in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu*, and 1,900 *li*, the distance between Chang'an and Dai.

[107] "It originally made contact by means of envoys and trade": This seems to indicate that it originally had contact with the Ruru.

[108] According to the "Shizu ji (shang)" 世祖紀上 of *Weishu*, on the day *gengzi* 庚子 in the second month of the first year of the Taiyan 太延 reign-period (435), and on the day *guisi* 癸巳 in the third month of the third year of the Taiyan reign-period (437), the state of Jushi "sent envoys to pay respect and present tribute". It is stated in this memoir that the state of Jushi came to pay its respects and present tribute at the beginning of the reign of Emperor Shizu, which is inaccurate; it should be at the beginning of the Taiyan reign-period of Emperor Shizu.

[109] The text here shows that the mission of Wang and Xu was the first time the Northern Wei sent envoys to the Western Regions. According to the "Gaochang zhuan" 高昌傳 in *Weishu*, the destination of Wang and Xu was Gaochang. However, Gaochang was under the control of the Ruru

and it had never come over to present tribute, so it would be unlikely for the Northern Wei to send its envoys to Gaochang in its first mission to the Western Regions. Since Wang and Xu set out after Yanqi and Jushi had come to present tribute in the second month of the same year, their destination is likely to have been instead Yanqi and Jushi.

[110] The "Ju Yiluo zhuan" 車伊洛傳 of *Weishu* states: "Ju Yiluo 車伊洛 was a Hu who came from Yanqi. His ancestors were the lords of the eastern borders for generations. As he had always paid tribute, Emperor Shizu acknowledged his loyalty. During the Yanhe 延和 reign-period (432-433 CE), he conferred on [Ju] Yiluo the titles of the General Pacifying the West and King of Nearer Jushi, and made a gift to him of 100 bolts of thin tough silk, 100 *jin* of silk floss, a suit of embroidered clothes, a golden belt, boots, and a hat. [Ju] Yiluo was delighted, and planned to return to the imperial court. Because Juqu Wuhui blocked the route, [Ju] Yiluo fought with him constantly, and eventually defeated him. After the death of [Juqu] Wuhui, his younger brother, [Juqu] Anzhou, seized the forces of [Juqu] Qianshou 乾壽, the son of [Juqu] Wuhui, and then watched for his chance to gain possession of the private troops [of the Juqu family]. [Ju] Yiluo sent envoys on many occasions to persuade him, in the imperial name, to surrender, with the result that [Juqu] Qianshou, leading 500 households, came over to capitulate. [Ju] Yiluo escorted him to the capital. He was also successful in persuading to surrender over fifty men including [Li] Xin 李欽, the younger brother of Li Bao 李寶, escorting them to Dunhuang.[27] In addition, [Ju] Yiluo led his troops of over 2,000 men against Gaochang, and he also assaulted and took the seven towns of the eastern barrier of Yanqi and captured over 2,000 men and women, 1,000 camels, and 1,000 horses. He sent envoys to present 100 *jin* of gold to the court.[28] Formerly, when he campaigned against Yanqi, [Ju] Yiluo left his son, Xie 歇, to guard his town. [Juqu] Anzhou took advantage of this situation and led the Ruru to besiege Xie by surrounding the town in three circles. He also sent envoys, who said to Xie, 'Your father has fled to the Great Wei for shelter. If you surrender to me without delay, I will confer on you the rank of nobility'. Xie defended the town tenaciously, fighting continuously. After a long time, with no sight of reinforcements, the town fell to [Juqu] Anzhou. Xie fled to [Ju] Yiluo. [Ju] Yiluo gathered the remnants of over 1,000 households and brought them back to the Defense Command of Yanqi. Emperor Shizu praised him. In the first year of the Zhengping 正平 reign-period (451 CE), the emperor issued an edict to [Ju] Yiluo: 'Xie is very young, but was able to stand fast in defense of the town, and his loyalty and moral integrity are outstanding. He should be presented to the imperial palace'. [Ju] Yiluo sent Xie to the capital along with his younger brother, Boli 波利, as well as more than ten other men. In the second year of the Zhengping reign-period (452 CE), [Ju] Yiluo came to the capital to present tribute. [Emperor

Shizu] gave him wife and concubines, servants, land and houses, oxen and sheep, appointed him the General of the First Rank, and named him the King [of Nearer Jushi], as previously. [Ju Yiluo] died in the second year of the Xing'an 興安 reign-period (453 CE). He was invested with the titles of the Supreme General Governing the West and Governor of Qin 秦 Province, as well as the posthumous title of the King of Kang 康. [Emperor Shizu] awarded him silk floss, thin silk, 500 bolts of various colored silk, and twenty-seven suits of clothes. His funeral followed the precedent of Lu Luyuan 盧魯元.[29] Xie inherited the rank of his father. At the end of the Huangxing 皇興 reign-period (471 CE), the titles of the Commissioner with Extraordinary Powers, General Pacifying the West, and Governor of Yu 豫 Province were conferred upon him. He died in the third year of the Yanxing 延興 reign-period (473 CE), and his son, Bozhu 伯主, inherited his rank. Boli 波利 was granted the titles of Lijie 立節 General and Marquis of Leguan 樂官 in the second year of the Tian'an 天安 reign-period (467 CE), and died in the third year of the Huangxing reign-period (469 CE). The son of his elder brother inherited his rank". According to this biography, [Ju] Yiluo "was a Hu who came from Yanqi", but this seems to be incorrect, and should be "a Hu from Jushi". If this is true, "the eastern border" should refer to the eastern border of the state of Nearer Jushi. The statement that "he had always paid tribute" would refer to the fact that Ju Yiluo took the lead in coming to the court to present tribute in the second month of the first year of the Taiyan 太延 reign-period (435 CE), and then sent envoys to present tribute in the third month of the third year of the Taiyan reign-period (437 CE). Therefore, it must have been during the Taiyan reign-period (435-440 CE), rather than "in the Yanhe reign-period (432-434 CE)", that Ju Yiluo was appointed the "King of Nearer Jushi".[30] Of course, another possibility cannot be ruled out; that is, he was indeed a Hu who came from Yanqi, and his ancestors had been the leaders of tribes on the eastern border of Yanqi for generations. Because he sent envoys to present tribute to the Northern Wei "during the Yanhe reign-period (432-434 CE)" and was given the title of the "King of Nearer Jushi", he took "Ju" 車 as his family name. Afterwards, he sent envoys to present tribute in the first and third years of the Taiyan reign-period (435 and 437 CE) in the name of Nearer Jushi. There is no record of Ju Yiluo presenting tribute during the Yanhe reign-period (432-434 CE) in the basic annals of *Weishu*, probably because he was only the leader of a small tribe at that time, and because this had been recorded in his biography. The time when Ju Yiluo "planned to return to the imperial court" should be the end of the Taiyan reign-period or the beginning of the Taiping Zhenjun reign-period as Juqu Wuhui did not leave Shanshan for Gaochang until the eighth month of the third year of the Taiping Zhenjun reign-period (442 CE). After they had occupied Gaochang, the Juqu family, as a matter of course, wanted to occupy the town of Jiaohe. On the other

hand, the king of the state of Nearer Jushi, Ju Yiluo, who was loyal to the Northern Wei, wanted, for his own survival, to wipe out the Juqu regime based in Gaochang. Therefore, the two sides fought each other constantly. In the ninth year of the Taiping Zhenjun reign-period, when the Northern Wei instructed Wan Dugui to attack Yanqi, Ju Yiluo was ordered to lead his troops, together with Tang He 唐和, to cooperate with Wan Dugui. Ju Yiluo left behind his son, Xie, to defend the town of Jiaohe, and he personally commanded his troops and reached the eastern border of Yanqi along with Tang He. Juqu Anzhou took advantage of this situation and led the Ruru to besiege the town of Jiaohe. In the eleventh year of the Taiping Zhenjun reign-period, the town was breached and Xie fled to Ju Yiluo. The town of Jiaohe was then occupied by Juqu Anzhou. It seems that the family of Ju Yiluo settled in the Wei territories after the second year of the Zhengping reign-period (452 CE), and the "state of Nearer Jushi" no longer appeared in historical records. The "state of Jushi," from the Yanhe reign-period to the end of the Zhengping reign-period, had existed for nearly twenty years, all the time serving as an instrument with which the Northern Wei managed the Western Regions.

[111] The statement that "eight years have gone by" refers to the interregnum from the third year of the Taiping Zhenjun reign-period (442 CE) when Juqu Wuhui occupied Gaochang and Ju Yiluo resisted him to the eleventh year of the Taiping Zhenjun reign-period (450 CE), i.e., the time when Ju Yiluo sent an envoy to present the memorial, the town of Jiaohe fell, and Xie, the son of Ju Yiluo, "gave up his state and fled to the east". [31]

[112] It appears that Ju Yiluo had actually stayed to guard the eastern border of Yanqi and did not return home after he had attacked Yanqi following Wan Dugui in the ninth year of the Taiping Zhenjun reign-period (448 CE). Thus, Xie's flight to Ju Yiluo for shelter from the town of Jiaohe should be described as a flight "to the west"; we do not know why it is stated here that he "fled to the east".

[113] According to the "Shizu ji (xia)" of *Weishu*, on the day *renxu* 壬戌 in the sixth month of the first year of the Zhengping reign-period (451), "the king of the state of Jushi sent his son to attend at the court". This prince is Xie. The "Ju Yiluo zhuan" of *Weishu* quoted above records that in that year "[Ju] Yiluo ordered Xie to go to the capital with his younger brother, Boli, along with more than ten other men". [32]

[114] After the first year of the Zhengping reign-period there is only one instance of Jushi presenting tribute to Wei in historical records. According to the "Ju Yiluo zhuan" of *Weishu*, in the second year of the Zhengping reign-period (452), the king of Jushi "went to the capital to pay his respects at the court". Following the two characters of *chaogong* 朝貢 (to present tribute), there are two additional characters in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Beishi* 北史 : *bujue* 不絕 ("continually").

且彌國 [115]，都天山東于大谷 [116]，在車師北，去代一萬五百七十里 [117]。本役屬車師。[118]

The state of Qiemi 且彌[115]: Its capital is located in the valley of Yuda 于大 [116] to the east of the Tianshan Mountains and it is 10,570 *li* [117] from Dai 代 . Originally it was subject to Jushi.[118]

[115] The state of Qiemi 且彌 was an oasis state to the north of the Tianshan Mountains, first mentioned in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu*.

[116] The state of Qiemi here should be the state of Western Qiemi in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu*. The names of their capitals are the same; the distance from Dai is the total of the distance between Dai and Chang'an and the distance between the state's capital and Chang'an as recorded in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu*.

[117] "10,570 *li*" (Distance 10): This is the distance from the valley of Yuda to Dai via the seat of the king's government of Jushi. The figure is actually the total of 8,670 *li*, the distance between the valley of Yuda and Chang'an, and 1,900 *li*, the distance between Chang'an and Dai.

[118] "Originally it was subject to Jushi": According to the "Xi Rong zhuan" 西戎傳 of *Weilüe* 魏略 , the state of Western Qiemi was once subject to the king of Further Jushi.

焉耆國 [119]，在車師南，都員渠城 [120]，去代一萬二百里 [121]。恃地多險，頗剽劫中國使。世祖怒之，詔成周公萬度歸討之，約齎輕糧，取食路次。度歸入焉耆東界，擊其邊守左回 [122]、尉犂 [123] 二城，拔之。進軍向員渠。鳩尸卑那以四五萬人出城守險以拒。度歸募壯勇，短兵直往衝，鳩尸卑那衆大潰，盡虜之，單騎走入山中。度歸進屠其城，四鄙諸戎皆降服。[124] 焉耆爲國，斗絕一隅，[125] 不亂日久，獲其珍奇異玩殊方譎詭不識之物 [126]，橐駝馬牛雜畜巨萬 [127]。時世祖幸陰山北宮，度歸破焉耆露板至，世祖省訖，賜司徒崔浩書曰："萬度歸以五千騎經萬餘里，拔焉耆三城，獲其珍奇異物及諸委積不可勝數。自古帝王雖云卽序西戎，有如指注，不能控引也。[128] 朕今手把而有之，如何？" 浩上書稱美。遂命度歸鎮撫其人。[129] 初鳩尸卑那走山中，猶覬城不拔，得還其國。既見盡爲度歸所克，乃奔龜兹，龜兹以其壻，厚待之。[130]

The state of Yanqi 焉耆[119]: Located to the south of Jushi, its capital is in the town

of Yuanqu 員渠[120], and it is 10,200 *li* [121] from Dai. Relying on the dangerous terrain, its people robbed extensively from the envoys of the Middle Kingdom. Emperor Shizu was angered and issued an edict ordering the Duke of Chengzhou, Wan Dugui, to attack it. Traveling with light packs and a small amount of grain, and procuring food on the way, [Wan] Dugui crossed the eastern border of Yanqi. He attacked the two towns of Zuohui 左回 [122] and Weili 尉犂[123], which defended the border, and occupied them. He then marched against the town of Yuanqu. [Its king], Jiushibeina 鳩尸卑那, leading four or five thousand men, emerged from the town and set himself up in a strategic place to resist the attack. [Wan] Dugui mustered brave, strong warriors with short weapons to charge straight at them. Jiushibeina's troops were routed and all were captured. He rode off all by himself, fleeing into the mountains, while [Wan] Dugui went on to butcher his town. [Thereupon], the various barbarians in all four quarters surrendered. [124] The state of Yanqi, being isolated in a remote place, [125] had long been free of turmoil. Consequently, [Wan Dugui] gained possession of its rare objects and exotic curios, its cleverly crafted and hitherto unrecognized objects from distant places,[126] and myriads of camels, horses, oxen, and miscellaneous animals. [127] The memorial reporting [Wan] Dugui's victory over Yanqi arrived when Emperor Shizu was staying at the Northern Palace in the Yin 陰 Mountains. After Emperor Shizu read it, he gave the Minister of Education, Cui Hao 崔浩, a letter, which stated: "[Wan] Dugui, leading five thousand cavalry and crossing more than 10,000 *li*, occupied three towns of Yanqi, and obtained their rare treasures and exotic objects, as well as their reserve grain, which was boundless. Monarchs of earlier generations claimed to have reduced the Western Rong to order, but were unable to exert control over them, despite their intentions. [128] Now We, holding them in hand, have taken possession of it. What do you think?" Cui Hao sent a written message to the emperor praising his achievement. Thereupon, [Emperor Shizu] ordered [Wan] Dugui to pacify its people.[129] Originally, Jiushibeina, when he fled into the mountains, still hoped that the town would not be occupied and he could return home. When he later saw that all the towns were occupied by [Wan] Dugui, he fled to Qiuci 龜茲. [The king of] Qiuci gave him special treatment as he was his son-in-law. [130]

[119] Yanqi was among the first states that sent tribute missions to Wei. According to the "Shizu ji (shang)" of *Weishu*, the state "sent envoys to pay its respects at the court and present tribute" on

the day *gengzi* 庚子 in the second month of the first year of the Taiyan reign-period (435), on the day *guisi* 癸巳 in the third month of the third year of the Taiyan reign-period, and on the day *dingyou* 丁酉 in the fourth month of the fifth year of the Taiyan reign-period.

[120] The distance between Yuanqu and Dai recorded in this memoir is different from the figure deduced from the distance between Yuanqu and Chang'an in earlier histories, but one cannot conclude from this that the location of the king's government of Yanqi is different in the Northern and Southern Dynasties and the periods of Han, Wei, and Jin. In short, the location of the seat of the king's government of Yanqi in the period of the Northern Wei was still the old town of Bughdaĉin.

[121] "10,200 *li*" (Distance 11): The distance from Yuanqu to Dai via the seat of the king's government of Jushi. The distance between Yanqi and Dai should not be greater than that between Qiuci and Dai; so the figure of "12,000 *li*" (in the text) may be an error for "10,200 *li*." If we make calculations based on its distance from Chang'an as recorded in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu*, the distance between Yanqi and Dai should be 9,200 *li* (the aggregate of 7,300 *li* and 1,900 *li*), 1,000 *li* less than the figure given in this memoir, indicating that the route from Yanqi to Dai in this age was different from that to Chang'an.

[122] Zuohui 左回: According to some, its precursor was the oasis state on the Northern Route, Weixu 危須, in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu*.[33] The seat of the king's government of Weixu in Han times was probably located in the old town of Quku (Chokkur).

[123] Weili 尉犁 was an oasis state on the Northern Route in the Western Regions, first mentioned in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu*. From the time when the Cao Wei replaced Han to the end of the Southern and Northern Dynasties, the Northern Route in the Western Regions was controlled by several large states. These powers annexed or subjugated the smaller states nearby, with the result that many smaller states had become towns of larger states. This is what happened to Zuohui (Weixu) and Weili.

[124] According to the "Shizu ji (xia)" of *Weishu*, in the ninth month of the ninth year of the Taiping Zhenjun reign-period (448), "the Duke of Chengzhou, Wan Dugui, rode 1,000 *li* on post-horses, and utterly defeated the state of Yanqi. Its king, Jiushibeina, fled to Qiuci".

[125] "The state of Yanqi, being isolated in a remote place…": Cf. the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hou-Han shu* concerning the geography of Yanqi: "The state is surrounded by large mountains on four sides; the roads that lead to Qiuci are treacherous and easily guarded. Lake water enters from the ring of mountains by a twisting path and flows all around the town for a distance of more than 30 *li*."

[126] Cf. "The Xi Rong zhuan" of *Jinshu*: "They are fond of goods and profits, and rely on

craftiness".

[127] This indicates the scale of animal husbandry.

[128] For the term *zhizhu* 指注, see *Han Shi waizhuan* 韓詩外傳 (ch. 7): "Of old Qi 齊 had a trained rabbit called Dongguoqun 東郭㕙 which in the course of a day could run five hundred *li*. Qi also had a renowned dog called Hanlu 韓盧 which could also run five hundred *li* a day. If you sight him from afar, point him out, and set [the dog on him] 瞻見指注, it will be unable to reach the dust of the trained rabbit. If you put [the dog] on the trail and take off the leash 攝纓而縱紲, [not even the trained rabbit will be able to get away….]." (James Hightower, trans., *Han shih wai chuan: Han Ying's Illustrations of the Didactic Application of the Classic of Songs* [Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1952], p. 241; with alterations.)

[129] After the state of Yanqi had been destroyed, Emperor Shizu "ordered [Wan] Dugui to pacify its people". When he went to attack Qiuci, Wan Dugui ordered Tang He to watch over Yanqi. In the eleventh year of the Taiping Zhenjun reign-period (450 CE), the son of Ju Yiluo, Xie, who was the king of the state of Nearer Jushi, gave up his state and fled to the eastern border of Yanqi; Emperor Shizu ordered that the storehouse there be opened to provide for him. After this, according to the "Ju Yiluo zhuan" of *Weishu*, Ju Yiluo gathered the remaining scattered households and returned to the Defense Command of Yanqi. From this, it can be seen that the Northern Wei had maintained the Defense Command of Yanqi since the ninth year of the Taiping Zhenjun reign-period (448 CE). The first commander of the Defense Command of Yanqi was Wan Dugui, but before long this position was passed on to Tang He. According to the "Tang He zhuan" 唐和傳 of *Weishu*, "In the first year of the Zhengping 正平 reign-period (451 CE), [Tang] He reached the court. Emperor Shizu accorded him special treatment and regarded him as a distinguished guest", indicating that the Defense Command of Yanqi existed until the first year of the Zhengping reign-period at least.

[130] After Wan Dugui's western expedition, Yanqi no longer came to present tribute. In the "Shizong ji" 世宗紀 of *Weishu*, in the third year of the Jingming 景明 reign-period (502), the state of Wuji 烏稽 "sent an envoy to present tribute". Wuji should have been Yanqi. If so, a new regime was established in Yanqi. According to the "Tang He zhuan" of *Weishu*, in the ninth year of the Taiping Zhenjun reign-period, "Emperor Shizu sent Wan Dugui, the Duke of Chengzhou, on a punitive expedition against Yanqi, and ordered [Tang] He and Ju Yiluo to join this expedition, leading their troops. Acting accordingly, [Tang] He joined forces with [Wan] Dugui, and occupied the six towns east of Liulü 柳驢 following [Wan's] directions and then attacked the town of Bojuluo 波居羅 together [with Wan Dugui] and took it. Later, both attacked Qiuci together. [Wan] Dugui ordered [Tang] He

to guard Yanqi. At that time, the general defending Liulü, Yizhenjia 乙真伽, leading some Hu officers, mutinied with the town as a base. [Tang] He, with one hundred light cavalry, fought into the town, captured Yizhenjia, and beheaded him. The various Hu surrendered. [Tang] made a significant contribution to pacifying the Western Regions". This can supplement the account of Wan Dugui's attack on Yanqi recorded in this memoir. The six towns east of Liulü and the town of Bojuluo should be "the seven towns of the eastern barrier of Yanqi".

龜茲國 [131]，在尉犁西北 [132]，去代一萬二百八十里 [133]。其東闕城戍。寇竊非一。世祖詔萬度歸率騎一千以擊之，[134] 龜茲遣烏羯目提等領兵三千距戰，度歸擊走之，斬二百餘級，大獲駝馬 [135] 而還。俗性多淫，置女市，收男子錢入官。土多孔雀，羣飛山谷間，人取養而食之，孳乳如雞鶩，其王家恒有千餘隻云。其國西北大山中有如膏者 [136] 流出成川，行數里入地，如餻餬，甚臭，服之髮齒已落者能令更生，病人服之皆愈。自後每使朝貢。[137]

The state of Qiuci 龜茲[131]: It is located to the northwest of Weili 尉犁[132], and is 10,280 *li* [133] from Dai. To the east … [words missing in the original] the town defends. It frequently raids and robs. Emperor Shizu's edict ordered Wan Dugui to lead 1,000 cavalry to attack it.[134] Qiuci sent Wujiemuti 烏羯目提 and others to lead 3,000 troops to resist him. [Wan] Dugui defeated them, beheaded over two hundred men, and captured many camels and horses[135], then returned. The customs are as follows: The people are mostly lascivious, and establish women markets [brothels] to collect men's money to hand over to the government. In this land are many peacocks, which fly together among the mountain valleys. The people catch and raise them for food. The peacocks multiply like chickens and ducks. The royal family usually has over 1,000 peacocks. To the northwest of the state there are large mountains from which an oily mineral flows[136] and forms rivers that run for several *li* before reentering the ground. It is like clarified butter, and smells very pungent. If people consume it as medicine, their hair and teeth will grow back. All patients who take it become well. Following its defeat, the state often sent envoys to present tribute.[137]

[131] Qiuci was among the first states that came to present tribute to Wei. According to the "Shizu ji (shang)" of *Weishu*, on the day *guisi* 癸巳 in the third month of in the third year of the Taiyan reign-

period (437) and on the day *dingyou* 丁酉 in the fourth month of the fifth year of the Taiyan reign-period (439), Qiuci "sent envoys to present tribute".

[132] The seat of the king's government of Qiuci should be the same as that recorded in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu*.

[133] "10,280 *li"* (Distance 12): The distance from the seat of the king's government of Qiuci via that of Yanqi to Dai. If one calculates according to its distance to Chang'an as is recorded in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu*, the distance to Dai should be 9,380 *li* (the aggregate of 7,480 *li* and 1,900 *li*), 900 *li* less than the figure given in this memoir. Thus, it is suspected that the figure "10,280" is an error for "10,380," because it simply adds 1,000 to 9,380.

[134] The "Shizu ji (xia)" of *Weishu* states: In the ninth year of the Taiping Zhenjun reign-period (448), "in the twelfth month, [the emperor] ordered the Duke of Chengzhou, Wan Dugui, to launch a punitive expedition against Qiuci from Yanqi".

[135] Qiuci's plenitude of camels and horses: Cf. the "Gaozu ji" of *Weishu*: In the second year of the Taihe 太和 reign-period (478 CE), "in the autumn, the seventh month, on the day *wuchen* 戊辰, the state of Qiuci sent envoys to present seventy renowned camels"; on the day *bingchen* 丙辰 in the ninth month, "the state of Qiuci sent envoys to present a lavish quantity of large horses, renowned camels, and many other valuables".

[136] "An oily mineral flows…": Some have identified this as sulphur;[34] according to others, it was petroleum.[35]

[137] The instances of Qiuci presenting tribute to Wei after Wan Dugui's western expedition recorded in the basic annals of *Weishu*: In the eleventh month of the tenth year of the Taiping Zhenjun reign-period (449) according to "Shizu ji (xia)"; on the day *dingchou* 丁丑 in the fourth month of the fifth year of the Yanxing 延興 reign-period (475), in the tenth month of the first year of the Taihe 太和 reign-period (477), on the day *wuchen* 戊辰 in the seventh month, and on the day *bingchen* 丙辰 in the ninth month of the second year of the Taihe reign-period (478), and on the day *gengshen* 庚申 in the ninth month of the third year of the Taihe reign-period according to the "Gaozu ji (shang)"; on the day *wuxu* 戊戌 in the tenth month of the third year of the Yongping 永平 reign-period (510) according to "Shizong ji"; on the day *dingwei* 丁未 in the intercalary seventh month of the first year of the Shengui 神龜 reign-period (518), and on the day *renzi* 壬子 in the seventh month of the third year of the Zhengguang 正光 reign-period (522), according to "Suzong ji" 肅宗紀.

姑墨國[138]，居南城[139]，在龜茲西，去代一萬五百里[140]。役屬龜茲。

The state of Gumo 姑墨[138]: [Its king] resides in the town of Nan 南[139]. [The state] is located to the west of Qiuci and it is 10,500 *li* [140] from Dai. It is subject to Qiuci.

[138] Gumo 姑墨 was an oasis state on the Northern Route in the Western Regions, first mentioned in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu*. There is only one instance of Gumo presenting tribute to Wei. According to "Shizong ji" in *Weishu*, this occurred on the day *wuzi* 戊子 in the twelfth month of the fourth year of the Yongping 永平 reign-period.[36]

[139] The seat of the king's government of Gumo should be the same as that recorded in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu*.

[140] "10,500 *li"* (Distance 13): The distance from the town of Nan to Dai via seat of the king's government of Qiuci. The figure "10,500" 一萬五百 could be a corruption of "10,050" 一萬五十. If so, the distance given here is actually the aggregate of 8,150 *li*, the distance between the town of Nan and Chang'an, as recorded in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu*, and 1,900 *li,* the distance between Chang'an and Dai.

溫宿國[141]，居溫宿城[142]，在姑墨西北，去代一萬五百五十里[143]。役屬龜茲。

The state of Wensu 溫宿[141]: Its king resides in the town of Wensu[142] to the northwest of Gumo, and it is 10,550 *li* [143] from Dai. It is subject to Qiuci.

[141] Wensu 溫宿 was an oasis state on the Northern Route in the Western Regions, first mentioned in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu*.

[142] The location of the seat of the king's government of Wensu is the same as that recorded in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu*.

[143] "10,550 *li*" (Distance 14): The distance between Wensu and Dai via the seat of the king's government of Gumo. The figure "10,550" could be a corruption for "10,250." If so, then the distance given here should be the aggregate of 8,350 *li,* the distance between Wensu and Chang'an recorded in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu*, and 1,900 *li*, the distance between Chang'an and Dai.

尉頭國[144]，居尉頭城[145]，在溫宿北，去代一萬六百五十里[146]。役屬龜茲。

The state of Weitou 尉頭[144]: Its king resides in the town of Weitou[145] to the north

of Wensu, and it is 10,650 *li* [146] from Dai. It is subject to Qiuci.

[144] Weitou 尉頭 was an oasis state on the Northern Route of the Western Regions, first mentioned in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu*.

[145] The location of the seat of the king's government should be the same as that recorded in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu*.

[146] "10,650 *li*" (Distance 15): The distance from the town of Weitou to Dai via the seat of the king's government of Wensu. The figure "10,650" could be a corruption of "10,550." If so, the figure given here is actually the aggregate of 8,650 *li*, the distance between the town of Weitou and Chang'an recorded in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu*, and 1,900 *li*, the distance between Dai and Chang'an.

烏孫國，居赤谷城 [147]，在龜茲西北，去代一萬八百里 [148]。其國數爲蠕蠕所侵 [149]，西徙葱嶺山中，無城郭，隨畜牧逐水草。太延三年，遣使者董琬等使其國，[150] 後每使朝貢。[151]

The state of Wusun 烏孫: Its king resides in the town of Chigu 赤谷 [147] to the northwest of Qiuci, and it is 10,800 *li* [148] from Dai. The state was invaded several times by the Ruru[149], so they migrated west into the Cong Mountains, without walled cities. In the company of their flocks and herds the inhabitants go in search of water and pasture. In the third year of the Taiyan reign-period, [Wei] sent the envoys Dong Wan 董琬 and others to visit their state. [150] From then on it often sent envoys to present tribute. [151]

[147] The location of the town of Chigu 赤谷 is the same as is recorded in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu*.

[148] "10,800 *li*" (Distance 16): The distance from the town of Chigu to Dai via the seat of the king's government of Qiuci. The figure given here is actually the aggregate of 8,900 *li*, the distance between Chigu and Chang'an as recorded in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu,* and 1,900 *li*, the distance between Chang'an and Dai.

[149] "The state was invaded several times by the Ruru": When the state of Ruru was founded, its western border extended north of Yanqi, and Dzungaria fell into its sphere of influence. After its

control of Dzungaria, it inevitably expanded westward towards the valleys of the Narin and Ili Rivers. At that time, the inhabitants to the west of Dzungaria were mainly Wusun and Yueban peoples. The Ruru came into conflict with them in their expansion to the west.[37]

[150] The inhabitants of Chigu, suffering frequent harassments from the Ruru, gave up the territory and migrated to the west. In the third year of the Taiyan reign-period (437), Dong Wan visited the Wusun, who had by that time relocated into the Cong Mountains. The earliest possible date for their western migration might be the reign of Khan Shelun 社崙 of the Ruru (402-410).

[151] There is only one instance of Wusun presenting tribute to Wei, which occurred on the day *guisi* 癸巳 in the third month of the third year of the Taiyan reign-period (437) according to the "Shizu ji (shang)" in *Weishu*. The statement that "it often sent envoys to present tribute" cannot be supported.

疏勒國，在姑墨西[152]，去代一萬一千二百五十里[153]。高宗末[154]，其王遣使送釋迦牟尼佛袈裟一，長二丈餘，[廣丈餘][155]。高宗以審是佛衣，應有靈異，遂燒之以驗虛實，置於猛火之上，經日不然，[156]觀者莫不悚駭，心形俱肅。[後每使朝貢。][157]

The state of Shule 疏勒: It is located to the west of Gumo,[152] and it is 11,250 *li*[153] from Dai. At the end of the reign of Emperor Gaozong 高宗[154], its king sent envoys to present a cassock of Śakyamuni over two *zhang* 丈 long [and over one *zhang* wide].[155] Emperor Gaozong believed that the clothing of the Buddha must be numinous and extraordinary, so he had it burned to determine whether this were true or false. The cassock was placed on a raging fire, but it did not burn for a whole day.[156] All those who witnessed this were awestruck and registered profound respect with all their being. [From then on the state often sent envoys to present tribute.][157]

[152] The seat of the king's government of Shule 疏勒 was, as in the times of Han and Jin, located near present-day Kashgar.

[153] "11,250 *li*" (Distance 17): The distance from the seat of the king's government of Shule via that of Gumo to Dai. The figure given here is actually the aggregate of 9,350 *li*, the distance between the seat of the king's government of Shule and Chang'an as recorded in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu*, and 1,900 *li*, the distance between Chang'an and Dai.

[154] This possibly refers to Shule's presentation of tribute in the third year of the Heping 和平 reign-period (462), as recorded in the "Gaozong ji" of *Weishu*.

[155] Adding 廣丈餘 (over one *zhang* wide), in conformity to the text of "Xi Rong er" 西戎二 in the "Si Yi (yisi)" 四夷一四 section of *Taiping yulan* 太平御覽 (ch. 793).

[156] It is generally believed that this cassock was made of asbestos.

[157] Adding 後每使朝貢, in conformity to the text of "Xi Rong er" 西戎二 in the "Si Yi (yisi)" 四夷一四 section of *Taiping yulan* 太平御覽 (ch. 793). The instances of Shule presenting tribute to Wei according to the basic annals of *Weishu* were as follows: on the day *guisi* 癸巳 in the third month of the third year of the Taiyan 太延 reign-period (437), and on the day *dingyou* 丁酉 in the fourth month of the fifth year of the Taiyan reign-period (439) according to "Shizu ji (shang)"; in the eleventh month of the tenth year of the Taiping Zhenjun reign-period (449) according to "Shizu ji (xia)"; on the day *yiwei* 乙未 in the third month of the second year in the Xing'an 興安 reign-period (453), in the tenth month of the first year of the Tai'an 太安 reign-period (455), and on the day *jiashen* 甲申 in the third year of the Heping 和平 reign-period (462), according to "Gaozong ji" 高宗紀; in the third of the Jingming 景明 reign-period (502), on the day of *jiazi* 甲子 in the ninth month, the day *dingsi* 丁巳 in the tenth month, and the day *wuchen* 戊辰 in the tenth month of the fourth year of the Zhengshi 正始 reign-period (507), on the day *wushen* 戊申 in the first month, on the day *xinmao* 辛卯 in the fifth month of the Yanchang 延昌 reign-period (512), according to "Shizong ji" 世宗紀; and on the day *jiawu* 甲午 in the fourth month of the second year of the Xiping 熙平 reign-period (517), on the day *wushen* 戊申 in the second month, and on the day *dingwei* 丁未 in the intercalary seventh month of the first year of the Shengui 神龜 reign-period (518), according to "Suzong ji" 肅宗紀.

悦般國，在烏孫西北，[158]去代一萬九百三十里[159]。其先，匈奴北單于之部落也。[160]爲漢車騎將軍竇憲[161]所逐，北單于度金微山[162]，西走康居，[163]其羸弱不能去者住龜兹北。[164]地方數千里[165]，衆可二十餘萬。涼州人猶謂之單于王。其風俗言語與高車[166]同，而其人清潔。（於）［或倣］[167]胡俗剪髮齊眉，以醍醐塗之，昱昱然光澤，日三澡漱，然後飲食。其國南界有火山，[168]山傍石皆燋鎔，流地數十里乃凝堅，人取爲藥，卽石流黃也。[169]

The state of Yueban 悦般: It is located to the northwest of Wusun,[158] and it is 10,930 *li* [159] from Dai. Their forebears were a horde of the Northern *Chanyu* of the Xiongnu.[160] Pursued by the Han General of Chariots and Cavalry, Dou Xian 竇憲[161], the Northern

Chanyu crossed the Jinwei 金微 Mountains[162] and went west into Kangju 康居.[163] Those who were too exhausted and weak to attempt this journey remained north of Qiuci[164] where there was a swath of territory stretching for several thousand *li* [165]. Their population is over 200,000. The people of Liang Province also call [the Yueban ruler] the *Chanyu* King. Their customs and speech resemble those of Gaoche[166], but the people are devoted to cleanliness. They imitate [167] the Hu custom of clipping their hair and even their eyebrows and smear clarified butter over it to make it bright and lustrous. They bathe three times a day, and drink and eat afterwards. On the southern boundary of their country is a volcano,[168] which heated and melted all the adjacent stones which flowed for several tens of *li* before they solidified. People gather them for medicine; it is crude sulphur.[169]

[158] The original land of Yueban can be traced to north of Qiuci. Because the people of Wusun had migrated to the west, the people of Yueban moved north and occupied the valleys of the Narin and Ili rivers. The people of Yueban, whom Dong Wan and Gao Ming encountered in their western mission, should have been those who had moved north. This memoir erroneously states that "it is located to the northwest of Wusun".[38]

[159] "10,930 *li*" (Distance 18): The distance from the king's government of Yueban via that of Wusun to Dai. The figure given here is actually the aggregate of 610 *li*, the distance between the seat of the king's government of Wusun and that of Wensu as recorded in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu*; 270 *li*, the distance between the seat of the king's government of Wensu and that of Gumo; 8,150 *li*, the distance between the seat of the king's government of Gumo and Chang'an; and 1,900 *li,* the distance between Chang'an and Dai.

[160] "Their forebears were a horde of the Northern *Chanyu* of the Xiongnu": This simply means that the tribe of Yueban was once subject to the Xiongnu. The fact that the people of Yueban were subject to the Xiongnu does not mean that they were of the same race. The "Ruirui zhuan" 芮芮傳 in *Liangshu* states: "In the Wei and Jin dynasties, the Xiongnu were divided into thousands of tribes, each with its own name and title. The Ruirui were one of them". Likewise, one could say that Yueban was one of them. Yueban was not only one of the tribes, but it called itself the Xiongnu, so the people of Liang Province referred to its king as the *Chanyu* king.

[161] The biography of Dou Xian 竇憲 can be found in *Hou-Han shu* (ch. 23). His expedition against the Xiongnu commenced in the second year of the Yongyuan 永元 reign-period (90 CE).

[162] The "Hedi ji" 和帝紀 in *Hou-Han shu* states: In the second month of the third year of the Yongyuan 永元 reign-period (91 CE), the Supreme General, Dou Xian, ordered the Colonel of the Left, Geng Kui 耿夔, to set out from the Juyan 居延 Defence and surround the *Chanyu* in the Jinwei 金微 Mountains. [Geng Kui] utterly defeated [the *Chanyu*'s forces], and captured his mother." The "Dou Xian zhuan" 竇憲傳 in *Hou-Han shu* states: "In the following year, [Dou Xian] again ordered the Colonel of the Right, Geng Kui, and Majors Ren Shang 任尚 and Zhao Bo 趙博, among others, to attack the northern savages at the Jinwei Mountains, and they utterly defeated them, making great conquests and captures. The Northern *Chanyu* fled to unknown whereabouts". The Jinwei Mountains is the present-day Altai Mountains.

[163] In light of comments and appreciative notes attached to the texts of the "Yuan An zhuan" 袁安傳 and "Nan Xiongnu zhuan" 南匈奴傳 in *Hou-Han shu*, the Northern *Chanyu*, who was defeated in the Jinwei Mountains in 91 CE, only "fled to Wusun" temporarily and he did not go west to Kangju. The statement that "he went west into Kangju" is probably the result of confusion among the people of the Northern Wei between the Northern *Chanyu*, who was defeated in 91 CE in the Jinwei Mountains, and *Chanyu* Zhizhi 郅支, who fled to Kangju during the reign of Emperor Yuan 元 of the Western Han.[39]

[164] The above record concerning the Northern *Chanyu* indicates that there was once a Northern *Chanyu*, who abandoned those too exhausted and weak to move when he led his tribe to migrate; those who were left became the people of Yueban, who later appeared north of Qiuci.[40]

[165] "There was a swath of territory stretching for several thousand *li*": The territory of Yueban should stretch from the valley of the Yuldus River in the east to the valley of the Narin River in the west, from north of Qiuci in the south to the valley of the Ili River in the north.

[166] Gaoche 高車 was a nomadic tribe which was once subject to the Ruru. At the beginning of the fifth century CE, it became strong and fought against the Ruru. Its tribe of Fufuluo 副伏羅 migrated west to the northwest of present-day Turfan in 487 and founded a state, which was destroyed by the Ruru in 541.

[167] The text was altered in accordance with those in the "Xi Rong (xia)" 西戎下 of the "Si Yi (san)" 四夷三 in *Tongzhi* 通志 (ch. 196) and "Xi Rong (qi)" 西戎七 of the "Si Yi (shiwu)" 四夷十五 in *Taiping huanyu ji* 太平寰宇記 (ch. 186).[41]

[168] "On the southern boundary of their country is a volcano": This indicates that Yueban, after occupying the land that used to belong to Wusun, still retained its former lands north of Qiuci. The volcano is located north of present-day Kucha.

[169] For the medical properties of the crude sulphur, see the section titled "Jinshi zhi wu" 金石之五 in *Bencao gangmu* 本草綱目 (ch. 11).

與蠕蠕結好，其王常將數千人入蠕蠕國，欲與大檀[170]相見。入其界百餘里，見其部人不浣衣，不絆髮，不洗手，婦人舌舐器物，王謂其從臣曰："汝曹誑我入此狗國中！"乃馳還。大檀遣騎追之不及，自是相仇讎，數相征討。真君九年，遣使朝獻。[171]幷送幻人，稱能割人喉脉令斷，擊人頭令骨陷，皆血出［淋落］[172]，或數升或盈斗，以草藥內其口中，令嚼咽之，須臾血止，養瘡一月復常，又無痕瘢。世祖疑其虛，乃取死罪囚試之，皆驗。云中國諸名山皆有此草，乃使人受其術而厚遇之。[173]又言其國有大術者，蠕蠕來抄掠，術人能作霖雨狂風大雪及行潦［水之池］[174]，蠕蠕凍死漂亡者十二三。[175]是歲再遣使朝貢，求與官軍東西齊契討蠕蠕。世祖嘉其意，命中外諸軍戒嚴，以淮南王他爲前鋒，襲蠕蠕。[176]仍詔有司以其鼓舞之節施於樂府。[177]自後每使貢獻。[178]

They established friendly relations with the Ruru. Their king, leading several thousand men, entered the country of the Ruru and wished to meet Datan 大檀[170]. After he had passed more than 100 *li* beyond the border, he saw that the tribal people did not wash their clothes, tie up their hair, or wash their hands. Their women lick the utensils [clean]. The king said to his attendants, "You deceived me into entering a country of dogs". Thereupon he galloped back. Datan dispatched cavalry to run after him but it was too late. From then on they became enemies, and attacked each other. In the ninth year of the [Taiping] Zhenjun reign-period [448 CE], [Yueban] sent envoys to present tribute,[171] at the same time sending a magician who claimed he could cut a man's jugular vein, have his head smashed, have his bones crushed and all his blood trickle out[172]—perhaps several *sheng* 升 or even a full *dou*—and then place a certain herbal medicine in his mouth and have him chew and swallow it. After a short moment the bleeding would stop, and after his wounds healed for a month, he would fully recover without even a scar. Because he doubted that those claims were true, Emperor Shizu took some criminals who had been condemned to death and [had the magician] try [his arts on them] and the experiment succeeded. [The magician] said that all famous mountains in the Middle Kingdom have this herb, so the emperor sent people to learn this art and he treated [the magician] generously.[173] [The envoys] also said, "There are great necromancers, and when the

Ruru come on a robbing raid, the necromancers unleash continuous heavy rains, fierce winds, heavy snow, and great floods[174], and the Ruru people, in two or three cases out of ten, have either frozen to death or been carried away [by the floodwaters]". [175] In this year, [Yueban] once again sent envoys to pay tribute, and they begged leave to attack the Ruru, cooperating with the government troops from east and west. Emperor Shizu praised their suggestion and ordered the various troops inside and outside to enforce a curfew, and appointed the King of Huainan 淮南, Ta 他, to be the vanguard of a raid against the Ruru. [176] An imperial edict was issued ordering the officials to add Yueban's inspiring rhythms to the folk songs and ballads collected by the official conservatory. [177] From then on they often sent envoys to present tribute. [178]

[170] Datan 大檀 assumed the title of Khan in 414. However, according to the "Ruru zhuan" in *Weishu*, "Datan was the son of Puhun 僕渾, Shelun's 社崘 uncle. Previously, he had led other tribes, and guarded the western border". The event in the text above might well have occurred before Datan assumed the title of Khan. That is, the king of Yueban was supposed to meet Datan, then stationed on the western border to garrison it.

[171] This is not recorded in the basic annals.

[172] Here 淋落 is added, in conformity with the text in the "Zhoushu pian" 呪術篇 of *Fayuan zhulin* 法苑珠林 (ch. 61).

[173] This is a combination of the magical and medical arts.

[174] Here 水之池 is added, in conformity with the text in the "Zhoushu pian" of *Fayuan zhulin* (ch. 61).

[175] Cf. the record on the customs of the Ruru in the "Xibei zhu Rong zhuan" 西北諸戎傳 of *Liangshu*: "There are necromancers in that state, who can make sacrifices to the heaven and cause wind and snow to occur. [For instance,] to the front one [can see] the bright sun, but behind one flows a stream of mud caused by the rain. So when they are defeated in battle no one can catch up with them. Someone performed the same act in the Central Plains, but the magician could only cause thick clouds to gather, unable to produce rain. When asked why, he said that it was because of the warm climate [on the Central Plains]". It is not difficult to find similarities in these accounts, which seems to indicate the mutual influence of the nomadic cultures north of the Great Wall and north of the Tianshan Mountains.

[176] According to the "Shizu ji (xia)" in *Weishu,* in the ninth year of the Taiping Zhenjun reign-

period (448 CE), in the sixth month, "on the day of *dingmao* 丁卯, the state of Yueban sent envoys to petition for permission to attack the Ruru together with the imperial forces, and the Emperor consented. In the eighth month, an edict was issued, ordering the various troops, both in the Middle Kingdom and beyond, to be on alert. In the ninth month, on the day of *yiyou* 乙酉, the soldiers in the western outskirts were engaged in military exercises. On the day *bingxu* 丙戌, the Emperor went to the Yin 陰 Mountain on a tour of inspection". In the twelfth month, "the crown prince at the temporary imperial palace was granted an audience with the Emperor and followed the Emperor on the northern expedition. [The Emperor] arrived at the town of Shouxiang 受降 [Accepting Surrender], but did not encounter the Ruru, so he accumulated supplies in the town and made his way back, after leaving behind the soldiers to guard them". This shows that the Northern Wei actually acted to some extent in cooperation with the Yueban. As mentioned above, Emperor Shizu ordered Wan Dugui to attack Yanqi in the ninth month of the ninth year (448 CE), specifically after "the various troops, both in the Middle Kingdom and beyond, [were] on alert", indicating that one of the targets of this western expedition was the Ruru.[42] Emperor Shizu of Wei conferred on Han Ba 韓拔 the title of the King of Shanshan in the fifth month of the ninth year of the Taiping Zhenjun reign-period (448 CE), and ordered him to guard Shanshan, most likely after Yueban sent envoys to the Wei court for the first time. In short, the Yueban had made known their intention to make a pincer attack on the Ruru from both east and west when they sent their first envoys to present tribute to Wei in the ninth year of the Taiping Zhenjun reign-period. To guard Shanshan was part of a series of projects for the Northern Wei to join forces with the Yueban and undertake the northern and western expeditions. Because of Yueban, Ruru's expansion towards the valleys of the Narin and Ili rivers was stalled.

[177] The "Yuezhi" 樂志 of *Weishu* states: "Later, communications with the Western Regions were established. Yueban's drum dances became a part of the repertoire of the Music Bureau".

[178] The instances of Yueban presenting tribute to Wei, according to the basic annals of the *Weishu*, were as follows: On the day *guisi* 癸巳 in the third month of the third year of the Taiyan reign-period (437) according to "Shizu ji (shang)"; and on the day *dingmao* 丁卯 in the sixth month of the ninth year of the Taiping Zhenjun reign-period (448) according to "Shizu ji (xia)". In the ninth year of the Taiping Zhenjun reign-period, Yueban presented tribute to Wei twice; the presentation on the day *dingmao* in the sixth month was the second occasion. The two missions in the ninth year of the Taiping Zhenjun reign-period were the last contacts between Yueban and the Northern Wei. The statement that "they often sent envoys to present tribute" cannot be substantiated by the records in the basic annals. It is strange for a nomadic people—a large population—to disappear suddenly; they

most likely migrated to the west because they could no longer tolerate incursions and harassment from the Ruru. According to the "Ruru zhuan" in *Weishu*, the Northern Wei dealt the Ruru an overwhelming defeat in the tenth year of the Taiping Zhenjun reign-period and the fourth year of the Tai'an 太安 reign-period (458), and the Ruru thus built up pressure on the west, forcing Yueban to migrate. If so, the date of Yueban's western migration should be between 450 and 460. Moreover, Yueban sent envoys to the Northern Wei, proposing a joint attack on the Ruru, but when the Northern Wei launched a large-scale expedition against the Ruru, there was no action on Yueban's part. This shows, from another perspective, that at that time its main forces had already started their western migration. According to some scholars, the Yueban people who migrated to the west were the Avars in the Western historical records.[43]

者至拔[179]國，都者至拔城[180]，在疏勒西，去代一萬一千六百二十里[181]。其國東有潘賀那山[182]，出美鐵及師子。

The state of Zhezhiba 者至拔[179]: Its capital is located in the town of Zhezhiba[180] to the west of Shule, and it is 11,620 *li*[181] from Dai. East of this state are the Panhena 潘賀那 Mountains[182], which produce fine iron and lions.

[179] "Zhezhiba" 者至拔 [tjya-tjiet-buat] is believed by some to be a transcription of "Čač-balik" (the town of Čač),[44] which does not seem to be correct. Others think that it is a transcription of "Čaš-bar" (meaning, "the bank of the Syr Darya").[45]

[180] The town of Zhezhiba is believed by some to be present-day Tashkent.[46] Others believe that its site should be found in the vicinity of Khojend.[47] Zhezhiba and Zheshe are both on the route to Jushi. Since the latter is Tashkent, the former theory seems to be wrong. The latter theory does not have enough to substantiate it.

[181] "11,620 *li*" (Distance 19): The distance from the town of Zhezhiba to Dai via the seat of the king's government of Shule. The figure "11,620 *li*" is an abbreviated form of "11,628 *li*."

[182] The Panhena 潘賀那 Mountains refers to the Ferghāna Mountains. "Panhena" 潘賀那 [phuan-ha-na] is a transcription of Ferghāna.

迷密[183]國，都迷密城[184]，在者至拔西，去代一萬二千六百里[185]。正平元年，遣使獻一峰黑橐駝。[186]其國東有山，名郁悉滿[187]，山出金玉，亦多鐵。

The state of Mimi 迷密[183]: Its capital is located in the town of Mimi[184], and it is 12,600 *li* [185] from Dai. In the first year of the Zhengping 正平 reign-period (451 CE), it sent envoys to present a black one-humped camel. [186]East of the state there is a mountain called Yuximan 郁悉滿 [187], which produces gold, jade, and also an abundance of iron ore.

[183] "Mimi" 迷密 [myei-miet] is believed by some to be a transcription of Māymurgh.[48]

[184] The town of Mimi was located at the ruins of Panjikanth south of present-day Samarkand in Uzbekistan.[49]

[185] "12,600 *li*" (Distance 20): The distance from the town of Mimi to Dai via the seat of the king's government of Zhezhiba; i.e., the aggregate of 1,000 *li*, equivalent to ten days' journey from the town of Mimi to the seat of the king's government of Zhezhiba, and 11,628 *li*, the distance between the latter and Dai. The figure "12,600" should be a corruption of 12,628".

[186] The "Shizu ji (xia)" in *Weishu* records: In the first month of the first year of the Zhengping 正平 reign-period (451), "… Mimi and various other states sent envoys to the court to present tribute".

[187] The location of the Yuximan 郁悉滿 Mountain is unknown. "Yuximan" 郁悉滿 reads "Duximan" 都悉滿 in the text quoted in the "Si Yi (yiliu)" 四夷一六 of *Taiping yulan* (ch. 795).

悉萬斤[188]國，都悉萬斤城[189]，在迷密西，去代一萬二千七百二十里[190]。其國南有山，名伽色那[191]，山出師子。每使朝貢。[192]

The state of Xiwanjin 悉萬斤[188]: Its capital is located in the town of Xiwanjin[189] to the west of Mimi, and it is 12,720 *li* [190] from Dai. South of the state there is a mountain called Jiasena 伽色那[191], which produces lions. It often sent envoys to present tribute. [192]

[188] "Xiwanjin" 悉萬斤 [siet-miuan-kiən] is generally regarded as a transcription of Samarkand.

[189] The town of Xiwanjin 悉萬斤 was located in the northeast of present Samarkand in Uzbekistan. This is the consensus among academic circles.

[190] "12,720 *li*" (Distance 21): The distance from the town of Xiwanjin to Dai via the seat of the king's government of Mimi; i.e., the aggregate of 100 *li*, equivalent to one day's journey from the town of Xiwanjin to the seat of the king's government of Mimi, and 12,628 *li*, the distance between the latter and Dai. The figure "12,720" should be an abbreviation of "12,728."

[191] The Jiasena 伽色那 Mountain should refer to the mountains south of present-day Samarkand and north of the Sxhar-isabz. "Jiasena" 伽色那 [kea-shiək-na] should be a transcription of Kâšâna or Kâšâniya.[50]

[192] The instances of Xiwanjin presenting tribute to Wei, according to the basic annals of the *Weishu*, are as follows: in the tenth month of the third year of the Yanxing 延興 reign-period (473), on the day *guichou* 癸丑 in the ninth month of the first year of the Chengming 承明 reign-period (476), in the twelfth month of the third year of the Taihe 太和 reign-period (479), and on the day *renzi* 壬子 in the fourth year of the Taihe reign-period (480) according to "Gaozu ji (shang)"; on the day *xinsi* 辛巳 in the eighth month of the eleventh year of the Taihe reign-period (487), and on the day *jiyou* 己酉 in the third month of the fifteenth year of the Taihe reign period according to "Gaozu ji (xia)"; and in the third year of the Jingming 景明 reign-period (502), on the day *renyin* 壬寅 in the fourth month and on the day *dingsi* 丁巳 in the tenth month of the fourth year of the Zhengshi 正始 reign-period (507), and on the day *dinghai* 丁亥 in the first month of the second year of the Yongping reign-period, according to "Shizong ji" 世宗紀.

忸密國[193]，都忸密城[194]，在悉萬斤西，去代二萬二千八百二十八里[195]。

The state of Niumi 忸密[193]: Its capital is located in the town of Niumi[194] to the west of Xiwanjin, and it is 22,828 *li*[195] from Dai.

[193] "Niumi" 忸密 [niəu-miet] is generally believed to be the transcription of Nūmiğ-kat. According to the "Shizong ji" in *Weishu*, on the day *dinghai* 丁亥 in the first month of the second year of the Yongping 永平 reign-period (509), the state of Niumi "sent envoys to present tribute".

[194] The town of Niumi is generally believed to be present-day Bukhara.

[195] "22,828 *li*" (Distance 22): The distance from the town of Niumi to Dai via the seat of the king's government of Xiwanjin; i.e., the aggregate of 10,100 *li*, equivalent to one hundred and ten days' journey from the town of Niumi to the seat of the king's government of Xiwanjin, and 12,728 *li*, the distance between the latter and Dai. The figure given here is incorrect.

[破]洛那[196]國，故大宛國也。都貴山城[197]，在疏勒西北，去代萬四千四百五十里[198]。太和三年[199]，遣使獻汗血馬，自此每使朝貢。[200]

The state of [Po]luona [破] 洛那[196]: It was formerly the state of Dayuan 大宛. Its capital is located in the town of Guishan 貴山 [197] to the northwest of Shule, and it is 14,450 *li* [198] from Dai. In the third year of the Taihe 太和 reign-period [479 CE] [199], it sent envoys to present blood-sweating horses. From then on it often sent envoys to offer tribute. [200]

[196] "Poluona" 破洛那 [phua-lak-na] is generally believed to be a transcription of Ferghāna. The character *po* 破 is added after the collation notes of the punctuated edition published by Zhonghua shuju.

[197] The location of the town of Guishan 貴山 should be the same as the seat of the king's government of Dayuan in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu*.

[198] "14,450 *li*" (Distance 23): This is actually the aggregate of 12,550 *li*, the distance between the seat of the king's government of Dayuan and Chang'an, and 1,900 *li*, the distance between Chang'an and Dai.

[199] According to the "Shizu ji (shang)" in *Weishu*, on the day *jiashen* 甲申 in the eleventh month of the third year of the Taiyan 太延 (437), "Poluona … and other states each sent envoys to the court and presented tribute, including blood-sweating horses". The "Taihe" 太和 in this memoir should be an error for "Taiyan" 太延; see the collation notes of the punctuated edition published by Zhonghua shuju.

[200] The instances of Puolona presenting tribute to Wei, according to the basic annals of the *Weishu*, are as follows: in the eleventh month of the fifth year of the Taiyan 太延 reign-period (439), according to "Shizu ji (shang)"; in the eleventh month of the tenth year of the Taiping Zhenjun reign-period (449), and in the first month of the first year of the Zhengping 正平 reign-period, according to "Shizu ji (xia)"; and in the fourth month of the sixth year of the Heping 和平 reign-period (465), according to "Gaozong ji" 高宗紀. In the sixth year of the Heping reign-period the state also "presented blood-sweating horses".

粟特國 [201]，古之奄蔡 [202]，一名溫那沙。[203] 居於大澤 [204]，在康居西北，去代一萬六千里 [205]。先是，匈奴殺其王而有其國 [206]，至［高宗（文成帝）初遣使朝貢，其］[207] 王忽倪已三世矣。[208] 其國商人先多詣涼土販貨，[209] 及克姑臧，悉見虜。（高宗初）粟特王遣使請贖之，詔聽焉。[210] 自後無使朝獻。[211]

The state of Sute 粟特[201]: It was called Yancai 奄蔡 [202] in ancient times, and also

had the name Wennasha 溫那沙[203]. It is located on the Great Marsh[204] to the northwest of Kangju, and it is 16,000 *li* [205] from Dai. The Xiongnu had previously killed its king and taken possession of the country. [206] [In the reign of Emperor Wencheng 文成 it first sent an envoy to present tribute]. [207] With King Huni 忽倪 we reach the third generation of their rulers. [208] Formerly, most of the merchants [of the state of Sute] came to Liang Province to sell goods, [209] but when Guzang 姑臧 was occupied, all were captured. At the beginning of the reign of Emperor Gaozong 高宗, the king of Sute sent envoys to request their redemption. An imperial edict complied with his request. [210] Henceforth, there were no envoys to pay tribute. [211]

[201] "Sute" 粟特 should be the "Suyi" 粟弋 in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hou-Han shu*. The state of Suyi was located in the valley of the Zarafshan River between the Syr Darya and Amu Darya. "Sute" 粟特 [siok-dək] is generally believed to be a transcription of Soghd. In the age of this memoir, Soghd was under the control of the nomadic tribe of Yeda, who had migrated from north of the Great Wall.[51]

[202] "It was called Yancai in ancient times": This is not correct. The reason for this error is possibly because Dong and Gao, in their mission to the west, heard that "Sute" was destroyed by the Xiongnu (i.e., Yeda), and at the same time they also heard that "Yancai" 奄蔡 (i.e., Alans 阿蘭) was destroyed by the Huns (Xiong 匈). Since the Huns (Xiong) and Xiongnu sounded similar, and the Huns destroyed the Alans around 370, very close to the time when the Xiongnu (Yeda) destroyed "Sute", Dong and Gao concluded that "Yancai" was "Sute". The editor of this memoir thus regarded "Sute" as "Yancai" based on the report of Dong and Gao.[52]

[203] "Wennasha" 溫那沙 [uən-na-shea] is a transcription of Hūnashāh. "Huna" refers to Yeda. The people of Yeda were called, or they called themselves, the "Xiongnu".

[204] "The Great Marsh" here refers to the Aral Sea.

[205] "16,000 *li*" (Distance 24): The distance from the seat of the king's government of Sute via that of Kangju to Dai. The figure is actually the aggregate of 2,000 *li*, the distance between the seat of the king's government of Yancai and that of Kangju as is recorded in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu*, and 12,300 *li*, the distance between the latter and Chang'an, and 1,900 *li*, the distance between Chang'an and Dai. The figure "16,000" is an error for "16,200".

[206] "The Xiongnu had previously killed its king and taken possession of the country": This refers to Yeda's occupation of Sogdiana.

[207] Adding 高宗 [文成帝] 初遣使朝貢其, in conformity to the text in the "Xi Rong (wu)"

西戎五 of the "Bianfang (jiu)" 邊防九 section of *Tongdian* 通典. With the insertion of the added characters, it seems that the three characters, 高宗初, in front of 粟特王, should be deleted. Since Wei Shou's original text is no longer extant, we can only make conclusions on the basis of semantics and context.

[208] "With King Huni we reach the third generation of their rulers": This is to say, by the beginning of the reign of Emperor Gaozong 高宗, the Xiongnu kingship had lasted for three generations. This shows that the "three generations" during which "Sute" had been under the Xiongnu rule is traced from the time in the reign of Huni when he sent envoys to Wei to present tribute. In other words, the date of the Xiongnu (Yeda) conquest of Sogdiana should be calculated three generations (about eighty to ninety years) backwards from the beginning (452) of the reign of Emperor Gaozong, the first time Huni sent envoys to Wei, i.e., 362-372.

[209] This is the earliest explicit record in Chinese historical sources that the people in Sogdiana were adept in commercial activities.

[210] This is not included in the basic annals. After Guzang 姑臧 was occupied, the state of Sute sent envoys to the Northern Wei, but the redemption of its merchants was not mentioned. Perhaps Sute did not know of the capture of its merchants until the end of the reign of Emperor Shizu.

[211] The instances of Sute presenting tribute to Wei, according to the basic annals of *Weishu*, were as follows: on the day *bingxu* 丙戌 in the eighth month of the first year of the Taiyan 太延 reign-period (435), on the day *guisi* 癸巳 in the third month of the third year of the Taiyan reign-period (437), and in the eleventh month of the fifth year of the Taiyan reign-period (439), according to "Shizu ji (shang)"; in the twelfth month of the fifth year of the Taiping Zhenjun reign-period (444) according to "Shizu ji (xia)"; on the day *wuchen* 戊辰 in the first month of the third year of the Tai'an 太安 reign-period (457), according to "Gaozong ji" 高宗紀; on the day *renzi* 壬子 in the ninth month of the first year of the Huangxing 皇興 reign-period (467), according to "Xianzu ji" 顯祖紀; on the day *xinsi* 辛巳 in the first month of the fourth year of the Yanxing 延興 reign-period (474) and in the twelfth month of the third year of the Taihe 太和 reign-period (479), according to "Gaozu ji (shang)". The statement in this memoir that "from then on there were no envoys to pay tribute" 自後無使朝獻 does not confirm to reality; perhaps it is a corruption of 自後每使朝獻 ("from then on their envoys often came to pay tribute").

波斯國[212]，都宿利城[213]，在忸密西，去代二萬四千二百二十八里[214]。河[215]經其城中南流。有鳥[216]形如橐駝，有兩翼[217]，飛而不能高，食草與肉，亦能噉

火，[馳走甚疾，一日能七百里也]。[218]

The state of Bosi 波斯[212]: Its capital is located in the town of Suli 宿利 [213] to the west of Niumi, and it is 24,228 *li* [214] from Dai. A river[215] flows south passing through the town. It has a large bird[216] shaped like a camel with two wings[217], which can fly but not very high. It eats grass and meat and is also able to eat fire. [It gallops very fast, and can run for 700 *li* a day.] [218]

[212] Bosi 波斯 is generally regarded as referring to Sassanian Persia. "Bosi" 波斯 [puai-sie] is a transcription of Persia.

[213] The town of Suli 宿利 should refer to Ctesiphon. "Suli" 宿利 [siəuk-liet], according to some, is a transcription of Sūrastān.[53]

[214] "24,228 *li*" (Distance 25): The distance from the town of Suli to Dai via the seat of the king's government of Niumi; i.e., the aggregate of 1,400 *li*, equivalent to fourteen days' journey from the town of Suli to the seat of the king's government of Niumi, and 22,828 *li*, the distance between the latter and Dai.

[215] The "river" refers to the Tigris River.

[216] The "bird" here refers to the ostrich.

[217] For " 兩翼 ," the "Yuzu (yi)" 羽族一 of *Taiping yulan* 太平御覽 (ch. 914) reads " 羽翼 ".

[218] "[馳走甚疾，一日能七百里也]": The characters in brackets are added in conformity to the text in the "Yuzu (yi)" of *Taiping yulan* (ch. 914).

俗事火神、天神。[219] 文字與胡書異。[220] 多以姊妹爲妻妾。[221] 神龜中，其國遣使上書貢物，[222] 云：大國天子，天之所生，願日出處常爲漢中天子。波斯國王居和多 [223] 千萬敬拜。朝廷嘉納之。自此每使朝獻。[224]

It is their custom to worship the Fire God and the God of Heaven. [219] Their script is different from that of the Hu.[220] The people often take their sisters as their wives and concubines. [221] During the Shengui 神龜 reign-period [518-520 CE] the state [of Bosi] sent envoys to offer tribute and present a memorial,[222] which stated: "The Son of Heaven of the great nation, whom Heaven begat, may Your Majesty always be the Son of Heaven in the Han land over which the sun rises! The king of Bosi, Juheduo 居和

多 [Kavād I, 488-496 CE][223] salutes innumerable times in respect". The imperial court accepted this with acclamation. From then on it often sent envoys to present tribute.[224]

[219] "It is their custom to worship the Fire God and the God of Heaven": Here the God of Heaven and the Fire God are mentioned together. It is generally believed that they are gods of Zoroastrianism.

[220] "Their script is different from that of the Hu": According to some, this refers to the difference between the Persian and Indian scripts.[54]

[221] "The people often take their sisters as their wives and concubines": Zoroastrianism advocated consanguineous marriage.

[222] The presentation of tribute by Bosi during the reign-period of Shengui was recorded only once: according to the "Suzong ji" 肅宗紀 in *Weishu*, on the day *dingwei* 丁未 in the intercalary seventh month of the first year of the Shengui reign-period (518), the state of Bosi "sent an envoy to present tribute".

[223] Juhedu 居和多 should be Kavād I (r. 488-496, 498-531) of Sassanian Persia.

[224] The instances of Bosi presenting tribute to Wei, according to the basic annals of *Weishu*, were as follows: Prior to the reign-period of Shengui, in the tenth month of the first year of the Tai'an 太安 reign-period (455), on the day *wuchen* 戊辰 in the eighth month of the second year of the Heping reign-period (461), according to "Gaozong ji"; on the day *xinhai* 辛亥 in the third month of the first year of the Tian'an reign-period (466), and on the day of *xinchou* in the fourth month of the second year in the Huangxing 皇興 reign-period (468), according to "Xianzu ji" 顯祖紀; in the second month of the first year of the Chengming 承明 reign-period (476), according to "Gaozu ji (shang)"; on the day *xinwei* 辛未 in the tenth month of the fourth year of the Zhengshi 正始 reign-period (507), according to "Shizong ji" 世宗紀; on the day *jiawu* 甲午 in the fourth month of the second year of the Xiping 熙平 reign-period (517), according to "Suzong ji" 肅宗. After the Shengui reign-period, on the day *dingsi* 丁巳 in the intercalary fifth month of the second year of the Zhengguang reign-period (521), and on the day *renzi* 壬子 in the seventh month of the third year in the Zhengguang reign-period (522).

伏盧尼[225]國，都伏盧尼城[226]，在波斯國北，去代二萬七千三百二十里[227]。累石爲城。[228]東有大河南流，中有鳥，其形似人，亦有如橐駝、馬者，皆有翼，常居水中，出水便死。[229]城北有云尼山[230]，出銀、珊瑚、琥珀[231]，多師子。[232]

The state of Fuluni 伏盧尼[225]: Its capital is located in the town of Fuluni[226] to *the north of Bosi, and it is 27,320 li* [227] from Dai. *The town walls were built by piling* up stones.[228] *To the east there is a large river flowing south in which live birds whose* shape is like that of a man, and also animals like horses or camels, all of them with wings, that always stay in the water; if they were to come out of the water they would die.[229] North of the town are the Yunni 云尼 Mountains [230], which produce silver, coral, and amber [231], and abound in lions.[232]

[225] "Fuluni" 伏盧尼 [biuək-la-niei], according to some, is the transcription of Fūrūmi (meaning, the Roman territories), an Iranian corruption of Rūmi.[55]

[226] The town of Fuluni, according to some scholars, is located at Antiochia in Syria.[56]

[227] "27,320 *li*" (Distance 26): The distance from Fuluni to Dai via the seat of the king's government of Bosi; i.e., the aggregate of 3,100 *li*, the equivalent of thirty-one days' journey from the town of Fuluni to the seat of the king's government of Bosi, and 24,228 *li*, the distance from the latter to Dai. The figure "27,320" should be a corruption of "27,328".

[228] "The town walls were built by piling up stones": Cf. the record in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hou-Han shu*: "The state of Tiaozhi: It has its town situated on a hill. The town is more than 40 *li* in circumference". In other words, it is also likely that Fuluni is Seleucia, the outer harbor of Antiochia.[57]

[229] The large river here refers to the Euphrates River. The reference to birds that live in the river, according to some, evokes a legend about ostriches.[58]

[230] The Yunni 云尼 Mountains, according to some, refers to the Amanus Mountains. Since Fuluni should be Antiochia in Syria, and another name for Antiochia was Yunani, the "Yunni" Mountains may have been named after it.[59]

[231] "*Hupo*" 虎魄 (amber) is first mentioned in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hou-Han shu*.

[232] According to the "Gaozong ji" 高宗紀 in *Weishu*, in the eleventh month of the second year of the Tai'an 太安 reign-period (456), the state of Pulan 普嵐 "sent an envoy to the court to present tribute"; in the fourth month of the sixth year of the Heping 和平 reign-period (465), "the state of Pulan presented a sword of great value". According to the "Xianzu ji" 顯祖紀 in *Weishu*, on the day *renzi* 壬子 in the ninth month of the first year of the Huangxing 皇興 reign-period (467), the state of Pulan "sent an envoy to present tribute". "Pulan" 普嵐 and "Fuluni" 伏盧尼 should be variant transcriptions of the same name.

色知顯[233]國，都色知顯城[234]，在悉萬斤西北，去代一萬二千九百四十里[235]，土平，多五果。

The state of Sezhixian 色知顯[233]: Its capital is located in the town of Sezhixian[234] to the northwest of Xiwanjin, and it is 12,940 *li* [235] from Dai. The terrain is flat and there is an abundance of the five fruits.

[233] "Sezhixian" 色知顯 [shiək-tie-xian], according to some, is an abbreviated transcription of [I]štixân.[60]

[234] The town of Sezhixian is generally believed to be located at Ištīkhan to the northwest of Samarkand, along the Ak-darya, an estuary of the Zarafshan River and between Katta Kurgan and Čiläk.

[235] "12,940 *li*" (Distance 27): The distance from Sezhixian to Dai via the seat of the king's government of Xiwanjin; i.e., the aggregate of 200 *li,* equivalent to two days' journey from the town of Sezhixian to the seat of the king's government of Xiwanjin, and 12,728 *li,* the distance between the latter and Dai. The figure "12,940" is a corruption of "12,928".

伽色尼[236]國，都伽色尼城[237]，在悉萬斤南，去代一萬二千九百里[238]。土出赤鹽[239]，多五果。[240]

The state of Jiaseni 伽色尼[236]: Its capital is located in the town of Jiaseni[237] to the south of Xiwanjin, and it is 12,900 *li* [238] from Dai. The soil produces red salt[239] and there is an abundance of the five fruits.[240]

[236] "Jiaseni" 伽色尼 [keai-shiək-niei] is generally regarded as the transcription of Kâšâna or Kâšâniya.

[237] The town of Jiaseni is generally believed to be Kešš, present-day Šahr-i-Sabz, located between Samarkand and Balkh.

[238] "12,900 *li*" (Distance 28): The distance from Jiaseni to Dai via the seat of the king's government of Xiwanjin; i.e., the aggregate of 200 *li*, equivalent to two days' journey from the town of Jiaseni to the seat of the king's government of Xiwanjin, and 12,728 *li*, the distance between the latter and Dai. The figure "12,900" should be the corruption of "12,928".

[239] The red salt 赤鹽 was produced in the Baïisun-tagh.[61]

[240] According to the "Shizong ji" 世宗紀 in *Weishu*, on the day *renyin* 壬寅 in the ninth month of the third year of the Yongping 永平 reign-period (510), the state of Jiaxiushani 伽秀沙尼 "sent an envoy to present tribute". "Jiaxiushani" 伽秀沙尼 should be the "Jiaseni" here.

薄知[241]國，都薄知城[242]，在伽色尼南，去代一萬三千三百二十里[243]。多五果。

The state of Bozhi 薄知[241]: Its capital is located in the town of Bozhi[242] to the south of Jiaseni, and it is 13,320 *li* [243] from Dai. There is an abundance of the five fruits.

[241] "Bozhi" 薄知 [bak-tie] is generally regarded as a transcription of Baχtri.

[242] The town of Bozhi should be located at Balkh.[62]

[243] "13,320 *li*" (Distance 29): The distance from the town of Bozhi to Dai via the seat of the king's government of Jiaseni; i.e., the aggregate of 400 *li*, equivalent to four days' journey from the town of Bozhi to the seat of the king's government of Jiaseni, and 12,928 *li,* the distance between the latter and Dai. The figure "13,320" should be a corruption of "13,328".

牟知[244]國，都牟知城[245]，在忸密西南，去代二萬二千九百二十里[246]。土平，禽獸草木類中國。

The state of Muzhi 牟知[244]: Its capital is located in the town of Muzhi[245] to the southwest of Niumi 忸密, and it is 22,920 *li* [246] from Dai. The terrain is flat. The birds, beasts, and vegetation [of this state] resemble those in the Middle Kingdom.

[244] The pronunciation of "Muzhi" 牟知 [miu-tie] is generally believed to be based on Vadi-vati.

[245] The town of Muzhi is believed by some to have been Betik to the right side of the Amu Darya.[63]

[246] "22,920 *li*" (Distance 30): The distance from the town of Muzhi to Dai via the seat of the king's government of Niumi; i.e., the aggregate of 100 *li*, equivalent to one day's journey from the town of Muzhi to the seat of the king's government of Niumi, and 22,828 *li*, the distance from the latter to Dai. The figure "22,920" should be a corruption of "22,928".

阿弗太汗[247]國，都阿弗太汗城[248]，在忸密西，去代二萬三千七百二十里[249]。土平，多五果。

The state of Afutaihan 阿弗太汗[247]: Its capital is located in the town of Afutaihan[248] to the west of Niumi, and it is distant by 23,720 *li* [249] from Dai. The terrain is flat and there is an abundance of the five fruits.

[247] "Afutaihan" 阿弗太汗 [a-piuət-that-han] is generally regarded as the transcription of Abdäl Tarkhan, a trace of the Yeda power which had entered the lower reaches of the Amu Darya.

[248] Some believe that the town of Afutaihan lay to the east of the state of Husimi 呼似密 (whose center was Gãrganj), and to the west of Niumi 忸密 (Bokhara); it should have been located near present-day Khiva, probably to its east.[64]

[249] "23,720 *li*" (Distance 31): The distance from the town of Afutaihan to Dai via the seat of the king's government of Niumi; i.e., the aggregate of 900 *li*, equivalent to nine days' journey from the town of Afutaihan to the seat of the king's government of Niumi, and 22,828 *li*, the distance between the latter and Dai. The figure "23,720" should be a corruption of "23,728".

呼似密[250]國，都呼似密城[251]，在阿弗太汗西，去代二萬四千七百里[252]。土平，出銀、琥珀，有師子，多五果。

The state of Husimi 呼似密[250]: Its capital is located in the town of Husimi[251] to the west of Afutaihan, and it is 24,700 *li* [252] from Dai . The terrain is flat and produces silver and amber. There are lions and an abundance of the five fruits.

[250] "Husimi" 呼似密 [xa-ziə-miet] is generally believed to be the transcription of Uvārazmi.

[251] The town of Husimi is generally believed to have been located in the lower reaches of the Amu Darya, whose center is Khiva.

[252] "24,700 *li*" (Distance 32): The distance from the town of Husimi to Dai via the seat of the king's government of Afutaihan; i.e., the aggregate of 1,000 *li*, equivalent to ten days' journey from the town of Husimi to the seat of the king's government of Afutaihan, and 23,728 *li*, the distance from the latter to Dai. The figure "24,700" is a corruption of "24,728".

諾色波羅[253]國，都波羅[254]城，在忸密南，去代二萬三千四百二十八里[255]。土平，宜稻麥，多五果。[256]

The state of Nuoseboluo 諾色波羅[253]: Its capital is located in the town of Boluo 波羅[254] to the south of Niumi, and it is 23,428 *li*[255] from Dai. The terrain is flat and suitable for rice and wheat. There is an abundance of the five fruits.[256]

[253] "Nuoseboluo" 諾色波羅 [nak-shiək-puai-la] is generally believed to be a transcription of Nakhshab or Nasaf.

[254] The town of Boluo 波羅 is generally believed to be present-day Nishapur in the northeastern border area of Iran.[65] "Boluo" 波羅 should be an abbreviated form of Nuoseboluo.

[255] "23,428 *li*" (Distance 33): The distance from the town of Boluo to Dai via the seat of the king's government of Niumi; i.e., the aggregate of 600 *li,* equivalent to six days' journey from the town of Boluo to the seat of the king's government of Niumi, and 22,828 *li*, the distance between the latter and Dai.

[256] According to the "Shizong ji" 世宗紀 in *Weishu*, on the day *jiazi* 甲子 in the ninth month of the fourth year of the Zhengshi 正始 reign-period (507), in the twelfth month of the second year in the Yongping 永平 reign-period (509), and on the day *jiayin* 甲寅 in the ninth month of the fourth year of the Yongping reign-period (511), the states of Poluo 婆羅 and Boluo 波羅 "sent envoys to present tribute". "Poluo" and "Boluo" could be abbreviations of "Nuoseboluo".

早伽至[257]國，都早伽至城[258]，在忸密西，去代二萬三千七百二十八里[259]。土平，少田植，取稻麥於隣國，有五果。

The state of Zaojiazhi 早伽至[257]: Its capital is located in the town of Zaojiazhi[258] to the west of Niumi, and it is 23,728 *li*[259] from Dai. The terrain is flat. Because there are few cultivated fields, they take rice and wheat from neighboring states. There are the five fruits.

[257] For "Zaojiazhi" 早伽至 [tsəu-keai-tjiet], the "Guoyi (er)" 國邑二 in the "Waichen (san)" 外臣三 section of *Cefu yuangui* 冊府元龜 (ch. 958) reads "Bijiazhi" 畢伽至 [piet-keai-tjiet], and the "Xi Rong (liu)" 西戎六 of the "Si Yi (yiba)" 四夷一八 section of *Taiping yulan* 太平御覽 reads

"Beijiazhi" 卑伽至 [pei-keai-tjiet]. Their meaning is yet to be determined.

[258] The town of Zaojiazhi is believed by some to be 900 *li* to the west of Niumi, and should be in Kara kum. According to the statement that "they take rice and wheat from neighboring states", it seems that the state was a barren land.[66]

[259] "23,728 *li*" (Distance 34): The distance from the town of Zaojiazhi to Dai via the seat of the king's government of Niumi; i.e., the aggregate of 900 *li*, equivalent to nine days' journey from the town of Zaojiazhi to the seat of the king's government of Niumi, and 22,828 *li*, the distance between the latter and Dai.

伽不單[260]國，都伽不單城[261]，在悉萬斤西北，去代一萬二千七百八十里[262]。土平，宜稻麥，有五果。

The state of Jiabudan 伽不單[260]: Its capital is located in the town of Jiabudan[261] to the northwest of Xiwanjin, and it is 12,780 *li* [262] from Dai. The terrain is flat and suitable for rice and wheat. There are the five fruits.

[260] Jiabudan 伽不單 [keai-piuə-tan] is generally believed to be a transcription of Kapūtānā (an old name for Gubdan). According to the "Suzong ji" 肅宗紀 in *Weishu*, on the day *jisi* 己巳 in the first month of the fourth year of the Yanchang 延昌 reign-period (515), the state of Jiabadan 伽拔但 "sent an envoy to present tribute". "Jiabadan" should be the "Jiabudan" here.

[261] The town of Jiabudan is generally believed to be present-day Gubdan (Gubdun), located to the north of Samarkand, along the hills of the Kodym Tau, in the valley of the Bulangghyr River.

[262] "12,780 *li*" (Distance 35): The distance from the town of Jiabudan to Dai via the seat of the king's government of Xiwanjin; i.e., the aggregate of 50 *li*, equivalent to half a day's journey from the town of Jiabudan to the seat of the king's government of Xiwanjin, and 12,728 *li,* the distance from the latter to Dai. The figure "12,780" should be an error for "12,778".

者舌國[263]，故康居國，在破洛那西北，去代一萬五千四百五十里[264]。太延三年，遣使朝貢，自是不絕。[265]

The state of Zheshe 者舌[263]: Formerly it was the state of Kangju 康居. It is located to the northwest of Poluona, and it is 15,450 *li* [264] from Dai. In the third year of the

Taiyan 太延 reign-period it sent an envoy to present tribute. From then on it unceasingly sent envoys.[265]

[263] The seat of the king's government of Zheshe 者舌 should be located in present-day Tashkent.

[264] "15,450 *li*" (Distance 36): The distance from the seat of the king's government of Zheshe via that of Poluona to Dai; i.e., the aggregate of 1,000 *li*, equivalent to ten days' journey from the seat of the king's government of Zheshe to that of Poluona, and 14,450 *li*, the distance between the latter and Dai.

[265] The instances of Zheshe presenting tribute to Wei, according to the basic annals of *Weishu*, are as follows: On the day *jiashen* 甲申 in the eleventh month of the third year of the Taiyan 太延 reign-period (437), when the state "presented a blood-sweating horse", and on the day *guiwei* 癸未 in the fifth month of the fifth year of the Taiyan reign-period (439), when the state again "presented a blood-sweating horse", according to "Shizu ji (shang)"; in the twelfth month of the eighth year of the Taiping Zhenjun reign-period (447), according to "Shizu ji (xia)"; in the sixth month of the first year of the Tai'an reign-period (455), according to "Gaozong ji"; and in the twelfth month of the third year of the Taihe 太和 reign-period (479), according to "Gaozu ji (shang)". With the exception of the entry for the third year of the Taiyan reign-period, all others have "Zheyi" 遮逸 or "Zhouyi" 州逸 in the place of Zheshe.

伽倍[266]國，故休密翕侯[267]。都和墨城[268]，在莎車西，去代一萬三千里[269]。人居山谷間。

The state of Jiabei 伽倍[266]: Formerly it was the *Xihou* of Xiumi 休密[267]. Its capital is located in the town of Hemo 和墨[268] to the west of Suoju 莎車, and it is 13,000 *li*[269] from Dai. The people live in its valleys.

[266] For "Jiabei" 伽倍, the basic annals read "Humi" 胡密. "Jiabei" 伽倍, "Humi" 胡密, "Xiumi" 休密, and "Hemo" 和墨 are all transcriptions of Kumidae.[67] According to the "Shizong ji" 世宗紀 in *Weishu*, on the day of *dinghai* 丁亥 in the first month of the second year of the Yongping reign-period (509), the state of Humi "sent envoys to present tribute".

[267] "The *Xihou* 翕侯 of Xiumi" is first seen in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu*.

[268] The town of Hemo 和墨 is located in the vicinity of present-day Sarik-Čaupan in the valleys

of Wakhan.

[269] "13,000 *li*" (Distance 37): The distance from the town of Hemo to Dai via the seat of the king's government of Suoju. The distance between the seat of king's government of Jiabei and that of Suoju is 1,400 *li*, which indicates that this figure and Distance 8 are based on different references.

折薛莫孫 [270] 國，故雙靡翕侯 [271]。都雙靡城 [272]，在伽倍西，去代一萬三千五百里 [273]。人居山谷間。

The state of Zhexuemosun 折薛莫孫[270]: Formerly it was the *Xihou* of Shuangmi 雙靡[271]. Its capital is located in the town of Shuangmi[272] to the west of Jiabei, and it is 13,500 *li* [273] from Dai. The people live in its valleys.

[270] "Zhexuemosun" 折薛莫孫 [tjiat-siat-mak-suən], according to some, is a transcription of Sad-i Mastuj.[68] According to the "Shizong ji" in *Weishu*, on the day *dingwei* 丁未 in the sixth month of the fourth year of the Zhengshi 正始 reign-period (507), and on the day *jiayin* 甲寅 in the ninth month of the fourth year of the Yongping 永平 reign-period (511), the state of Shemi 舍彌 presented tribute to Wei; according to the "Songzong ji" 肅宗紀 in *Weishu*, on the day *xinhai* 辛亥 in the fourth month of the first year of the Shengui reign-period (518), the state of Shemo 舍摩 presented tribute to Wei. "Shemi" and "Shemo" as well as "Shuangmi" 雙靡 are all variations in the transcription of the same name.

[271] "The *Xihou* of Shuangmi" 雙靡翕侯 is first mentioned in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu*. "Shuangmi" 雙靡 should be a transcription of Śyāmāka.[69]

[272] The town of Shuangmi is located between present-day Chitral and Mastuj.

[273] "13,500 *li*" (Distance 38): The distance from the town of Shuangmi to Dai via the seat of the king's government of Jiabei; i.e., the aggregate of 500 *li*, equivalent to five days' journey from the town of Shuangmi to the seat of the king's government of Jiabei, and 13,000 *li*, the distance between the latter and Dai.

鉗敦 [274] 國，故貴霜翕侯 [275]。都護澡城 [276]，在折薛莫孫西，去代一萬三千五百六十里 [277]。人居山谷間。

The state of Qiandun 鉗敦[274]: Formerly it was the *Xihou* of Guishuang 貴霜[275].

Its capital is located in the town of Huzao 護澡 [276] to the west of Zhexuemosun, and it is 13,560 *li* [277] from Dai. The people live in its valleys.

[274] "Qiandun" 鉗敦 [giam-tuən] is generally believed to be a transcription of Xandūd or Kundut.

[275] "The *Xihou* of Guishuang" 貴霜翕侯 is first mentioned in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu*.

[276] The town of Huzao 護澡 is located on the left side of the Āb-i Panja river to the west of present-day Wakhan. "Huzao" 護澡 and "Guishuang" are variant transcriptions of Kushan.[70]

[277] "13,560 *li*" (Distance 39): This is the distance from the town of Huzao to Dai via the seat of the king's government of Zhexuemosun.

弗敵沙 [278] 國，故肹頓翕侯 [279]。都薄茅城 [280]，在鉗敦西，去代一萬三千六百六十里 [281]。居山谷間。

The state of Fudisha 弗敵沙[278]: Formerly it was the *Xihou* of Bidun 肹頓[279]. Its capital is located in the town of Bomao 薄茅 [280] to the west of Qiandun, and it is 13,660 *li* [281] from Dai. The people live in its valleys.

[278] "Fudisha" 弗敵沙 [piuət-dyek-shea] is generally believed to be a transcription of Badakšan.[71] According to the "Shizu ji (xia)" in *Weishu*, in the seventh month of the tenth year of the Taiping Zhenjun reign-period (449), the state of Futusha 浮圖沙 "sent envoys to present tribute". "Futusha" was probably "Fudisha".

[279] "The *Xihou* of Bidun" 肹頓翕侯 is first mentioned in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu*.

[280] The town of Bidun is located east of present-day Faizabad.

[281] "13,660 *li*" (Distance 40): The distance from the town of Bomao to Dai via the seat of the king's government of Qiandun; i.e., the aggregate of 100 *li*, equivalent to one day's journey from the town of Bomao and the seat of the king's government of Qiandun, and 13,560 *li*, the distance between the latter and Dai.

閻浮謁 [282] 國，故高附翕侯 [283]。都高附城 [284]，在弗敵沙南，去代一萬三千七百六十里 [285]。居山谷間。

The state of Yanfuye 閻浮謁[282]: Formerly it was the *Xihou* of Gaofu 高附[283]. Its

capital is located in the town of Gaofu[284] to the south of Fudisha, and is 13,760 *li* [285] from Dai. The people live in its valleys.

[282] "Yanfuye" 閻浮謁 [jiam-biu-iat] is a transcription of Yambakān, an old name of Hamakān.[72]

[283] "The *Xihou* of Gaofu" 高附翕侯 is first mentioned in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu*.

[284] The town of Gaofu is located in the valley of the present-day Kokcha River.

[285] "13,760 *li*" (Distance 41): The distance from the town of Gaofu to Dai via the seat of the king's government of Fudisha; i.e., the aggregate of 100 *li*, equivalent to one day's journey from the town of Gaofu to the seat of the king's government of Fudisha, and 13,660 *li*, the distance between the latter and Dai.

大月氏國[286]，都盧監氏城[287]，在弗敵沙西，去代一萬四千五百里[288]。北與蠕蠕接，數爲所侵，[289]遂西徙都薄羅城[290]，去弗敵沙二千一百里[291]。其王寄多羅[292]勇武，遂興師越大山[293]，南侵北天竺[294]，自乾陁羅[295]以北五國盡役屬之。世祖時，其國人商販京師，自云能鑄石爲五色瑠璃，於是採礦山中，於京師鑄之。既成，光澤乃美於西方來者，乃詔爲行殿，容百餘人，光色映徹，觀者見之，莫不驚駭，以爲神明所作。[296]自此中國瑠璃遂賤，人不復珍之。

The state of the Da Yuezhi 大月氏[286]: Its capital is located in the town of Lujianshi 盧監氏[287] to the west of Fudisha, and it is 14,500 *li* [288] from Dai. In the north it adjoins the [territory] of the Ruru. They were often invaded by the Ruru[289], [so that] subsequently they moved their capital west to the town of Boluo 薄羅[290], which is 2,100 *li* [291] from Fudisha. Its king Jiduoluo 寄多羅[292], who was brave and warlike, thereupon raised an army, crossed the great mountains[293] and, going southwards, invaded Northern Tianzhu 天竺[294]. The five states north of Qiantuoluo 乾陁羅[295] all became subject to him. During the reign of Shizu their merchants came to the national capital. They claimed they could cast rock into colored *liuli* 瑠璃. They thereupon mined [suitable quantities of the proper kinds of rock] from the mountains [and brought them] to the national capital where they cast them. After the [*liuli*] was made, its gloss was more beautiful than that imported from the West. Then they were summoned to proceed to the royal audience hall which could hold over one hundred men. The glitter was dazzling and the spectators were awestruck, mistaking it for the aura of the gods.[296] However, *liuli* was

later considered common in the Middle Kingdom, and people no longer valued it.

[286] The state of the Da Yuezhi refers to the Guishuang 貴霜 (Kushāns) under Jiduoluo 寄多羅 (Kidāra). It is referred to as the state of the Da Yuezhi here because the dynasties in the Central Plains since the Eastern Han had retained Guishuang's old name, i.e., the Da Yuezhi.

[287] The town of Lujianshi 盧監氏 (the town of Shengjianshi 賸監氏 in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Beishi* 北史); it has been suspected that "Lu" 盧 and "Sheng" 賸 are redundant, and both should be the town of Jianshi 監氏 in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu*.[73]

[288] "14,500 *li*" (Distance 42.1): The distance from the town of Lujianshi to Dai via the seat of the king's government of Fudisha. The figure is actually the aggregate of the distance between the seat of the king's government of the Da Yuezhi and Chang'an in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu*, and that between Chang'an and Dai, 1,900 *li*. The distance between the seat of the king's government of the Da Yuezhi and Chang'an, as is recorded in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu* available to the editor of this memoir, was "12,600 *li*".

[289] After Khan Shelun 社崙, the influence of the Ruru continued to press towards the west, and Yeda 嚈噠 in the valley of the Amu Darya was subject to them for some time. Since the Ruru were able to control Yeda, it was inevitable that they invaded the land of the Kushāns in Tukhārestān. This probably occurred during the reign of Khan Wuti 吳提.

[290] The town of Boluo 薄羅 [bak-la] should be a transcription of Bāhūlaka, referring to the same place as "Lujianshi".

[291] "2,100 *li*" (Distance 42.2): The distance from the town of Boluo to the seat of the king's government of Fudisha.

[292] Jiduoluo 寄多羅 is Kidāra on the coins from India. The Kushāns under Kidāra are historically referred to as the Kidāra Kushāns.[74] The information about the Kidāra Kushāns was probably based on the report of Dong Wan and Gao Ming after they had returned to the Northern Wei.[75] That is to say, as late as 437, the territories of the Kidāra Kushāns still spanned both sides of the Hindūkush Mountains. Although the state faced frequent incursions and harassment from the Ruru, its power did not decline, and its king, Kidāra, had the resources to cross the Hindūkush and conquer five states north of Qiantuoluo 乾陀羅. Probably soon after Dong and Gao's return, King Kidāra gave up Tukhārestān, i.e., the north of the state of the Da Yuezhi in this memoir, when facing invasion from the Yeda.

[293] "The great mountains" here refers to the Hindūkush.

[294] Northern Tianzhu 北天竺 refers to the valley of the Indus River.

[295] "Qiantuoluo" 乾陁羅 [kan(gian)-dai-la] is generally regarded as a transcription of Gandhāra.

[296] "They claimed they could cast rock into colored *liuli*...": This indicates the West had mastered the technique of glass-making.[76] In the context of the records about the production of *liuli* (琉璃 or 瑠璃) in Da Qin and Bosi, we know that some areas in the Western Regions, including those of the Kidāra Kushāns, had mastered advanced technique of glass making.

安息國[297]，都蔚搜城[298]，在大月氏西北，去代二萬一千五百里[299]。

The state of Anxi 安息[297]: Its capital is located in the town of Weisou 蔚搜[298] to the northwest of the Da Yuezhi, and it is 21,500 *li*[299] from Dai.

[297] The state of Anxi 安息, according to some, is the same as the state of An 安 in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Suishu* 隋書: "The state of An: It is the state of Anxi of Han times".[77] Others believe that it should refer to Merv.[78] A third opinion is that the state of Anxi was actually the remnants of the power of the Parthian Empire of Persia, and that "Weisou" 蔚搜 is a transcription of Oxus, since in the "Heshui (er)" 河水二 section of *Shuijing zhu* 水經注 it is stated, "The river reaches Anxi and pours into the Leizhu 雷翥 Sea". The so-called Leizhu Sea refers to the Aral Sea, but Li Daoyuan 酈道元 did not differentiate between the Aral and the Caspian, referring to them both as the Leizhu Sea.[79] However, it is obviously incorrect for the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Suishu* to call the state of An "the state of Anxi of Han times", and it should not be seen as lending support to the view that the state of Anxi is the state of An. If the "Anxi" here referred to Merv, its capital should have been Mulu 木鹿 (Mōuru), so this view is not well-founded, even though Merv was referred to as "Little Anxi". With all this considered, we conclude that "Anxi" 安息 [an-siək] is probably an alternative transcription of Wakhsh. Its people were a branch of the Sai, active in the valley of the Amu Darya and to the northwest of Balkh.

[298] The town of Weisou 蔚搜: In light of the records on the king of Gui Sai 嬀塞 in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hou-Han shu*, it seems that we can regard "Weisou" 蔚搜 [iuət-shiu] and "Gui Sai" 嬀塞 [kiua-sək] as variant transcriptions of the same name, i.e., Wakhsh.

[299] "21,500 *li*" (Distance 43): The distance from the seat of the king's government of Anxi via that of the Da Yuezhi to Dai; i.e., the aggregate of 7,000 *li*, equivalent to seventy days' journey from the seat of the king's government of Anxi to that of the Da Yuezhi, and 14,500 *li*, the distance between the latter and Dai. Thus, although there have been diverse opinions among academic circles, scholars

still acknowledge that, so far as the location of the state is concerned, the state of An in this memoir is the same as the state of Anxi in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu*. That is to say, as far as the location of the state is concerned, the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Weishu* follows previous histories.

[條支國[300]，在安息西，去代二萬九千四百里[301]。]

[The state of Tiaozhi 條支[300]: It is located to the west of Anxi, and is 29,400 *li*[301] from Dai.]

[300] The location of the state of Tiaozhi 條支 here is the same as in the account of it in *Hou-Han shu*; in both records it refers to present-day Syria. The record on Tiaozhi is not included in the current edition of the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Weishu*, because Li Yanshou had it deleted.

[301] "29,400 *li*" (Distance 44): The distance from the seat of the king's government of Tiaozhi via that of Anxi to Dai; that is, the aggregate of 7,900 *li*, equivalent to seventy-nine days' journey from the seat of the king's government of Tiaozhi to that of Anxi, and 21,500 *li*, the distance between the latter and Dai.

大秦國[302]，一名黎軒[303]，都安都城[304]。從條支西渡海曲[305]一萬里[306]，去代三萬九千四百里[307]。其海傍出，猶勃海也，而東西與勃海相望，蓋自然之理。[308]地方六千里，居兩海[309]之間，其地平正，(人)[民]居星布。其王都城分爲五城，各方五里，周六十里。王居中城。城置八臣以主四方，而王城亦置八臣，分主四城。若謀國事及四方有不決者，則四城之臣集議王所，王自聽之，然後施行。[310]王三年一出觀風化，人有冤枉詣王訴訟者，當方之臣小則讓責，大則黜退，令其舉賢人以代之。[311]其人端正長大，衣服車旗擬儀中國，故外域謂之大秦。[312]其土宜五穀桑麻，人務蠶田[313]，多璆琳[314]、琅玕[315]、神龜[316]、白馬朱鬣[317]、明珠[318]、夜光璧[319]。東南通交趾[320]，又水道通益州[321]，永昌郡[322]多出異物。大秦西、海水之西有河，河西南流。河西有南、北山，山西有赤水，西有白玉山。玉山西有西王母山，玉爲堂云。[323]從安息西界循海曲，亦至大秦，回萬餘里。[324]于彼國觀日月星辰，無異中國，而前史[325]云條支西行百里日入處，失之遠矣。

The state of Da Qin 大秦[302]: It is also called Lixuan 黎軒[303]. Its capital is located

in the city of Andu 安都[304]. From Tiaozhi one goes west across the sea, winding around[305] 10,000 *li* [306] [and reaches the city of Andu]. It is 39,400 *li* [307] from Dai. The sea comes out on one side like the Bohai 勃海 Gulf. This sea and Bohai face each other from [the] eastern and western [ends of the land mass, which] is a natural configuration.[308] Its area extends for 6,000 *li*, and is situated between two seas[309]. Its land is flat and regular, with civilian residential housing scattered all over like stars in the sky. The capital city of the king is divided into five cities, each five *li* square, and 60 *li* in circumference. The king dwells in the central city. Each city has eight officials to rule over the four quarters [of the state]; but in the royal city eight high officials have also been established to rule over the four quarters [of the country]. The royal city has also established eight officials who divide up the rule of the four cities. If a discussion of affairs of state or of the four quarters [of the state] does not result in a decision, then the officials of the four cities meet at the king's residence to discuss [the matter]. Only after the king himself has heard the matter is any action taken.[310] Every three years the king goes out to see how the people are behaving. If there is a complaint to the king about wrongdoing, the responsible official of the particular regional quarter is admonished if it is a small matter, but if it is a serious matter, he is degraded and dismissed, with an order to appoint a worthy man in his place.[311] The people are regular-featured and tall, with clothes, chariots and banners resembling those of the Middle Kingdom; thus other states call it Da Qin 大秦 [Great Qin].[312] The soil is suitable for the five grains, mulberry, and hemp. The people work at sericulture and agriculture.[313] There are lots of *qiulin* 璆琳 [314] [a kind of jadestone], *langgan* 琅玕 [315] [a kind of pearl-like stone], tortoise shell[316], white horses with red manes[317], the full-moon pearl[318], and the jewel which shines at night [319]. To the southeast it communicates with Jiaozhi 交趾[320], and there is also a sea route communicating with Yizhou 益州[321]. That is why Yongchang 永昌 Prefecture[322] produces many exotica [from Da Qin]. It is said that to the west of the water of the sea and west of Da Qin is a river, which flows southwest. To the west of the river are mountains running north-south. To the west of the mountains is the Red Water. To the west [of the Red Water] is the White Jade Mountain. To the west of the [White] Jade Mountain is the mountain of the Queen Mother of the West, where a hall is made of jade.[323] From the western border of Anxi, following the sea bend, one also reaches Da Qin, going around for 10,000 *li* [324]. Observing the sun, moon, stars and

constellations from that state is no different than from the Middle Kingdom; thus when former histories[325] state that one travels for one hundred *li* from Tiaozhi west to reach the place where the sun sets, they are very much deluded.

[302] The earliest records on Da Qin are found in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hou-Han shu* and the "Xi Rong zhuan" in *Weilüe*; in both sources, Da Qin refers to the Roman Empire.[80] The records about Da Qin here are mostly copied and altered from former histories. In the period of the Northern Wei, the Roman Empire had already been replaced by the Empire of Byzantium, but there are no records about Byzantium in this memoir, which means that even to say that the account about Da Qin is new wine in old wineskins is an overstatement.[81]

[303] "It is also called Lixuan": This is merely copied from earlier histories. The confusion between Da Qin and Lixuan essentially arises as a result of the annexation of Lixuan, i.e., Ptolemaic Egypt, into the Roman Empire.

[304] "Andu" 安都 [an-ta] should be a transcription of Antiochia; it refers to the town of Angu, i.e., the town of Antiochia in Syria,[82] because Syria had been a Roman colony, and the town of Antiochia was the capital of the area. The reason for this is similar to that occasioning the belief that "It [Da Qin] is also called Lixuan."

[305] "*Hai qu*" 海曲 refers to the gulfs and bays in the Mediterranean.

[306] "10,000 *li*" (Distance 45.1): The distance from the seat of the king's government of Tiaozhi to the town of Andu by crossing the gulfs and bays in the Mediterranean. This memoir states that the capital of Da Qin is the town of Andu, and then states that Da Qin is 10,000 *li* to the west of Tiaozhi—these statements are contradictory.

[307] "39,400 *li*" (45.2): The distance from the town of Andu to Dai via the seat of the king's government of Tiaozhi; i.e., the aggregate of 10,000 *li*, the distance between the town of Andu and the seat of the king's government of Tiaozhi, and 29,400 *li*, the distance between the seat of the king's government of Tiaozhi and Dai.

[308] "The sea comes out…": The "sea" here is the Mediterranean. Tiaozhi and Da Qin are located to the east and the west of the Mediterranean respectively, and face each other from east and west.

[309] The state of Da Qin "is situated between two seas": This is copied from the record in the "Xi Rong zhuan" of *Weilüe*, among others: The state of Da Qin "lies to the west of the great sea which is west of Anxi and Tiaozhi…. To the west, there is also a great sea".

[310] "The capital city of the king is divided into five cities": This is modeled after the statement in the "Xi Rong zhuan" of *Weilüe*: "The king has five palaces", among others.

[311] "Every three years the king goes out to see how the people are behaving…": This is no more than an elaboration of the writings in the "Shun dian" 舜典 (The Canon of Shun) of *Shangshu* 尚書: "Every three years there was an examination of merits, and after three examinations the undeserving were degraded, and the deserving promoted. By this arrangement the duties of all the departments were fully discharged". (Bk. I, ch. V, v. 27; trans. James Legge.) This, however, was not the reality at that time.[83]

[312] "Thus other states call it Da Qin…": This indicates that to the people of other states, the culture of Rome was comparable to that of Han. It is true that "the people are regular-featured and tall", but the statement that their "clothes, chariots and banners resemble those of the Middle Kingdom" is mostly misinformation.[84]

[313] "The soil is suitable for the five grains, mulberry, and hemp …": This is copied from earlier histories, and not necessarily information obtained in the Northern Wei, but it is objectively an accurate account. The people in the Mediterranean area learned the technique of sericulture in the reign of Justinianus I (r. 527-565). The "hemp" here refers to linen (*Linum usitatissimum*)—in the Mediterranean area people in ancient times wove it into fabrics, which are different from those made of hemp (*Cannabis sativa*) in traditional China.[85]

[314] *Qiulin* 璆琳 is seen in the "Xi Rong zhuan" of *Weilüe*.

[315] *Langgan* 琅玕 is seen in the "Xi Rong zhuan" of *Weilüe*.

[316] *Shengui* 神龜 is seen in the "Xi Rong zhuan" of *Weilüe*.

[317] "White horses with red manes" 白馬朱鬣 is seen in the "Xi Rong zhuan" of *Weilüe*.[86]

[318] For *Mingzhu* 明珠, the "Xi Rong zhuan" of *Weilüe* reads *mingyue zhu* 明月珠 (the full-moon pearl).

[319] *Yeguang bi* 夜光璧 ("the jewel which shines at night") is seen in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hou-Han shu*.

[320] Jiaozhi 交趾 was a prefecture, whose seat of government was to the northwest of present-day Hanoi.

[321] Yizhou 益州 was a prefecture, whose seat of government was to the east of present-day Jinning 晉寧, Yunnan 雲南 Province.

[322] The seat of the Yongchang prefecture was to the northeast of present-day Baoshan 保山, Yunnan Province.

[323] "It is said that to the west of the water of the sea and west of Da Qin is a river…": The

account hereafter is only legend or hearsay. There is no way to verify this account.

[324] "From the western border of Anxi, following the sea bend, one also reaches Da Qin, going around 10,000 *li*": This follows the account in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hou-Han shu*. However, "the western border of Anxi" refers to Syria, which is different from what "Anxi" means in this memoir.

[325] The "former histories" 前史 refers to the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu*: "If you travel by water westward from Tiaozhi for more than a hundred days you draw near the place where the sun sets".

阿鉤羌[326]國，在莎車西南，[327]去代一萬三千里[328]。國西有縣度山[329]，其間四百里中，往往有棧道，下臨不測之淵，人行以繩索相持而度，因以名之。土有五穀諸果。市用錢爲貨。居止立宮室。有兵器。土出金珠。

The state of Agou Qiang 阿鉤羌[326]: It is located to the southwest of Suoju 莎車[327], and it is 13,000 *li*[328] from Dai. There are the Suspended Crossing Mountains[329] to the west of it, extending for 400 *li* with frequent plank ways overhanging unfathomable abysses, across which travelers must pull themselves on ropes. Thus it is named [Suspended Crossing]. The soil produces the five grains, and various sorts of fruit. In the markets goods are paid for with coins. [Its people] live a settled life in houses and possess weapons. The soil produces gold and pearls.

[326] Agou Qiang 阿鉤羌 is one branch of the Qiang 羌, possibly a result of the merger of the Argippaei and the Qiang. "Agou" 阿鉤 [a-ko] and "Hujian" 呼犍 in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu* seem to be variant transcriptions of the same name. Another view is that "Agou" means "ice," a transcription of "*yikh*" in Wakhan, "*yakh*" in Persian, "*yekh*", "*yikh*", or "*ikh*" in Osset.[87]

[327] The state of Agou Qiang should have been located in present-day Baltistan in the Pamirs.

[328] "13,000 *li*" (Distance 46): The distance from the seat of the king's government of Agou Qiang to Dai via the seat of the king's government of Suoju.

[329] "The Suspended Crossing Mountains" 縣度山 is the "Suspended Crossing" 縣度 in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu*.

波路國，在阿鉤羌西北，[330]去代一萬三千九百里[331]。其地濕熱，有蜀馬，土平。物産國俗與阿鉤羌同。

The state of Bolu 波路: It is located to the northwest of Agou Qiang, [330] and it is 13,900 *li* [331] from Dai. The country is damp and hot, and there are horses from Shu. The terrain is flat. The products and customs resemble those in the state of Agou Qiang.

[330] The state of Bolu 波路 was located in the valley of the Gilgit River, to the northwest of Baltistan and Kashmir. According to the "Shizong ji" 世宗紀 in *Weishu*, in the third year of the Jingming 景明 reign-period (502), the state of Bulun 不崙 "sent an envoy to present tribute"; moreover, on the day *dingchou* 丁丑 in the twelfth month of the fourth year of the Zhengshi 正始 reign-period (507), the state of Bolun 鉢崙 "sent an envoy to present tribute". "Bulun" and "Bolun" are probably "Bolu" in this memoir.

[331] "13,900 *li*" (Distance 47): The distance from the seat of the king's government of Bolu via that of Agou Qiang to Dai; i.e., the aggregate of 900 *li*, equivalent to nine days' journey from the seat of the king's government of Bolu to that of Agou Qiang, and 13,000 *li*, the distance between the latter and Dai.

小月氏國 [332]，都富樓沙城 [333]。其王本大月氏王寄多羅子也。寄多羅爲匈奴所逐，[334] 西徙後令其子守此城，因號小月氏焉。在波路西南，去代一萬六千六百里 [335]。先居西平、張掖之間，被服頗與羌同。其俗以金銀錢爲貨。隨畜牧移徙，亦類匈奴。[336] 其城東十里有佛塔，周三百五十步，高八十丈。自佛塔初建，計至武定八年，八百四十二年，所謂" 百丈佛圖" [337] 也。

The state of the Xiao Yuezhi 小月氏[332]: Its capital is located in the town of Fulousha 富樓沙[333]. Its king was originally a son of the king of the Da Yuezhi 大月氏, Jiduoluo 寄多羅. When Jiduoluo moved west under pressure of the Xiongnu[334], he ordered his son to hold this town; hence they are called the Xiao Yuezhi. [Its capital] is located to the southwest of Bolu, and is 15,600 *li* [335] from Dai. They formerly lived in the region between Xiping 西平 and Zhangye 張掖, and in their manner of dress they considerably resemble the Qiang. As to their customs, they have money made of gold and silver, and they move around following their herds of cattle – [in this respect] they also resemble the Xiongnu.[336] At a distance of ten *li* east of the capital there is a Buddhist pagoda, the circumference of which measures 350 paces; its height is 800 *zhang* 丈. It has been calculated that from the time that the pagoda was founded till the eighth year of Wuding 武定 reign-

period [550 CE] 842 years have elapsed. It is called the "Hundred *zhang* Pagoda[337]".

[332] The state of the Xiao Yuezhi 小月氏 refers to the Kidāra Kushāns who migrated south as a result of attacks launched by the Xiongnu, i.e., Yeda. The king, Kidāra, migrated to the west under the pressure of the Xiongnu, and ordered his son to defend the town of Fulousha. The situation, according to the editors of *Weishu*, was similar to that in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu*, where the Da Yuezhi were moving to faraway places in the face of Xiongnu attacks, and "the remaining small group [of the Yuezhi] who were unable to leave sought protection among the Qiang tribes of the Southern Mountains and were termed the Xiao Yuezhi" (Hulsewé and Loewe, *China in Central Asia*, p. 121). Thus, they called the remaining group of the Kidāra Kushāns who remained in Fulousha the "state of the Xiao Yuezhi".[88] The remnant Kidāra Kushāns who stayed south of the Hindūkush Mountains, i.e., the Xiao Yuezhi, could have been subject to the Yeda earlier than 455, but they, like the many smaller states subject to the Yeda, had a measure of autonomy, which is why the name of the state can still be seen in the Northern Wei's records on the tribute missions down to the first year of the Taihe reign-period (477).[89] According to the "Gaozong ji" in *Weishu*, in the fifth month of the fifth year of the Tai'an reign-period (459), "the state of Juchang 居常 sent an envoy to the court to present tribute"; in the tenth month of the first year in the Heping 和平 reign-period (460), "the king of Juchang presented three trained elephants". "Juchang" 居常 is a transcription of Kushan, i.e., the state of the Xiao Yuezhi founded by the son of the king of the Da Yuezhi, Kidāra. According to the "Gaozu ji (shang)" in *Weishu*, on the day *gengzi* 庚子 in the ninth month of the first year of the Taihe reign-period (477), "Juduoluo 車多羅 ... and other states sent envoys to present tribute". "Juduoluo" is an alternative transcription of Jiduoluo (Kidāra), referring also to the Xiao Yuezhi. According to the "Shizong ji" in *Weishu*, on the day *yihai* 乙亥 in the sixth month of the fourth year of the Yongping reign-period (511) and on the day *xinwei* 辛未 in the eighth month, the state of Buliusha 不流沙 sent envoys to present tribute. "Buliusha" 不流沙 could also be a transliteration of "Fulousha".

[333] The town of Fulousha 富樓沙 is generally believed to be located in present-day Peshawar. "Fulousha" 富樓沙 [piuək-lo-shea] is a transcription of Puruṣapura.

[334] The "Xiongnu" here refers to the Yeda. "When Jiduoluo moved west under pressure of the Xiongnu...": This refers to the expulsion of the Kidāra Kushāns from Tukhārestān by the Yeda.[90]

[335] "15,600 *li*" (Distance 48): The distance from the town of Fulousha to Dai via the seat of the king's government of Bolu; i.e., the aggregate of 2,700 *li*, equivalent to twenty-seven days' journey from the town of Fulousha to the seat of the king's government of Bolu, and 13,900 *li*, the distance

from the latter to Dai.

[336] "They formerly lived in the region…": The text hereafter is inserted by the editor of this memoir based on previous knowledge, not on the actual situation in the area of Qiantuoluo. The statement that "They formerly lived in the region between Xiping and Zhangye" was based on the *Shisan zhou zhi* 十三州志 by Kan Yin 闞駰; the statement that "in their manner of dress they considerably resemble the Qiang" is from the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hou-Han shu*; the statement that "they move around following their herds of cattle – [in this respect] they also resemble the Xiongnu" is based on the text of the "Xiyu zhuan" in *Hanshu*. Only the sentence that "they have money made of gold and silver" is possibly a reflection of the reality at that time.[91]

[337] The "Hundred *zhang* Pagoda" 百丈佛圖 should be the pagoda in Qiantuoluo mentioned in this memoir.

罽賓國，都善見城[338]，在波路西南，去代一萬四千二百里[339]。居在四山中。其地東西八百里，南北三百里。地平溫和。有苜蓿、雜草、奇木、檀、槐、梓、竹。種五穀，糞園田。地下濕，生稻。冬食生菜。其人工巧，雕文、刻鏤、織罽。有金銀銅錫以爲器物。市用錢。他畜與諸國同。[340]每使朝獻。[341]

The state of Jibin 罽賓: Its capital is located in the town of Shanjian 善見[338] to the southwest of Bolu, and it is 14,200 *li*[339] from Dai. The town is surrounded by mountains. The distance from east to west extends for more than 800 *li*, from south to north for 300 *li*. The land is flat and the climate is temperate. There is lucerne, with a variety of vegetation and rare trees, sandalwood, oaks, catalpa, and bamboo. [The inhabitants] grow the five field crops, and they manure their orchards and arable land. The land is low and damp, producing rice; fresh vegetables are eaten in winter. The inhabitants are skillful at decorative work, engraving and the art of inlay, as well as at weaving woolens. There is gold, silver, copper, and tin with which they make utensils. They have markets, in which coins are used. The other stock animals are the same as those of the various other states.[340] [From then on] it often sent envoys to present tribute.[341]

[338] The town of Shanjian 善見, according to one opinion, is a literal translation of "Sudarśana" in Sanskrit (the center of the heaven of thirty-three gods).[92] Since the state of Jibin is Kashmir, the

town of Shanjian should be located in present-day Srinagar.

[339] "14,200 *li*" (Distance 49): The distance from the town of Shanjian to Dai via the seat of the king's government of Bolu; i.e., the aggregate of 300 *li*, equivalent to three days' journey from the town of Shanjian to the seat of the king's government of Bolu, and 13,900 *li*, the distance between the latter and Dai.

[340] The text beginning with "The land is flat and the climate is temperate" is copied from the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu* by the editor, who did not know that the geographical features of Jibin in the Western Han and in the era of the Northern Wei were radically different. The "Jibin" in the Western Han is Gandhāra, whereas the "Jibin" in the Northern Wei is Kashmir.

[341] The instances of Jibin presenting tribute to Wei are recorded in the basic annals of *Weishu* as follows: in the first month of the first year of the Zhengping 正平 reign-period (451), according to "Shizu ji (xia)"; on the day *jiawu* 甲午 in the twelfth month of the second year of the Xing'an 興安 reign-period (453), according to "Gaozong ji"; in the third year of the Jingming 景明 reign-period (502), and on the day *xinmao* 辛卯 in the seventh month of the first year of the Yongping 永平 reign-period (508), according to "Shizong ji"; and on the day *guichou* 癸丑 in the first month and on the day *yichou* 乙丑 in the seventh month of the second year of the Xiping reign-period (517), according to "Suzong ji."

吐呼羅[342]國，去代一萬二千里[343]。東至范陽[344]國，西至悉萬斤國，中間相去二千里[345]；南至連山，不知名；北至波斯國，中間相去一萬里[346]。國中有薄提[347]城，周帀六十里。城南有西流大水，名漢樓河[348]。土宜五穀，有好馬、駝、騾。其王曾遣使朝貢。[349]

The state of Tuhuluo 吐呼羅[342]: It is 12,000 *li*[343] from Dai. To the east one reaches the state of Fanyang 范陽[344], to the west one reaches the state of Xiwanjin, and between them the distance is 2,000 *li*[345]. To the south is a chain of mountains, the name of which is not known. To the north is the state of Bosi at a distance of 10,000 *li*[346]. There is the town of Boti 薄提[347] in the state, which is 60 *li* in circumference. To the south of the town there is a large river, which flows west, named the Hanlou 漢樓 River[348]. The soil is suitable for the five grains, and there are fine horses, camels and mules. The king sent an envoy to present tribute.[349]

[342] "Tuhuluo" 吐呼羅 [tha-xa-la] is generally regarded as a transcription of Tukhāra. It is located in the valley of the Amu Darya.

[343] "12,000 *li*" (Distance 50.1): The distance from the town of Boti in the state of Tuhuluo to Dai; the route by which the journey is taken is unknown. The town of Boti is actually the same place as the town of Lujianshi 盧監氏. The figure was the result of an actual survey in the Northern Wei, so it was different from Distance 42.1.

[344] "Fanyang" 范陽 [biuam-jiang] is generally regarded as a transcription of Bamiyan.

[345] "2,000 *li*" (Distance 50.2): The distance between Fanyang and the state of Xiwanjin.

[346] "10,000 *li*" (Distance 50.3): The distance from the "chain of mountains" to the south of Tuhuluo to the state of Bosi.

[347] "Boti" 薄提 [bak-dye] is generally regarded as a transcription of Baχtri. "Boti" and "Bozhi" 薄知 [bak-tie] above can be seen as variations in the transcription of the same name.

[348] The Hanlou 漢樓 River is the Amu Darya. "Hanlou" 漢樓 is a corruption of "Pulou" 濮樓 [pheok-lo], a transcription of Wehrot.[93]

[349] According to the "Gaozong ji" in *Weishu*, in the twelfth month of the fifth year of the Heping 和平 reign-period (464), "the state of Tuhuluo sent envoys to present tribute".

副貨[350]國，去代一萬七千里[351]。東至阿副使且[352]國，西至沒誰[353]國，中間相去一千里[354]；南有連山，不知名；北至奇沙[355]國，相去一千五百里[356]。國中有副貨城[357]，周帀七十里。宜五穀、葡桃，唯有馬、駝、騾。國王有黃金殿，殿下金駝七頭，各高三尺。其王遣使朝貢。[358]

The state of Fuhuo 副貨[350]: It is 17,000 *li* [351] from Dai. To the east one reaches the state of Afushiqie 阿副使且[352], to the west one reaches the state of Meisui 没雖[353], and between them the distance is 1,000 *li* [354]. To the south is a chain of mountains, the name of which is not known. To the north is the state of Qisha 奇沙 [355] at a distance of 1,500 *li*[356]. There is a city of Fuhuo[357] in the state, which is 70 *li* in circumference. The country is suitable for the five grains and grapes, but has only horses, camels, and mules. The king has a palace of gold below which are seven gold camels, each one three feet high. The king sent an envoy to present tribute.[358]

[350] "Fuhuo" 副貨 [phiuək-xua], according to one opinion, is a transcription of Bokhāra;[94]

according to another, a transcription of Puṣkalāwatī.[95] Neither is indisputably founded.

[351] "17,000 *li*" (Distance 51.1): The distance from the seat of the king's government of Fuhuo to Dai; the route by which the journey is taken is unknown.

[352] The meaning and location of the state of Afushiqie 阿副使且 are yet to be determined.

[353] The meaning and location of the state of Meishui 沒誰 are yet to be determined. One view is that it is "Muzhi" 牟知 in this memoir.[96]

[354] "1,000 *li*" (Distance 51.2): The distance from the state of Afushiqie to the state of Meishui.

[355] "Qisha" 奇沙 [gia-shea], according to one opinion, is a transcription of Tashkurghan or Kapica.[97] Its location is yet to be determined.

[356] "1,500 *li*" (Distance 51.3): The distance from the seat of the king's government of Fuhuo 副貨 to the state of Qisha 奇沙.

[357] The location of the town of Fuhuo 副貨 is unknown.

[358] There is no record of Fuhuo presenting tribute to Wei in the basic annals. According to the "Xi Rong (wu)" 西戎五 in the "Bianfang (jiu)" 邊防九 section of *Tongdian* 通典, "During the reign of Emperor Xiaowen, its king sent an envoy to present tribute."

南天竺國[359]，去代三萬一千五百里[360]。有伏醜城[361]，周帀十里，城中出摩尼珠[362]、珊瑚。城東三百里有拔賴城[363]，城中出黄金、白真檀[364]、石蜜[365]、蒲萄。土宜五穀。世宗時，其國王婆羅化遣使獻駿馬、金、銀，自此每使朝貢。[366]

The state of Southern Tianzhu 天竺[359]: It is 31,500 *li*[360] from Dai. In the state there is the town of Fuchou 伏醜[361], which is 10 *li* in circumference. The town produces Maṇi pearls[362] and corals. To the east is the town of Balai 拔賴[363] at a distance of 300 *li*, in which can be found gold, silver, red sandalwood[364], crystal sugar[365], and grapes. The soil is suitable for the five grains. During the reign of Emperor Shizong, King Poluohua 婆羅化 sent envoys to present a fine horse, gold, and silver. From then on it often sent envoys to present tribute.[366]

[359] Southern Tianzhu 南天竺 refers to Southern India.

[360] "31,500 *li*" (Distance 52): The distance from the seat of the king's government of Southern Tianzhu to Dai. The route by which the journey was taken is unknown.

[361] The meaning and location of the town of Fuchou 伏醜 are yet to be determined.

[362] "Moni" 摩尼 is a transcription of "maṇi" in Sanskrit, a generic term for jewels and treasures.

[363] The meaning and location of the town of Balai 拔賴 are yet to be determined.

[364] "Zhentan" 真檀 is "zhantan" 旃檀 (candana), red sandalwood. "*Bai zhen tan*" 白真檀 is probably a corruption of "*bai[yin], zhentan*" 白 [銀], 真檀. Contextually, the products of that state can be understood as "*huangjin, bai[yin], zhentan, shimi, putao*" 黃金, 白 [銀] , 真檀, 石蜜, 蒲萄.

[365] "Shimi" 石蜜 (crystal sugar) is first mentioned in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hou-Han shu*.

[366] The instances of Tianzhu presenting tribute to Wei according to the basic annals of *Weishu* are as follows: on the day *gengzi* in the ninth month of the Taihe reign-period (477), according to "Gaozu ji (shang)"; in the third year of the Jingming reign-period (502), on the day *gengyin* 庚寅 in the fourth month of the fourth year of the Jingming reign-period (503), when the state presented "a tooth of a Pratyekabuddha", on the day *jiazi* 甲子 in the ninth month of the fourth year of the Zhengshi 正始 reign-period (507), on the day *xinwei* 辛未 in the second month of the first year of the Yongping 永平 reign-period (508), and on the day *gengxu* 庚戌 in the eleventh month of the third year of the Yanchang 延昌 reign-period. Except in the instance of the first year of the Taihe reign-period, which refers to Western Tianzhu, the rest all refer to Southern Tianzhu. "During the reign of Emperor Shizong" here refers to the third year of the Jingming reign-period.

疊伏羅[367]國，去代三萬一千里[368]。國中有勿悉城[369]。城北有鹽奇水[370]，西流。有白象，并有阿末黎[371]，木皮中織作布。[372]土宜五穀。世宗時，其國王伏陀末多遣使獻方物，自是每使朝貢。[373]

The state of Diefuluo 疊伏羅[367]: It is 31,000 *li*[368] from Dai. There is a town of Wuxi 勿悉[369] in the state. To the north of the town there is the Yanqi 鹽奇 River[370], which flows west. There are white elephants, and *amoli* 阿末黎[371] (*Emblica myrobalan*). [People] weave cloth from tree bark.[372] The soil is suitable for the five grains. During the reign of Emperor Shizong its king Futuomoduo 伏陀末多 sent envoys to present its local products. From then on it often sent envoys to present tribute.[373]

[367] "Diefuluo" 疊伏羅 [dyap-biuək-la] is a transcription of Zabulistan, i.e., Gazna.

[368] "31,000 *li*" (Distance 53): The distance from the seat of the king's government of Diefuluo to Dai; the route by which the journey was taken is unknown.

[369] The meaning and location of the town of Wuxi 勿悉 are yet to be determined.

[370] On the Yanqi 鹽奇 River, nothing is known.

[371] "*Amoli*" 阿末黎 is probably the "*amoluo*" 阿末羅 (Sanskrit: āmalaka) in *Da Tang Xiyu ji* 大唐西域記 (ch. 1). "*Amoluo*" is *Emblica Myrobalan*, the fruit of which first tastes sour, then sweet.

[372] "[People] weave cloth from tree bark": The raw material for the fire-washed cloth is also a fabric made of a kind of bark; it is not known whether the cloth woven at the state of Diefuluo was fire-washed cloth.[98]

[373] The instances of Diefuluo presenting tribute to Wei, according to the basic annals of *Weishu*, are as follows: on the day *gengzi* 庚子 in the ninth month of the first year of the Taihe reign-period (477), and in the twelfth month of the third year of the Taihe reign-period, according to "Gaozu ji"; on the day *bingzi* 丙子 in the third month of the fourth year of the Zhengshi 正始 reign-period (507), on the day *guiwei* 癸未 in the third month of the second year of the Yongping 永平 reign-period (509) and in the twelfth month, and on the day *wushen* 戊申 in the eleventh month of the fourth year of the Yongping 永平 reign-period (511), according to "Shizong ji"; on the day *guichou* in the first month and on the day *yichou* 乙丑 in the seventh month of the second year of the Xiping 熙平 reign-period (517), on the day *jisi* 己巳 in the eighth month of the second year of the Zhengguang 正光 reign-period (521), and in the second month of the second year of the Xiaochang 孝昌 reign-period (526), according to "Suzong ji." "Diefuluo" 疊伏羅 is sometimes also known as "Difuluo" 地伏羅 or abbreviated "Fuluo" 伏羅.

拔豆國[374]，去代五萬一千里[375]。東至多勿當國[376]，西至旃那國[377]，中間相去七百五十里[378]，南至罽陵伽[379]國，北至弗那伏且國[380]，中間相去九百里[381]。國中出金、銀、雜寶、白象、水牛、犛牛、蒲萄、五果。土宜五穀。

The state of Badou 拔豆[374]: It is 51,000 *li* [375] from Dai. To the east one reaches the state of Duowudang 多勿當[376], to the west one reaches the state of Zhanna 旃那[377], and between them the distance is 750 *li* [378]. To the south one reaches the state of Jilingjia 罽陵伽[379], to the north one reaches the state of Funafuqie 弗那伏且[380], and between them the distance is 900 *li* [381]. The country produces gold, silver, varied treasures, white elephants, water buffaloes, yaks, grapes, and the five fruits. The soil is suitable for the five grains.

[374] The meaning and location of the state of Badou 拔豆 are yet to be determined.

[375] "51,000 *li*" (Distance 54.1): The distance from the seat of the king's government of Badou to Dai; the route by which the journey was taken is unknown.

[376] The meaning and location of the state of Duowudang 多勿當 are yet to be determined.

[377] The meaning and location of the state of Zhanna 旃那 are yet to be determined.

[378] "750 *li*" (Distance 54.2): The distance from the state of Duowudang to Zhanna.

[379] "Jilingjia" 罽陵伽 [kiat-liəng-keai] should be a transcription of Kaliṅga. According to the "Shizong ji" in *Weishu*, on the day *dingsi* 丁巳 in the tenth month of the fourth year of the Zhengshi 正始 reign-period (507), "… Keliujia 可流伽 … and other states sent envoys to present tribute". "Keliujia" 可流伽 is probably the Jilingjia 罽陵伽 here.

[380] The meaning and location of the state of Funafuqie 弗那伏且 are yet to be determined.

[381] "900 *li*" (Distance 54.3): The distance from the state of Jilingjia to the state of Funafuqie.

［烏利 [382] 國，去代二萬五百里 [383]。國中出金玉、良馬、白疊 [384]，土宜五穀。］[385]

[The state of Wuli 烏利[382]: It is 20,500 *li* [383] from Dai. The country produces gold, jade, fine horses, *baidie* 白疊 (white cotton cloth) [384], and the soil is suitable for the five grains.] [385]

[382] "Wuli" 烏利, according to one view, is probably the abbreviation of "Wulishilian" 烏梨師斂, i.e., Jerusalem.[99]

[383] "20,500 *li*" (Distance 55): The distance between the seat of the king's government of Wuli and Dai.

[384] "*Baidie*" 白疊 (white cotton cloth) is seen in the "Xibei zhu Rong zhuan" 西北諸戎傳 of *Liangshu*.

[385] This section is neither seen in the current edition of the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Weishu*, nor in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Beishi* 北史. The text here is from the "Xi Rong (liu)" 西戎六 of "Si Yi (yiba)" 四夷一八 in *Taiping yulan* (ch. 797).

嚈噠國 [386]，高車之別種 [387]，其原出於塞北。[388] 自金山 [389] 而南，［至高宗（文成帝）時已八九十年矣］[390]。衣服類［胡］[391]，加以纓絡。頭皆剪髮。[392] 其語與蠕蠕、高車及諸胡不同。[393] 衆可有 [394] 十萬。無城邑，依隨水草，以氈爲屋，夏遷涼土，冬逐暖處。分其諸妻，各在別所，相去或二百、三百里。其王巡

歷而行，每月一處，冬寒之時，三月不徙。[395]王位不必傳子，子弟堪任，死便授之。[396]其國無車有輿。[397]多駝馬。用刑嚴急，偷盜無多少皆腰斬，盜一責十。死者，富者累石爲藏，貧者掘地而埋，隨身諸物，皆置冢內。[398]［受諸國貢獻，南至牒羅[399]，北盡敕勒[400]，東被于闐，西及波斯，四十餘國皆來朝賀］，[401]號爲大國。與蠕蠕婚姻。[402]自太安以後，每遣使朝貢。[403]正光末，遣使貢師子一，至高平，遇万俟醜奴反，因留之。醜奴平，送京師。[404]永熙以後，朝獻遂絕。

The state of Yeda 嚈噠[386]: It comprises divergent stock from the Gaoche 高車[387]. The Yeda originated north of the Great Wall[388] and came southwards from the Jin 金 Mountains[389]; [they had been there for 80 or 90 years by the time of Emperor Gaozong 高宗 (Wencheng 文成)].[390] Their clothing is similar to that worn by the Hu people[391], with the addition of tassels. They all clip their hair.[392] Their speech is different from that of the Ruru, the Gaoche, and the various Hu people.[393] Their massed hordes number perhaps 100,000 men.[394] In their country there are no towns and settlements. The people go where there is water and grass. They live in felt tents. They migrate to cool lands in summer and to warm places in winter. Dividing his wives and having each live in a separate place, with a distance of 200 or 300 *li* between them, its king makes his rounds, going to a different place each month, but does not remove for three months in cold winter.[395] The throne is not necessarily handed down to the [king's] sons. If a child from another [branch of the royal house] is qualified, it would be conferred upon him as soon as the king dies.[396] Their country is without *che* 車 [a chariot pulled by horses] but has *yu* 輿 [a cart pushed or pulled by persons] [397] as well as an abundance of camels and horses. They apply punishments harshly and promptly: regardless of how little a robber or a thief has taken, his body is cut in half at the waist, and even though only one has robbed, ten may be condemned. When a person dies, wealthy families pile up stones to make a [burial] vault, while the poor simply dig a hole in the ground and bury [the corpse]. All of the deceased's personal effects are placed in the tomb.[398] [They receive tribute from various states: from as far south as Dieluo 牒羅[399], as far north as Chile 敕勒[400], from Yutian 于闐 in the east, and from Bosi in the west – over 40 states in all.] [401] They are reputed to be a large state. The royal family is intermarried with that of the Ruru.[402] Since the Tai'an 太安 reign-period they have often sent envoys to present tribute.[403] At the end of the Zhengguang 正光 reign-period [525 CE] it sent envoys who presented a lion. The envoys met the rebel

Moqi Chounu 万俟醜奴 when they reached Gaoping 高平, and thus were detained. The lion was not sent to the capital until [Moqi] Chounu was put down.[404] After the Yongxi 永熙 reign-period their payment of tribute thereupon stopped.

[386] "Yeda" 嚈噠 [iap-dat] is generally believed to be a transcription of Ephthalites or Hephthalites.[100]

[387] "It comprises divergent stock from the Gaoche" 高車之別種: The Yeda and Gaoche are not of the same race ("Their speech is different from that of … the Gaoche," according to this text). The belief that they were "a divergent stock from the Gaoche" might have resulted from the fact that both the Yeda and Gaoche rose from the region north of the Great Wall, and both likewise migrated south by way of the Jin Mountain, which led to the association of them together. The words "divergent stock" do not have any specific connotations.[101]

[388] "They originated north of the Great Wall": One opinion is that the Yeda were a branch of the Yifu Xianbei 乙弗鮮卑. The origin of the Yifu Xianbei can be traced to Liaodong 遼東, but only when the group moved north of the Great Wall and became part of the Zahu ("the various Hu peoples") did it become the Yifu we know today. That is to say, Yifu actually originated north of the Great Wall.[102]

[389] The Jin Mountains 金山 are the Jinwei Mountains above.

[390] The text in the brackets is supplemented after the entry on the Yeda in the "Xi Rong (wu)" 西戎五 of "Bianfang (jiu)" 邊防九 in *Tongdian* 通典. The Yeda sent their first envoy to Wei in the second year of the Tai'an 太安 reign-period of Emperor Gaozong 高宗 (456), so the time when they migrated south from the area north of the Great Wall by crossing the Jin Mountains, i.e., the Altai Mountains, should be traced back 80-90 years from 456 to around 366-376. That is to say, the Yeda conquest of Sogdiana should have occurred in 366-377.

[391] The character *Hu* 胡 is added, in conformity to the entry on the Yeda in "Xi Rong (wu)" 西戎五 in the "Bianfang (jiu)" 邊防九 section of *Tongdian* 通典. The term "Hu" here is generally believed to be a reference to Iranians.

[392] "They all clip their hair": This is generally believed to be an Iranian custom. The Yeda people clipped their hair, undoubtedly a result of the influence of Sassanian Persia after they had migrated west.

[393] "Their speech is different from that of the Ruru, the Gaoche, and the various Hu people": According to the section on the state of Hua 滑 in the "Xibei zhu Rong zhuan" of *Liangshu*, "Their language is intelligible only through oral interpretation conducted by the people of Henan". Henan 河

南 refers to the Tuyuhun. Their ability to interpret the language of the Yeda is obviously not because of any similarity between their language and that of the Yeda, or because of Tuyuhun's adjoining the state of Yifudi 乙弗敵 in the north, but, rather, because they, the Xianbei, had contacts with the Yifu Xianbei, the precursors of the Yeda, in their original lands in the east for a long time.

[394] In the present edition of *Weishu* there is no 有 after 可.

[395] "In their country there are no towns and settlements...": This indicates that the Yeda people were typical nomads.

[396] "The throne is not necessarily handed down to the [king's] sons": This is probably the situation only at the beginning of their history. Not only does the succession to the throne, but also other customs (like polyandry, included in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Suishu* 隋書 and the "Yiyu zhuan (xia)" 異域傳下 of *Zhoushu* 周書, but not in this memoir), reflect the early stage of their history.

[397] The statement that "Their country is without *che* but has *yu*" 無車有輿 seems to be a corruption of 有車無輿. Cf. Wang Mingsheng's 王鳴盛 *Shiqi shi shangque* 十七史商榷 (ch. 73).

[398] "When a person dies...": Hereafter are outlined Yeda's burial customs, which are noteworthy.

[399] "Dieluo" 牒羅 should be an alternative transcription of "Diefuluo" 疊伏羅 in this memoir.

[400] Chile 敕勒 should be the Gaoche 高車 in this memoir.

[401] Following 受諸國貢獻, adding the twenty-nine characters in accordance with the text in *Luoyang qielan ji* 洛陽伽藍記 (ch. 5). There should have been such a passage in this memoir.

[402] "The royal family is intermarried with that of the Ruru": According to the "Ruru zhuan" 蠕蠕傳 in *Weishu*, the ruler of the Ruru, "Poluomen 婆羅門 soon plotted with his subordinates to revolt and defect to Yeda. [The king of] Yeda has three wives, all of them Poluomen's sisters". It is stated in this memoir that "dividing his wives and having each live in a separate place, with a distance of 200 or 300 *li* between them, its king makes his rounds", indicating that at least the king of Yeda practiced polygamy.

[403] The instances of Yeda presenting tribute to Wei, according to the basic annals of the *Weishu*, are as follows: in the eleventh month of the second year of the Tai'an reign-period (456), in the third year of the Jingming reign-period (502) (in the record of this instance 嚈噠 corrupted into 厭味), on the day *xinwei* 辛未 in the tenth month of the fourth year of the Zhengshi 正始 reign-period (507), on the day *renchen* 壬辰 in the first month of the second year of the Yongping 永平 reign-period (509). According to "Shizong ji", in this year "the states of Yeda and Bozhi sent envoys to pay their respects, presenting a white elephant. At that time, the state of Bozhi was subject to Yeda;

its envoy followed that of Yeda, together presenting a white elephant, as is recorded in the chronicle. The following passage appears in *Luoyang qielan ji* 洛陽伽藍記 (ch. 3): "East of the road and to the south of the Yong 永 Bridge were two wards known respectively as White Elephant (*Baixiang* 白象) and Lion (*Shizi* 獅子). A white elephant was presented by the barbarian king of Qiantuoluo 乾陀羅 (Gandhāra, in the north of modern Punjab) in the second year of the Yongping reign-period (509)". (Yi-t'ung Wang, trans., *A Record of Buddhist Monasteries in Lo-yang*, p. 151; with alterations.) Other instances of the tribute missions: on the day *jiayin* 甲寅 in the ninth month of the fourth year of the Yongping 永平 reign-period (511), in the tenth month of the first year of the Yanchang 延昌 reign-period (512), on the day *gengxu* 庚戌 in the eighth month of the second year of the Yanchang 延昌 reign-period (513), according to "Shizong ji"; on the day *jiawu* 甲午 in the fourth month of the second year of the Xiping 熙平 reign-period (517), on the day *wushen* 戊申 in the second month of first year of the Shengui 神龜 reign-period (518), on the day *yichou* 乙丑 in the fourth month of the second year of the Shengui reign-period (519), on the day *guisi* 癸巳 in the intercalary second month and on the day *renchen* 壬辰 in the twelfth month of the fifth year of the Zhengguang 正光 reign-period, according to "Suzong ji" 孝莊紀; on the day *wuwu* 戊午 in the sixth month of third year of the Yong'an reign-period (530), according to "Xiaozhuang ji"; on the day *bingyin* 丙寅 in the sixth month and on the day *guiyou* 癸酉 in the sixth month of the first year of the Taichang 太昌 reign-period according to "Chudi ji." The "Rencheng wang zhuan" 任城王傳 in *Weishu* records: "The envoys from Yeda and Bosi in the Western Regions each sent me a fine horse. I request permission to send them to the office of the Grand Coachman, so as to add to the imperial stable". This is just one instance of the activities of the envoys from Yeda.

[404] The "Xiaozhuang ji" 孝莊紀 in *Weishu* records: on the day *wuwu* 戊午 in the sixth month of the third year of the Yong'an 永安 reign-period (530), "the state of Yeda presented a lion as tribute". It is recorded in *Luoyang qielan ji* (ch. 3): "East of the road and to the south of the Yong 永 Bridge were two wards known respectively as White Elephant (*Baixiang* 白象) and Lion (*Shizi* 獅子). A white elephant was presented by the barbarian king of Qiantuoluo 乾陀羅 (Gandhāra, in the north of modern Punjab) in the second year of the Yongping reign-period (509)…. A lion to be presented by the barbarian king of Bosi was captured by the rebel Moqi Chounu while on its way to the capital. Towards the end of the Yong'an 永安 reign-period (530), with the downfall of [Moqi] Chounu, [the lion] finally reached the capital". (Yi-t'ung Wang, trans., *A Record of Buddhist Monasteries in Lo-yang*, pp. 151-152; with alterations.) Thus we know that the lion was presented by the king of Bosi to the king of Yeda, who in turn presented it as tribute to the Northern Wei. The Northern Wei also

sent envoys to Yeda. According to the "Gao Hu zhuan" 高湖傳 in *Weishu*, during the reign-period of Yanchang 延昌 , Gao Hui 高徽 "was sent on a mission to Yeda. None of the various states in the Western Regions failed to show respect and awe, and Poluohou 破洛侯 and Wusun 烏孫 also sent fine horses as tribute through him". "Poluohou" 破洛侯 should be the state of "[Po]luona" [破] 洛那 in this memoir.

初，熙平中，肅宗遣王伏子統[405]宋雲、沙門法力等使西域，訪求佛經。時有沙門慧生者亦與俱行，正光中還。[406]慧生所經諸國，不能知其本末及山川里數，蓋舉其略云。[407]

Originally, during the Xiping 熙平 reign-period [516-518], Emperor Suzong 肅宗 sent the Sub-Supervisor of Valets[405], Song Yun 宋雲, and the *śraman.a*, Fali 法力, and others on a mission to the Western Regions to search for Buddhist *sutras*. At that time, *śraman.a* Huisheng 慧生 also went with them, and then returned home in the Zhengguang 正光 reign-period [520-525].[406] Although the details of the various states that Huisheng 慧生 traversed and the distances of the mountains and rivers are not known, we give a rough outline nevertheless.[407]

[405] 王伏子統 should be a corruption of 主衣子統. The "Xiyu zhuan" in *Beishi* 北史 reads 賸伏子統, which is also incorrect.[103]

[406] For the mission to the west by Song Yun 宋雲 and others, see *Luoyang qielan ji* 洛陽伽藍記 (ch. 5) for details.

[407] Following the memoir on Yeda, in the records on the seven states of Zhuju 朱居, Kepantuo 渴槃陁, Bohe 鉢和, Bozhi 波知, Shemi 賒彌, Wuchang 烏萇, and Qiantuo 乾陀, many of the states described are repetitions of the previous texts (for example, Zhuju is Xijuban; Bohe, Jiabei; Shemi, Zhexuemosun; Qiantuo, the Xiao Yuezhi). We may well doubt whether they were in the original version of *Weishu* by Wei Shou. However, if one takes it into consideration that the mission to the west by Song Yun and Huisheng should have been included in the "Xiyu zhuan", then it would no longer be strange for the memoir to include a report on their journey. In order to give a complete account of their journey, repetition would be inevitable (but different transcriptions could have resulted in the erroneous identifications concerning states). They are included after the memoir treating the state of Yeda, probably to supplement the record on Yeda which is otherwise insufficient,

as the states reported by Song Yun and others were mostly subject to Yeda.

朱居國 [408]，在于闐西。其人山居。有麥，多林果。咸事佛。語與于闐相類。役屬嚈噠。[409]

The state of Zhuju 朱居[408]: It is located to the west of Yutian 于闐. The people dwell in the mountains. They grow wheat, as well as many trees and fruits. The people all believe in Buddhism. Their speech is similar to that of Yutian. The state is subject to Yeda.[409]

[408] The state of Zhuju 朱居 is the "Xijuban" in this memoir.

[409] If the writings concerning the seven states from Zhuju onwards were seven independent memoirs, it would be inexplicable that most of them were repetitions of the preceding records. If Wei Shou quoted the materials about the seven states from the account given by Song Yun and Huisheng only to supplement the related memoirs in the previous text, then he would have inserted all the materials into the corresponding accounts of the states concerned. If the editor had intended to make the materials he had quoted from the account by Song Yun and Huisheng an independent section, he would have arranged the seven states of Yeda, Zhuju, etc., in proper order. To be more exact, Yeda should have been between Bohe and Bozhi, because Yeda also was one of the states that "Huisheng traversed".[104] However, it is recorded in this memoir that Kepantuo "is located to the west of Zhujubo" 朱駒波, Bohe "is located to the west of Kepantuo", Bozhi "is located to the southwest of Bohe", Shemi "is located to the south of Bozhi", Wuchang "is located to the south of Shemi", and Qiantuo "is located to the west of Wuchang". Each is immediately followed by its neighboring state, and there is no room to insert Yeda. From this, it can be seen that the purpose of Wei Shou was merely to write a memoir on Yeda. He thus picked up the sources about Yeda from the account provided by Song Yun and Huisheng, and combined them with other sources to compile this extant memoir on Yeda.

渴槃陁國 [410]，在葱嶺東，朱駒波西。河 [411] 經其國，東北流。有高山，夏積霜雪。亦事佛道。附於嚈噠。

The state of Kepantuo 渴槃陁[410]: It is located to the east of the Cong Mountains and to the west of Zhujubo 朱駒波. A river[411] passes through the country and flows

northeast. There are high mountains which are covered by frost and snow even in summer. The people also believe in Buddhism. The state is subject to Yeda.

[410] It is generally believed that the state of Kepantuo 渴槃陁 was located in the valley of Sarikol in the upper reaches of the Yarkand River, with the seat of its king's government at present-day Tashkurgan. The instances of Kepantuo presenting tribute to Wei, according to the basic annals of *Weishu*, are as follows: on the day *guisi* 癸巳 in the third month of the third year of the Taiyan 太延 reign-period (437), and in the eleventh month of the fifth year of the Taiyan reign-period (439), according to "Shizu ji (shang)"; on the day *xinwei* 辛未 in the eighth month of the second year of the Xing'an 興安 reign-period (453), on the day *jiashen* 甲申 in the third month of the third year of the Heping 和平 reign-period (462), according to "Gaozong ji"; in the third year of the Jingming 景明 reign-period (502) (*Weishu* records: "In this year... Luopan 羅槃 ... Kepantuo ... and other states all sent envoys to present tribute". "Luopan" 羅槃 should be the Heluopan 呵羅盤 in the same annal [the fourth year of the Zhengshi 正始 reign-period (507)]; it is suspected that Heluopan 呵羅盤 and the "Kepantuo" 訶槃陁 below are alternative transcriptions of the "Kepantuo" 渴槃陁 in this memoir. This seems to be corroborated by "Dunajueduo zhuan" 闍那崛多傳 of *Xu Gaoseng zhuan* 續高僧傳, where "Kepantuo" 渴槃陀 is referred to as "Keluopantuo" 渴羅槃陁. It is possible that in the third year of the Jingming reign-period Kepantuo presented tribute to Wei twice, and different transcriptions gave rise to the mistake of naming one state as two), on the day *xinwei* 辛未 in the tenth month of the fourth year of the Zhengshi reign-period (507), on the day *jiyou* 己酉 in the eleventh month of the fourth year of the Zhengshi reign-period, on the day *xinmao* 辛卯 in the first year of the Yanchang 延昌 reign-period (512), and on the day *gengxu* 庚戌 in the eighth month of the second year of the Yanchang reign-period (513), according to "Shizong ji". (*Weishu* records: "Pantuo 槃陁 ... and other states sent envoys to present tribute". Pantuo should be Kepantuo.)

[411] The river refers to the Yarkand River.

鉢和國[412]，在渴槃陁西。其土尤寒，人畜同居，穴地而處。又有大雪山[413]，望若銀峯。其人唯食餅麨，飲麥酒，服氊裘。有二道[414]，一道西行向嚈噠，一道西南趣烏萇[415]。亦爲嚈噠所統。

The state of Bohe 鉢和[412]: It is located to the west of Kepantuo. The land is especially cold. Men and animals live together in subterranean pits that they dig. There are great

snowy mountains[413] that look like peaks of silver in the distance. The people only eat round flat cakes and parched oat flour, drink beer, and wear furs and felts. There are two routes.[414] One of them leads west to Yeda and the other leads southwest to Wuchang 烏萇[415]. This state also is controlled by Yeda.

[412] Bohe 鉢和 is the state of Jiabei 伽倍 in this memoir. Jiabei probably refers to the east of Wakhan, while Bohe refers to the entire Wakhan. "Bohe" 鉢和 [puat-huai] is generally believed to be a transcription of Wakhan.

[413] The "great snowy mountains" refers to the Hindūkush.

[414] From Yarkand via Kepantuo (Tashkurgan) to Bohe (Wakhan), where one could travel towards the west to Yeda (Balkh), or towards the southwest to the valley of the Swat River.

[415] "Wuchang" 烏萇 [a-thiang] is generally believed to be a transcription of Uḍḍiyāna.

波知國[416]，在鉢和西南。[417]土狹人貧，依託山谷，其王不能總攝。有三池[418]，傳云大池有龍王，次者有龍婦，小者有龍子，行人經之，設祭乃得過，不祭多遇風雨之困。

The state of Bozhi 波知[416]: It is located to the southwest of Bohe.[417] The land is narrow and the people are poor, limited to the valleys of mountains. Its king cannot exercise control over the whole country. There are three lakes[418] [in the country]. It is said that there is a dragon king in the large lake, the wife of the dragon king in the second, and the son of the dragon king in the small lake. When travelers go by the lakes it is necessary to sacrifice to the dragon king. They usually suffer difficulties from the wind and rain if the sacrifice is not performed.

[416] The meaning of "Bozhi" 波知 [puai-tie] is yet to be determined.

[417] There are several opinions concerning the location of the state of Bozhi. The search should concentrate on the area near Zēbak, to the southwest of Wakhan and north of Chitrāl.[105]

[418] The location of the three lakes is yet to be determined.

賒彌國[419]，在波知之南。山居。不信佛法，專事諸神。亦附嚈噠。東有鉢盧勒國[420]，路嶮，緣鐵鎖而度，下不見底。熙平中，宋雲等竟不能達。[421]

The state of Shemi 賒彌[419]: It is located to the south of Bozhi. The people dwell in the mountains and do not believe in Buddhism, but believe in various gods. The state is also subject to Yeda. To the east of it there is the state of Bolule 鉢盧勒[420]. The route is precipitous, and one has to cross bottomless chasms along iron-chain [bridges]. During the Xiping 熙平 reign-period, Song Yun and and his companions were ultimately unable to reach this state.[421]

[419] Shemi 賒彌 is the state of Zhexuemosun 折薛莫孫 in this memoir. "Shemi" 賒彌 [sjya-muat] and "Shuangmi" 雙靡 are variations in the transcription of the same name.

[420] Bolule 鉢盧勒 should be the state of Bolu 波路 in the previous text.

[421] *Luoyang qielan ji* 洛陽伽藍記 quotes Song Yun's account of his travels ("Song Yun xingji" 宋雲行紀) in the second year of the Shengui reign-period: "In the middle of the eleventh month, they [Song Yun and his company] entered the state of Shemi". (Yi-t'ung Wang, trans., *A Record of Buddhist Monasteries in Lo-yang*, p. 227; with alterations.)

烏萇國[422]，在賒彌南。北有葱嶺，南至天竺。婆羅門胡[423]爲其上族。婆羅門多解天文吉凶之數，其王動則訪決焉。土多林果，引水灌田，豐稻麥。事佛，多諸寺塔，事極華麗。人有爭訴，服之以藥，曲者發狂，直者無恙。[424]爲法不殺，犯死罪唯徙於靈山[425]。西南有檀特山[426]，山上立寺，以驢數頭運食，山下無人控御，自知往來也。[427]

The state of Wuchang 烏萇[422]: It is located to the south of Shemi. To the north there are the Cong Mountains, and to the south one reaches Tianzhu. The Brahmanic Hu[423] are the superior stock in the state. Most of Brahmans know astronomy and the prognostication of good or ill fate. The king often visits them to decide his course of action. In this land are many trees and fruits. The people channel water to irrigate their fields. There is an abundance of rice and wheat. They believe in Buddhism, and there are many temples and pagodas with extremely magnificent [Buddhist] ceremonies. If there are any arguments between litigants, they are given a drug to take. The wrong party will go mad and the right party will be safe and sound.[424] There is no death penalty in its criminal law. If a man is guilty of murder, he is just exiled to a sacred mountain[425]. To the southwest is Mount Tante 檀特[426] on which a temple has been erected. The several

donkeys used to carry food [up the mountain] come and go by themselves, without anyone at the foot of the mountain there to drive them.[427]

[422] The state of Wuchang 烏萇 is generally believed to have been located in the valley of the Swat River, at the center of which is Mangalaor. The instances of the Yeda presenting tribute to Wei, according to the basic annals of *Weishu*, are as follows: in the third year of Jingming 景明 reign-period (502), on the day *renyin* 壬寅 in the ninth month of the third year of the Yongping 永平 reign-period (510), on the day *guimao* 癸卯 in the third month, and on the day *dingchou* 丁丑 in the tenth month of the fourth year of the Yongping reign-period (511), according to "Shizong ji"; on the day *dingwei* 丁未 in the intercalary seventh month of the first year of the Shengui reign-period (518), and on the day *yiyou* 乙酉 in the fifth month of the second year of the Zhengguang reign-period (521), according to "Suzong ji".

[423] Brahmanic Hu 婆羅門胡: One view is that "Poluomen" here means "Brahmanism, which worships Brahman, regarded as heterodox by Buddhists".[106] But this memoir states that "they believe in Buddhism", indicating that this was the main religious belief in the state of Wuchang. Thus, it seems that the "Brahmanic" here does not indicate a Brahmanist.

[424] Trial by drugs is a kind of trial by ordeal popular in South Asia. The "Xiyu zhuan (shang)" 西域傳上 of *Xin Tangshu* 新唐書 records that in the state of Wucha 烏茶 (i.e., Wuchang 烏萇), "there is no capital punishment, and those who deserve to be killed are exiled to deserted mountains. If there is doubt about the accused party's guilt, he is given a drug, and the judgment is meted out according to the color of his urine—the more turbid, the heavier punishment". *Da Tang Xiyu ji* 大唐西域記 (ch. 2) discusses the penal code in India, where there are four kinds of ordeals, of which the fourth is as follows: "Ordeal by poison is this: They take a ram and make an incision in its right thigh, then mixing all sorts of poison with a portion of the food of the accused man, they place it in the incision made in the thigh [of the animal]; if the man is guilty, then the poison takes effect and the creature dies; if he is innocent, then the poison has no effect, and he survives".[107] (Samuel Beal, trans., *Si-yu-ki: Buddhist Records of the Western World* [Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1981], 1:84-85.)

[425] It seems that "*ling shan*" 靈山 should be emended to "*kong shan*" 空山 (deserted mountains), in conformity to the text in *Luoyang qielan ji* (ch. 5).[108]

[426] For Mount Tante 檀特山, *Luoyang qielan ji* 洛陽伽藍記 (ch. 5) reads Mount Shanchi 善持 (should be Mount Shante 善特). It should be the Mount Danduoluojia 彈多落迦 (Daṇḍaloka) in *Da Tang Xiyu ji* (ch. 2), which was located in Mekha-Sanda to the northeast of Shahbaz Garhi.

[427] *Youyang zazu xuji* 酉陽雜俎續集 (ch. 8) records: "There were households in the temples in the state of Yanda 厭 達 of the Western Regions, who used donkeys to carry supplies up the mountain, with no one there to drive them. They knew how to go up and come down; starting out in the watch of *yin* 寅, they would arrive at the watch of *wu* 午 accurately, without any delay". From this we can conclude that the state of Wuchang was also subject to Yanda 厭達 (i.e., the Yeda 嚈噠).

乾陀國 [428]，在烏萇西，[429] 本名業波 [430]，爲嚈噠所破，因改焉。其王本是敕勒 [431]，臨國已二世矣。[432] 好征戰，與罽賓鬬，三年不罷，人怨苦之。[433] 有鬬象七百頭，十人乘一象，皆執兵仗，象鼻縛刀以戰。所都城東南七里有佛塔，高七十丈，周三百步，即所謂" 雀離佛圖" [434] 也。

The state of Qiantuo 乾陀[428]: It is located to the west of Wuchang[429]. The state was originally called Yebo 業波[430], but it was defeated by the Yeda, and thus changed to its present name. Its king was originally a person of Chile[431]. His family has already ruled the state for two generations.[432] He is fond of expeditions, and has been fighting with Jibin for three years continually, causing his people to complain of hardship.[433] He has seven hundred war-elephants, each of which carries ten halberdiers and attacks with swords tied to its trunk. At a distance of seven *li* to the southeast of the town established as its capital there is a pagoda, which measures 70 *zhang* 丈 in height and 300 paces in circumference. This is the so-called "Queli 雀離 Stūpa" [434].

[428] "Qiantuo" 乾陀 [kan(gian)-dai] is generally believed to be a transcription of Gandhāra. Elsewhere in this memoir it reads Qiantuoluo 乾陁羅. According to the "Shizong ji" 世宗紀 in *Weishu*, on the day *dingchou* 丁丑 in the twelfth month of the fourth year of the Zhengshi 正始 reign-period (507), on the day *guimao* 癸卯 in the third month, on the day *yihai* 乙亥 in the sixth month, and on the day *dingchou* 丁丑 in the tenth month of the fourth year of the Yongping 永平 reign-period (511), the state of Qianda 乾達 sent envoys to present tribute. "Qianda" 乾達 and "Qiantuo" 乾陀 in this memoir are probably variant transcriptions of the same name.

[429] The state of Qiantuo was located in the lower reaches of the present-day Kabul River, and its center was Peshawar, the same as the central region of the Xiao Yuezhi.

[430] The pronunciation of "Yebo" 業波 [ngiap-puai] seems to correspond to that of Zabul. This is because Qiantuoluo was called Jibin 罽賓 in Han times, and the area of Zabul was also called Jibin

in the time of Song Yun, hence the mistake that Qiantuo was originally called Yeboluo.

[431] "Chile" 敕勒 has been emended to "Chiqin" 敕懃, in conformity with the text of *Luoyang qielan ji* (ch. 5). "Chiqin" 敕懃 is the same as "Teqin" 特勤, the title of a Yeda office.

[432] "His family has already ruled the state for two generations": According to *Luoyang qielan ji* (ch. 5), the Yeda king had ruled the state for three generations. If one generation is reckoned at thirty years, then the Yeda invasion of the Northwestern Subcontinent should have occurred between 450 and 460.

[433] The Yeda king fighting against Jibin should have been Moxianluojuluo 摩醯邏矩羅 (Mihirakula).[109]

[434] The Queli 雀離 (Sula) Stūpa should have been the "Hundred *zhang* Stūpa" in the lands of the Xiao Yuezhi; the two are almost identical in form.[110]

NOTES

1 Cf. Yu Taishan 余太山, *Yeda shi yanjiu* 嚈噠史研究 (Qi-Lu shushe, 1986), pp. 163-192.

2 Shiratori Kurakichi 白鳥庫吉, "Seiikishi jyō no sinkenkyū: Dai Getsushi kō" 西域史上の新研究・大月氏考 (New studies in the history of the Western Regions: On the Da Yuezhi), in *Shiratori Kurakichi zensyū*, vol. 6: *Seiikishi kenkyū* (jyō) 白鳥庫吉全集・西域史研究上 (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1970), pp. 97-227， esp. p. 133.

3 Cf. Tang Zhangru 唐長孺, "Gaochang jun jinian" 高昌郡紀年, in Wuhan daxue Lishixi Wei Jin Nanbeichao Sui Tang shi yanjiushi 武漢大學歷史系魏晉南北朝隋唐史研究室, ed., *Wei Jin Nanbeichao Sui Tang shi ziliao* 魏晉南北朝隋唐史資料 3 (1981): 22-38; Yu Taishan, *Yeda shi yanjiu,* pp. 217-244.

4 Cf. Yu Taishan, *Yeda shi yanjiu*, pp. 193-216.

5 According to the "Gao Hu zhuan" 高湖傳 in *Weishu*, Gao Gui 高昚 "and his uncle Gao Hui 徽 both went to the Western Regions as envoys".

6 See Ma Yong 馬雍, "Bajisitan beibu suojian 'Da wei' shizhe de yanke tiji" 巴基斯坦北部所見大魏使者的岩刻題記, in *Xiyu shidi wenweu congkao* 西域史地文物叢考 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1990), pp. 129-137.

7 Cf. Tang Changru, "Gaochang jun jinian", pp. 22-38.

8 Yu Taishan, *Yeda shi yanjiu*, pp. 217-244.

9 Cf. Shiratori Kurakichi, "Daishinden yori mitaru Seiiki no chiri" 大秦傳より見たる西域の地理, pp. 303-402, esp. pp. 369-370.

10 Enoki Kazuo 榎一雄, "Gisyo Zokutokukokuden to Kyōdo Fun" 魏書粟特國傳と匈奴・フン同族問題, *Tōyō gakuhō* 東洋學報 37.4 (1955): 1-48; and Yu Taishan, *Yeda shi yanjiu*, pp. 217-244.

11 Cf. Yu Taishan, *Liang Han Wei Jin Nanbeichao yu Xiyu guanxi shi yanjiu* 兩漢魏晉南北朝與西域關係史研究 (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 1995), pp. 142-150.

12 Cf. the collation notes in the punctuated text of *Weishu* published by Zhonghua shuju.

13 See Zhao Chao 趙超, *Han Wei Nanbeichao muzhi huibian* 漢魏南北朝墓誌彙編 (Tianjin: Tianjin guji chubanshe, 1992), p. 66.

14 Shiratori Kurakichi, "Seiikishi jyō no sinkenkyū: Dai Getsushi kō", esp. pp. 194-195.

15 On the jade of Yutian, see Zhang Hongzhao 章鴻釗, *Shiya, Baoshi shuo* 石雅・寶石說 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji, 1993), pp. 120-125.

16 The "Song ji" 宋紀 of *Zizhi tongjian* 資治通鑒 (ch. 132) dated Sumujia's 素目伽 presentation of the memorial to the sixth year of the Taishi 泰始 reign-period of the Emperor Ming 明 (the fourth year of the Huangxing 皇興 of Emperor Xianzu 顯祖 of the Northern Wei).

17 Cf. Yu Taishan, *Yeda shi yanjiu*, pp. 193-216.

18 See Zhao Chao, *Han Wei Nanbeichao muzhi huibian*, p. 180. Concerning "Xianji" 仙姬, the epitaph reads, "The queen of Yutian 宇闐 in Xicheng 西城 ". "Xicheng" is a corruption of "Xiyu" 西域 (Western Regions); "Yutian" 宇闐 is undoubtedly "Yutian" 于闐.

19 Uchida Ginpū 内田吟風, "Gisyo Seiikiden genbun kōshaku (jyō)" 魏書西域傳原文考釋上, pp. 83-106, esp. p. 102.

20 Uchida Ginpū, "Gisyo maki ippyakuni Seiikiden yakuchū kō" 魏書卷一百二西域傳譯注稿, in Uchida Ginpū, ed., *Chūgoku seishi Seiikisden no yakuchū* 中國正史西域傳の譯注 (Kyoto: Kawakita, 1980), pp. 1-34.

21 Chavannes, ed., "Voyage de Song Yun," *Belletin de l'Ecole Française d'Extréme-Orient* 3 (1903): 379-441; A. Stein, *Ancient Khotan, Detailed Report of Archaeological Explorations in Chinese Turkestan* (Oxford: 1907), 1: 91-92.

22 This memoir reads 太延初 (the beginning of the Taiyan reign-period), which is incorrect; it should be 太延末 (the end of the Taiyan reign-period).

23 Both sections read "Zhujuban" 朱居槃 (i.e., "Xijuban" 悉居半).

24 This section reads "Mojiuban" 末久半. "Mo" 末 should be a corruption of "Xi" 悉 or "Zhu" 朱.

25 Cf. Yu Taishan, *Sai zhong shi yanjiu* 塞種史研究 (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe,

1992), pp. 210-215.

26 Fu Heng 傅恒, et al., *Qinding huangyu Xiyu tuzhi* 欽定皇輿西域圖志 (ch. 18).

27 According to the "Da Juqu Mongxun zhuan" 大且渠蒙遜傳 in *Songshu* 宋書, when Tang Qi 唐契 was killed, his subordinates fled to Wuhui. They could have included Li Qin 李欽 and the others mentioned here. Cf. Tang Changru, "Gaochang jun jinian".

28 The "Tang He zhuan" 唐和傳 of *Weishu* records: "At that time Juqu Anzhou was stationed in the town of Hengjie 横截. Tang He attacked and occupied the town, and beheaded [Juqu] Shu 沮渠樹, the son of the elder brother of [Juqu] Anzhou. He also took the two towns of Gaoning 高寧 and Baili 白力, and beheaded the commander of the garrison, then sent envoys to present a memorial to report this. Emperor Shizu praised his loyalty and showered [Tang] He with rewards. Later, [Tang] He, along with the king of the tribe of Nearer Jushi 車師, Ju Yiluo 車伊洛, attacked and defeated [Juqu] Anzhou, and beheaded 300 men". Hengjie, Gaoning, and Baili were three towns in Gaochang, which were the bases for the forces of the Juqus. "Ju Yuluo zhuan" also states, "in addition, [Ju] Yiluo led his troops of over 2,000 men against Gaochang". This and the statement that "[Tang] He, along with the king of the tribe of Nearer Jushi, Ju Yiluo, attacked and defeated [Juqu] Anzhou and beheaded 300 men" should refer to the same battle. The outcome of this battle was that they "beheaded 300 men". Ju Yiluo's capture of "over 200 men and women", etc., refers to the outcome when "he attacked and took the seven towns of the eastern barrier of Yanqi". The two battles should not be confused.

29 "His funeral followed the precedent of Lu Luyuan": This indicates that the Wei court had regarded Ju Yiluo as its subject. For the life of Lu Luyuan, see *Weishu* (ch. 34).

30 Cf. Tang Changru, "Gaochang jun jinian".

31 Cf. Tang Changru, "Gaochang jun jinian".

32 Cf. Tang Changru, "Gaochang jun jinian".

33 Huang Wenbi 黄文弼, "Yanqi Bositenghu zhouwei sange guguo kao" 焉耆博斯騰湖周圍三個古國考, *Huang Wenbi lishi kaogu lunji* 黄文弼歷史考古論集 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1989), pp. 216-221.

34 Edward H. Schafer, *The Golden Peaches of Samarkand* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1963); trans. Wu Yugui 吳玉貴, *Tangdai wailai wenming* 唐代外來文明 (Beijing: Zhonguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 1995), p. 475; Zhang Hongzhao, *Shiya, Baoshi shuo*, pp. 228-231; Matsuda Hisao 松田壽男, *Kodai Tenzan no rekishi-chirigakuteki kenkyū* 古代天山の歷史地理學的研究 (Tokyo: Waseda Daigaku, 1970), pp. 399-413; and Zhang Chengzhi 張承志, "Wang Yande xixing

ji yu Tianshan naosha" 王延德西行記與天山硇砂, *Wenshi* 文史 20 (1983): 89-96.

35 Deng Shaohui 鄧紹輝, "Jindai Xinjiang shiyou gongye shulüe" 近代新疆石油工業述略, in *Xinjiang jingji kaifa shi yanjiu (xia)* 新疆經濟開發史研究（下冊）(Urumqi: Xinjiang renmin chubanshe, 1995), pp. 208-220.

36 The "Shizong ji" 世宗紀 in *Weishu* records: "The state of Polaijia 婆來伽 sent envoys to present tribute". "Polaijia" 婆來伽 and "Balujia" 跋祿迦 in the *Da Tang Xiyu ji* 大唐西域記 (ch. 1) are variations in the transcription of the same name. If so, this could be regarded as a record of Gumo 姑墨 paying tribute to Wei.

37 Yu Taishan, *Yeda shi yanjiu*, pp. 193-216.

38 Cf. Yu Taishan, *Yeda shi yanjiu*, pp. 217-244.

39 Matsuda Hisao, in *Kodai tenzan no rekishi-chirigakuteki kenkyū*, pp. 188-189, thinks that this memoir mentions that they "went west into Kangju", which is not seen in the pervious histories, probably because of the associations caused by the rumor that there were activities of the Huns in Kangju. This is certainly an explanation, but actually the Huns that were in Kangju might not have been the Northern Xiongnu who had migrated west. See Yu Taishan, *Sai zhong shi yanjiu,* pp. 242-271.

40 For detail, see Yu Taishan, *Sai zhong shi yanjiu,* pp. 242-271.

41 Cf. Uchida Ginpū, "Gisyo Seiikiden genbun kōshaku (chū)", pp. 82-101.

42 Cf. Ise Sentaro 伊瀬仙太郎, *Chūgoku Seiiki kēiēishi kenkyū* 中國西域經營史研究 (Tokyo: Gannandō, 1968), p. 122.

43 Yu Taishan, *Yeda shi yanjiu*.

44 Shiratori Kurakichi, "Zokutokukoku kō" 粟特國考, in *Shiratori Kurakichi zensyū*, vol. 7: *Seiikishi kenkyū* (ge) 白鳥庫吉全集·西域史研究下, pp. 43-123, esp. pp. 101-102.

45 Uchida Ginpū, "Gisyo maki ippyakuni Seiikiden yakuchū kō", pp. 1-34.

46 Shiratori Kurakichi, "Zokutokukoku kō".

47 Uchida Ginpū, "Gisyo Seiikiden genbun kōshaku (chū)".

48 Ma Xiaohe 馬小鶴, "Miguo Boxide cheng kao" 米國鉢息德城考, *Zhongya xuekan* 中亞學刊 2 (1987): 65-75.

49 For detail, see Ma Xiaohe, "Miguo Boxide cheng kao." Cf. also Xu Xuya 許序雅, *Tangdai sichou zhi lu yu Zhongya lishi dili yanjiu* 唐代絲綢之路與中亞歷史地理研究 (Xibei daxue chubanshe, 2000), 112-115.

50 Shiratori Kurakichi, "Zokutokukoku kō", esp. p. 77, and Uchida Ginpū, "Gisyo Seiikiden genbun

kōshaku (chū)".

51 For detail, see Yu Taishan, *Yeda shi yanjiu*, pp. 44-65.

52 Yu Taishan, *Yeda shi yanjiu*, pp. 44-65.

53 Song Xian 宋峴, "Fulishisatangna, Sulasatangna kaobian" 弗栗恃薩儻那, 蘇剌薩儻那考辨, *Yazhou wenming* 亞洲文明 3 (1995): 193-201.

54 Uchida Ginpū, "Gisyo Seiikiden genbun kōshaku (chū)".

55 Shiratori Kurakichi, "Futsurin mondai no shinkaishaku" 拂菻問題の新解釋, *Shiratori Kurakichi zensyū*, vol. 7, *Seiikishi kenkyū* (ge), pp. 403-596, esp. pp. 433-438.

56 Shiratori Kurakichi, "Futsurin mondai no shinkaishaku".

57 Yu Taishan, *Sai zhong shi yanjiu*, pp.187-191.

58 See Shiratori Kurakichi, "Futsurin mondai no shinkaishaku", esp. pp. 441-442.

59 Shiratori Kurakichi, "Futsurin mondai no shinkaishaku".

60 Shiratori Kurakichi, "Zokutokukoku kō", esp. p. 80.

61 Shiratori Kurakichi, "Zokutokukoku kō", esp. p. 98.

62 Cf. Yu Taishan 余太山, "Yeda shi ruogan wenti de zai yanjiu" 嚈噠史若干問題的再研究, *Zhongguo shehuikexueyuan Lishiyanjiusuo xuekan* 中國社會科學院歷史研究所學刊 1 (2001): 180-210.

63 Hori Kentoku 堀謙德, *Kaisetsu Seiikiki* 解說西域記 (國書刊行會 , 1972), p. 70; Mizutani Shinjyō 水谷真成, *Daitō Seiikiki* 大唐西域記, in *Chūgoku koten bungaku taikei* 中國古典文學大系 22 (Tokyo: Heibonsha , 1971), pp. 30-31.

64 Uchida Ginpū, "Gisyo Seiikiden genbun kōshaku (ge)", pp. 58-72.

65 Zhang Xinglang 張星烺, *Zhongxi jiaotong shiliao huibian* 中西交通史料彙編 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1978), 4: 61-62.

66 Uchida Ginpū, "Gisyo Seiikiden genbun kōshaku (ge)".

67 J. Marquart, *Ērānšahr* (Berlin: 1901), pp. 223-225, 242-243.

68 Shiratori Kurakichi, "Seiikishi jyō no sinkenkyū: Dai Getsushi kō", esp. p. 107; J. Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, pp. 225, 243-244.

69 Cf. Shiratori Kurakichi, "Seiikishi jyō no sinkenkyū: Dai Getsushi kō", esp. pp. 106-112; J. Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, pp. 225, 243-244.

70 Cf. Shiratori Kurakichi, "Seiikishi jyō no sinkenkyū: Dai Getsushi kō", esp. pp. 113-115; J. Marquart, *Ērānšahr,* pp. 245-246.

71 Cf. Shiratori Kurakichi, "Seiikishi jyō no sinkenkyū: Dai Getsushi kō", esp. pp. 115-118; J. Mar-

quart, *Ērānšahr*, pp. 279.

72 Cf. Shiratori Kurakichi, "Seiikishi jyō no sinkenkyū: Dai Getsushi kō", esp. pp. 119-120; J. Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, pp. 246-248.

73 Yu Taishan, *Yeda shi yanjiu*, pp. 70-74.

74 On the coins of Kidāra, see M. F. C. Martin, "Coins of Kidāra and the Little Kuṣāṇa", *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Series 3, vol. 3 (1937): 23-38.

75 The state of the Da Yuezhi was undoubtedly included in the report of Dong and Gao after their return. Not only was the Da Yuezhi mentioned in their report about the "four routes", but the method used to calculate the distance between the seat of the king's government of the Da Yuezhi and Dai was the same as with other states in the Western Regions. Cf. Matsuda Hisao, *Kodai Tenzan no rekishi-chirigakuteki kenkyū,* pp. 173-186; Enoki Kazuo 榎一雄, "Kidāra ōchō no nendai ni tsuite" キダーラ王朝の年代について , *Tōyō gakuhō* 東洋學報 41.3 (1958): 1-52.

76 Shiratori Kurakichi, "Daishin no mokunanshu to indo no nyoishu" 大秦の木難珠と印度の如意珠 (The Munan pearl [mārakata] of Da Qin and the Ruyi pearl [Cintāmaṇi] of India), in *Shiratori Kurakichi zensyū*, vol. 7, *Seiikishi kenkyū* (ge), pp. 597-641, esp. pp. 605-607.

77 Shiratori Kurakichi, "Seiikishi jyō no sinkenkyū: Kōkyo kō" 西域史上の新研究・康居考, *Shiratori Kurakichi zensyū*, vol. 6: *Seiikishi kenkyū* (jyō), pp. 58-96, esp. pp. 95-96.

78 Shiratori Kurakichi, "Daishinden yori mitaru Seiiki no chiri", esp. p. 370.

79 Uchida Ginpū, "Gisyo Seiikiden genbun kōshaku (ge)".

80 Yu Taishan, *Sai zhong shi yanjiu*, pp. 182-209.

81 This memoir states that the people of Da Qin "work at sericulture and agriculture". Uchida Ginpū, in "Gisyo Seiikiden genbun kōshaku (ge)", thinks that it is the sericulture of the East Roman Empire as described in the works of Procopius and Theophanes. The "Xi Rong zhuan" of *Weilüe* states that the people of Da Qin "cultivate the mulberry to raise silkworm". Uchida Ginpū, in "Gisyo maki ippyakuni Seiikiden yakuchū kō", regards Andu 安都 as Constantinople, which is not correct.

82 Shiratori Kurakichi, "Daishinden ni arawaretaru Shina shisō" 大秦傳に現はれたる支那思想 , in *Shiratori Kurakichi zensyū*, vol. 7,*Seiikishi kenkyū* (ge), pp. 237-301, esp. pp. 270-310; Shiratori Kurakichi, "Futsurin mondai no shinkaishaku", esp. pp. 405-416.

83 Cf. Shiratori Kurakichi, "Daishinden ni arawaretaru Shina shisō", esp. pp. 279-281.

84 Cf. Shiratori Kurakichi, "Daishinden ni arawaretaru Shina shisō", esp. pp. 243-247.

85 B. Laufer, *Sino-Iranica;* Lin Yunyin, trans., *Zhongguo Yilang bian*, pp. 113-122.

86 Cf. D. D. Leslie, and K.H.J. Gardiner, *The Roman Empire in Chinese Sources* (Roma: 1996), p. 202.

87 Shiratori Kurakichi, "Keihinkoku kō" 罽賓國考, in *Shiratori Kurakichi zensyū*, vol. 6, *Seiikishi kenkyū* (jyō), pp. 295-359, esp. p. 306.

88 Yu Taishan, *Yeda shi yanjiu*, pp. 66-75.

89 Yu Taishan, *Yeda shi yanjiu*, pp. 85-87.

90 For detail, see Yu Taishan, *Yeda shi yanjiu*, pp. 66-74.

91 Enoki Kazuo, "Kidāra ōchō no nendai ni tsuite".

92 Shiratori Kurakichi, "Keihinkoku kō", esp. pp. 315-317; Uchida Ginpū, "Gisyo Seiikiden genbun kōshaku (ge)".

93 J. Marquart, *Wehrot und Arang* (Leiden: 1938), pp. 35-38; Uchida Ginpū, "Tokara (Tukhāra) kokushi kō" 吐火羅 (Tukhāra) 國史考, in *Tōhō gakkai sōritsu nijyūgo shūnen kinen tōhōgaku ronshū* 東方學會創立 25 周記念東方學論集 (Tokyo: 1972), pp. 91-110.

94 Shiratori Kurakichi, "Zokutokukoku kō", esp. pp. 90-91.

95 J. Marquart, *Wehrot und Arang*, p. 37.

96 Shiratori Kurakichi, "Zokutokukoku kō".

97 Uchida Ginpū, "Gisyo Seiikiden genbun kōshaku (ge)"; Shiratori Kurakichi, "Zokutokukoku kō", esp. p. 91, thinks that Qisha 奇沙 is the state of Shi 史 (Kešš) in the "Xiyu zhuan" of the *Suishu* 隋書 , which is perhaps not correct.

98 *Shiji zhengyi* 史記正義 quotes *Nanzhou zhi* 南州志 by Wan Zhen 萬震: "In the seas there is the Isle of Sitiao 斯調, upon which there is a kind of tree, whose bark, when peeled, can be woven into a fine fabric. A handkerchief [made of it] can measure several *chi*, which is no different from brown hemp cloth, its color being somewhat blackish. If soiled, the cloth can be put into fire and it is then cleaned, so it is called the fire-washed cloth". It also quotes a passage from *Kuodizhi* 括地志: "Fire-washed cloths are woven in the State of Volcanoes 火山國, which is situated in the lakes and seas southeast of Fufeng 扶風. In this state all mountains are on fire. However, in the fire there is fur of white rats and a kind of bark. These materials can be woven into fire-washed cloth."

99 See Haneda Tōru 羽田亨, "Keikyō keiten jyochōmeishishokei ni tsuite", pp. 117-148.

100 Concerning the name of Yeda, see Yu Taishan, "Yeda shi ruogan wenti de zai yanjiu".

101 Cf. Yu Taishan, *Yeda shi yanjiu*, pp. 8-43.

102 Yu Taishan, "Yeda shi ruogan wenti de zai yanjiu".

103 Uchida Ginpū, "Gisyo Seiikiden genbun kōshaku (ge)".

104 Funaki Katsuma 船木勝馬, "Gisho Seiikiden kō – Sēiritsu to hotetsu to fukugen" 魏書西域傳

考—成立と補綴と復原 (On the "Memoir on the Western Regions" of *Weishu*: Compilation, addition, and restoration), *Tōyō shigaku* 東洋史學 2 (1951): 56-74; "Gisyo Seiikiden no fukugen – Gisyo Seiikiden kō [ni]" 魏書西域傳の復原 — 魏書西域傳考 (二) , *Tōyō shigaku* 5 (1952): 1-18, thinks that, after the completion of the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Weishu*, it was supplemented three times: first, the four states, from Agou Qiang to Jibin, were added; second, the six states, from Tuhuluo to Badou; third, the eight states after Yeda. The first two supplements were by Wei Shou; the last was by someone else after Wei Shou. This hypothesis serves to enhance the theory that the various states were arranged according to the "four regions" 四域 in the report of Dong and Gao. But the hypothesis is not well founded. First, the states in the first two supplements should be inserted in accordance with their order in the four regions. Second, the states added in the third supplement should not repeat the earlier text. Third, the possibility cannot be ruled out that Wei Shou had read the account by Song Yun and Huisheng.

105 J. Marquart, *Ērānšahr,* p. 245, thinks that it is in the mountaineous area between Zēbāk and Čitral. Cf. Édouard Chavannes, "Le voyage de Song Yun dans l'Udyana et le Gandhâra (518-522 *p.* C.)", *Bulletin de l'Ecole Française d'Éxtrême Orient* 3 (1903): 379-441; "Song Yun xing ji jianzhu" 宋雲行紀箋注, trans. Feng Chengjun 馮承鈞, *Xiyu Nanhai shidi kaozheng yicong liubian* 西域南海史地考證譯叢六編 (Shangwu, 1962), pp. 1-68; A. Stein, *Ancient Khotan* (Oxford: 1907), p. 14; Kuwayama Shōshin 桑山正進, *Kāpishī-Gandāra shi kenkyū* カ — ピシ — ガンダ — ラ史研究 (A study on the history of Kāpiśī-Gandhāra) (Kyōto daigaku jinbun kagaku kenkyūjyo, 1990), pp. 101-103.

106 Fan Xiangyong 范祥雍, *Luoyang qielan ji jiaozhu* 洛陽伽藍記校注 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji, 1978), p. 286.

107 Cf. Ji Xianlin 季羨林, et al., *Da Tang Xiyu ji jiaozhu* 大唐西域記校注 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1985), p. 205. Concerning trial by ordeal in India, see Jiang Zhongxin, trans., *Monufa lun* 摩奴法論 (Beijing: Zhongguo shehuikexue chubanshe, 1986), pp. 147-148 (Nos. 109-116).

108 *Luoyang qielan ji* 洛陽伽藍記 (ch. 5): "If [a criminal] deserved the death penalty, he would not be subject to instant execution. Instead, he would be transferred to a deserted mountain area where he was free to drink and eat, but nature was allowed to determine his fate. [A person] suspected of a crime would be asked to take some medicine that would prove whether he was innocent or guilty. If found to be guilty, he would be summarily dealt with according to the seriousness [of the crime he had committed]". (Yi-t'ung Wang, *A Record of Buddhist Monastaries in Lo-yang*, p. 229.)

109 Cf. Yu Taishan, *Yeda shi yanjiu*, pp. 85-102.

110 Concerning Buddhism in Qiantuoluo, cf. Fan Xiangyong, *Luoyang qielan ji jiaozhu*, pp. 317-340. Cf. also Hatani Ryōtai 羽溪了諦, *Seiiki no Bukkyō* 西域之佛教 (Buddhism in the Western Regions) (Kyōto: Hōrinkan, 1914); trans., He Changqun 賀昌羣 (Shangwu yinshuguan, 1956).

九 《周書·異域傳下》要注

A CONCISE COMMENTARY ON CHAPTER 50B OF *ZHOUSHU*, "THE MEMOIR ON FOREIGN LANDS"*

…………[1]

[1] In *Zhoushu* 周書, the states in the Western Regions are recorded in the "Yiyu zhuan (xia)" 異域傳下. The first two states, Tujue 突厥 and Tuyuhun 吐谷渾, do not belong to the Western Regions, and the commentary by the official historian targets the Northern Di 北狄, so they are not included here.

高昌[2]者，車師前王之故地，東去長安四千九百里[3]，漢西域長史及戊己校尉竝治於此。[4]晉以其地爲高昌郡。[5]張軌[6]、呂光[7]、沮渠蒙遜[8]據河西，皆置太守以統之。[9]其後有闞爽及沮渠無諱竝自署爲太守。[10]無諱死，茹茹[11]殺其弟安周，以闞伯周爲高昌王，高昌之稱王，自此始也。[12]伯周之從子首歸，爲高車所滅。[13]次有張孟明、馬儒相繼王之，竝爲國人所害。乃更推立麴嘉爲王。[14]嘉字靈鳳，金城榆中[15]人，本爲儒右長史。魏太和末立。[16]嘉死，子堅立。[17]

Gaochang 高昌[2] is the former territory of the King of Nearer Jushi 車師. To the east it is 4,900 *li*[3] from of Chang'an. The Chief Official of the Western Regions, as well as the Wuji 戊己 Colonel, both had their seat of government here in Han times.[4] During the Jin 晉 dynasty, this territory became Gaochang Prefecture.[5] When Zhang Gui 張軌[6], Lü Guang 呂光[7], and Juqu Mengxun 沮渠蒙遜[8] occupied Hexi 河西 they all established an administrator to control the region.[9] Following them, there were Han Shuang 闞爽 and Juqu Wuhui 沮渠無諱, both of whom installed themselves as

* The translation of this memoir is based on Accounts of Western Nations in the History of the Narthen chou Dynasty by Roy Andrew Miller, with alterations by Yu Taishan and edited by Victor H. Mair.

Administrators.[10] After [Juqu] Wuhui died, the Ruru 茹茹 [11] killed his younger brother [Juqu] Anzhou 沮渠安周 and made Han Bozhou 闞伯周 king of Gaochang. This is how the title of king was initiated in Gaochang.[12] [Han] Bozhou's nephew Shougui 首歸 was exterminated by the Gaoche 高車.[13] Next there were Zhang Mengming 張孟明 and Ma Ru 馬儒 who ruled in succession as Kings of Gaochang, but both were murdered by their countrymen, who thereupon chose Qu Jia 麴嘉 and established him as king.[14] Qu Jia, who styled himself Lingfeng 靈鳳, was a native of Yuzhong 榆中 [County] in Jincheng 金城 [Prefecture][15]. He was originally a Chief Official of the Right under [Ma] Ru and was established as king at the end of the Taihe 太和 reign-period [477-500] of the Wei 魏 dynasty.[16] When Qu Jia died, his son Jian 堅 was elevated to the throne.[17]

[2] The precursor of Gaochang 高昌 was the "Fortress of Gaochang" 高昌壁 in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu*.

[3] "4,900 *li*" (Distance 1): The distance between Gaochang and Chang'an; i.e., the aggregate of 1,300 *li*, the distance between Gaochang and Dunhuang (according to the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Suishu* 隋書: "One reaches Dunhuang after some thirteen days' journey from Gaochang"), and 3,600 *li*, the distance between Dunhuang and Chang'an.

[4] The Chief Official of the Western Regions, as well as the Wuji Colonel: The office of the Wuji Colonel was created in the first year of the Chuyuan 初元 reign-period (48 BCE) by Emperor Yuan 元 of the Western Han, headquartered at the town of Jiaohe 交河, the seat of the king's government of Nearer Jushi 車師. Towards the time when Emperor Ping 平 ascended the throne, the office of the Wuji Colonel was moved to the fortress of Gaochang from the fortress of Jiaohe. According to the "Geng Gong zhuan" 耿恭傳 in *Hou-Han shu* 後漢書, "[Geng] Gong 耿恭 was appointed the Wuji Colonel and stationed in the town of Jinpu 金蒲 in the tribe of the king of the state of Further Jushi. The Internuncio, Guan Chong 關寵, was appointed the Wuji Colonel and stationed in the town of Liuzhong 柳中 in the tribe of the king of the state of Nearer Jushi". The positions established at that time were in fact the Wu 戊 and Ji 己 Colonels, with the Wu Colonel stationed at the town of Jinpu, and the Ji Colonel, at the town of Liuzhong. It seems that, in the third year of the Yongyuan 永元 reign-period (91 CE), the positions of the Wu and Ji Colonels were abolished and the position created in the Western Han, the Wuji Colonel, was restored; the latter was stationed at the fortress of Gaochang, the same location as in the Western Han. When Emperor An 安 abolished the post of the Protector-General, the Wuji Colonel should also be abandoned. We do not know exactly when it was reinstated, but it must have been after

the second year of the Yanguang 延光 reign-period (123 CE). In that year, the Eastern Han appointed Ban Yong 班勇 Chief Official of the Western Regions, sending him to set up an agricultural colony at Liuzhong and to resume the administration in the Western Regions. It is possible that, after this, the seat of the government of the Wuji Colonel was still at the fortress of Gaochang. In the Eastern Han, the responsibility for the affairs in the area began to fall on the Chief Official of the Western Regions. The Chief Official of the Western Regions was not headquartered at the same place. Ban Chao 班超 and Xu Gan 徐幹 were stationed at Shule 疏勒, Suo Ban 索班 at Yiwu 伊吾, Ban Yong 班勇 at Liuzhong, and Zhao Ping 趙評 and Wang Jing 王敬 at Yutian 于闐. The headquarters of other officials are not known; it seems that none of them were at Gaochang.[1]

[5] The Western Jin, like the Cao Wei, also had a Wuji Colonel of the Western Regions, who reported to the Governor of Liang Province. The colonel was also stationed at Gaochang, but the territory did not become Gaochang Prefecture.

[6] The biography of the *de facto* founder of the Former Liang 前涼 Dynasty, Zhang Gui 張軌 (r. 301-314), can be found in *Jinshu* 晉書 (ch. 86). Here "Zhang Gui" refers to the regime of the Former Liang. After the Western Jin, it was the Former Liang, i.e., the Zhang's regime, which maintained contact with the Western Regions. It is generally believed that the dynasty, starting with Zhang Gui (r. 301-314) and extending through to Zhang Shi 張寔 (r. 314-320) and Zhang Mao 張茂 (r. 320-324), reached the height of its power during the reign of Zhang Jun 張駿 (r. 324-346) and Zhang Chonghua 張重華 (r. 346-353). It was then that the Former Liang's contact with the Western Regions was at its closest.

[7] Lü Guang 呂光 (338-399) was the founder of the Later Liang 後涼 Dynasty; his biography can be found in *Jinshu* (ch. 122).

[8] Juqu Mengxun 沮渠蒙遜 (368-433) was the founder of the Northern Liang 北涼 Dynasty; his biography can be found in *Jinshu* (ch. 129).

[9] The regime of Liang of the Zhang family established the Administrator of Gaochang after its capture of the Wuji Colonel appointed by the Western Jin, Zhao Zhen 趙貞. According to the "Longyou dao" 隴右道 section in the "Zhoujun bu" 州郡部 part of *Diyuzhi* 地輿志, cited in *Chuxue ji* 初學記 (ch. 8), "Gaochang Prefecture and Tiandi 田地 County were founded in the second year of the Xianhe 咸和 reign-period of Jin 晉 (327 CE)". That is to say, Zhang Jun captured Zhao Zhen and established the Prefecture of Gaochang towards the end of the second year of the Xianhe 咸和 reign-period.[2] The Administrator of Gaochang during the Liang Dynasty of the Lü family was Yang Han 楊翰, who held the same position under the Qin Dynasty of the Fu 苻 family. According to the "Lü Guang zaiji" 呂

光載記 in *Jinshu*, when Lü Guang returned after pacifying Qiuci 龜兹, "Fu Jian's Administrator of Gaochang, Yang Han, advised his Governor of Liang 涼 Province, Liang Xi 梁熙, to fortify and defend two passes at Gaotong 高桐 and Yiwu 伊吾, but [Liang] Xi did not follow [his advice]. When Guang reached Gaochang, [Yang] Han surrendered with his prefecture". (Richard Mather, trans., *Biography of Lü Kuang*, with modifications.) When the Northern Liang was founded, its influence reached Gaochang. Later, the ties between Gaochang and the Northern Liang were severed because of the rise of Li Hao 李暠. As soon as the Liang of Li family 李涼 collapsed, the Juqu 沮渠 family took control of Gaochang. In the "Juqu Mengxun zaiji" 沮渠蒙遜載記 of *Jinshu*, the first Administrator of Gaochang appointed by the Juqu regime was Wei Ren 隗仁: In the eleventh year of the Yixi 義熙 reign-period (415 CE), Major Wei Ren of Huanghe 湟河 "was captured by [Qifu] Chipan 乞伏熾磐"; he did not return to Guzang 姑臧 until "after being in the area of Chipan for five years". "When he arrived, [Juqu] Mengxun took his hand and said, 'You are truly my Su Wu 蘇武', and appointed him the Administrator of Gaochang".

[10] The account on Gaochang in *Weishu* records: "During the reign of Emperor Shizu 世祖 (424-451), Han Shuang 闞爽 named himself the Administrator of Gaochang". The Hans were a powerful house; Han Shuang himself should have assumed the office of the Administrator of Gaochang after the death of Juqu Mengxun (433), i.e., in the second (434) or third (435) year of the Yonghe 永和 reign-period of the Northern Liang. The "Xibei zhu Rong zhuan" in *Liangshu* records: "The state of Gaochang: Its ruler was from the Han 闞 family. Later, it was attacked and defeated by [Juqu] Wuhui 沮渠無諱, the younger brother of Juqu Maoqian 沮渠茂虔, the King of Hexi 河西, and its king Han Shuang fled to the Ruirui 芮芮 for shelter". Juqu Wuhui's attack on Gaochang was dated to the ninth month of the 19th year of the Yuanjia 元嘉 reign-period (442) of Song in the "Songji" of *Zizhi tongjian* 資治通鑒 (ch. 124); it should have been at this time that Han Shuang assumed the office of the Administrator himself. See both the "Juqu Mujian zhuan" 沮渠牧犍傳 in *Weishu* and the "Di Hu zhuan" 氐胡傳 in *Songshu* 宋書 for more details.

[11] The Ruru 茹茹, also known as the Rouran 柔然, Ruirui 芮芮, and Ruru 蠕蠕, constituted another powerful nomadic regime to the north of the Great Wall after the Xiongnu and the Xianbei 鮮卑. From 402, when their chief Shelun 社崙 assumed the title of Khan, to 555, when they were completely defeated by the Tujue 突厥, the Ruru controlled the area north of the Great Wall for a century and a half. During this time, in addition to frequent invasions into the Central Plains, they also expanded to the Western Regions, in order to control the trade routes, monopolize entrepot trade, and fulfill the needs of their nomadic economy.

[12] According to the account on Gaochang in *Weishu*, on the death of Juqu Wuhui, his younger brother took his place. In the first year of the Heping reign-period (460), the territory was annexed by the Ruru, who made Han Bozhou 闞伯周 the king of Gaochang. Han Bozhou should have been a member of Han Shuang's family. The Ruru defeated Juqu Anzhou, indicating that their intention was to control Gaochang again through the Han family.

[13] According to the account on Gaochang in *Weishu*, Han Bozhou died at the beginning of the Taihe 太和 reign-period, and his son, Yicheng 義成, was installed. Over a year later, he was killed by his brother Shougui 首歸, who declared himself the king of Gaochang. In the fifteenth year of the Taihe reign-period (491), the king of Gaoche 高車, Kezhiluosuo 可至羅所, killed Shougui, and installed a native of Dunhuang, Zhang Mengming 張孟明, as king.

[14] In the twentieth year of the Taihe reign-period (496 CE),[3] Zhang Mengming was killed by the countrymen of Gaochang, and Ma Ru 馬儒 was named king. He appointed Gong Guli 鞏顧禮 and Qu Jia 麴嘉 Chief Official of the Left and Chief Official of the Right, respectively. In the twenty-first year of the Taihe reign-period (497 CE), Ma Ru sent Wang Tixuan 王體玄, the Major, to pay tribute to Wei with a memorial requesting to be allowed to move their entire nation to the Central Plains and asking the Wei court to send troops to meet them. But the natives of Gaochang, reluctant to leave their former lands to relocate to the east, killed Ma Ru and established Qu Jia as king.

[15] Yuzhong [County] in Jincheng [Prefecture]: The seat of Jincheng Prefecture under the Northern Wei was Yuzhong (near present-day Yuzhong in Gansu Province).

[16] Qu Jia is generally believed to have reigned between 501 and 524.[4] He used two reign titles, Chengping 承平 and Yixi 義熙.

[17] "When Qu Jia died, his son Jian was elevated to the throne": On the death of Qu Jia, his son, Qu Guang 麴光, succeeded him; see the "Xiaozhuang ji" 孝莊紀 in *Weishu*. The establishment of Qu Jian occurred after Qu Guang; it is generally believed to have happened in 531.

其地東西三百里[18]，南北五百里。國内總有城一十六[19]。官有令尹一人，比中夏相國；次有公二人，皆其王子也，一爲交河公，一爲田地公；次有左右衛；次有八長史，曰吏部、祠部、庫部、倉部、主客、禮部、民部、兵部等長史也；次有建武、威遠、陵江、殿中、伏波等將軍；次有八司馬，長史之副也；次有侍郎、校書郎、主簿、從事，階位相次，分掌諸事；次有省事，專掌導引。其大事決之於王，小事則世子及二公隨狀斷決。[20]平章録記，事訖即除，籍書之外，無久掌文桉。[21]官人雖有列位，竝無曹府，唯每旦集於牙門評議衆事。諸城

各有戶曹、水曹、田曹。每城遣司馬、侍郎相監檢校，名爲城令。[22]服飾，丈夫從胡法[23]，婦人畧同華夏。兵器有弓、箭、刀、楯、甲、矟。文字亦同華夏，兼用胡書。[24]有《毛詩》、《論語》、《孝經》，[25]置學官子弟，以相教授。[26]雖習讀之，而皆爲胡語。[27]賦稅則計田輸銀錢，[28]無者輸麻布。[29]其刑法、風俗、婚姻、喪葬，與華夏小異而大同。[30]地多石磧，氣候溫暖，穀麥再熟，宜蠶，多五果。[31]有草曰羊刺[32]，其上生蜜焉。

Its territory is 300 *li* from east to west[18], and 500 *li* from north to south. Within the country there are a total of sixteen walled towns[19]. For officials, there is one Prime Minister, who is comparable to the Chancellor of State in China. Next there are two Dukes, both of whom are sons of the king. One is the Duke of Jiaohe 交河, the other the Duke of Tiandi 田地. Next there are the Protectors of the Left and Right. Next there are eight Chief Officials, namely, the Chief Official of the Board of Personnel, Board of Sacrifice, Board of the Treasury, Board of Granaries, Board of Entertainment for Guests, Board of Rites, Board of the Populace, and of the Board of War. Next there are Generals [titled] "Establisher of Martial Spirit", "Terror of the Remote", "Subjugator of Rivers", "Palace Chamberlain", and "Pacifier of the Billows". Next there are eight Majors, who are assistants to the Senior Officials. Next there are the Gentleman in Attendance, Examiner (Editor), Archivist, and Attendant Official. Their ranks are in the sequence named, and they divide their duties between them. Next there are Ushers, who merely act as guides. The great matters of state are decided by the king. In small matters, the heir-apparent and the two dukes make the decisions, according to the circumstances.[20] As far as statute records and archives are concerned, once a matter is settled, no permanent control is kept over the dossiers, except in the case of the census registers.[21] Although the functionaries hold positions of rank, they do not have official residences in which to transact business, but simply gather each dawn at the palace gate to deliberate upon multifarious matters. Each of the towns has an Office of Population, an Office of Irrigation, and an Office of Cultivated Land, and to every town are dispatched a Major and a Gentleman in Attendance, who examine them in turn and censor their activities. These are named the Municipal Supervisors.[22] In their raiment and adornment, the men conform to the Hu 胡 style[23], but [in this matter] the women approximate the styles of Huaxia 華夏 [China]. For military equipment, they have bows and arrows, swords,

shields and armor, and halberds. Although they use the same script as is used in Huaxia, they simultaneously use the Hu script.[24] They possess the *Odes of Mao*, *The Analects*, and the *Classic of Filial Piety* [25], and have established Educational Functionaries with disciples to provide for the study of and instruction in these[26], but although they learn to read the texts, they still translate it all into the Hu language.[27] The military and civil administrative taxes are reckoned for remission in silver coins.[28] Those without, remit hempen fabric.[29] Their penal laws, folk customs, wedlock, and funerals differ in some slight respects from those in Huaxia, but in the main they are identical.[30] This land is extremely rocky, but the climate is genially warm, so that the cereals ripen twice. It is suitable for the silkworm, and there is an abundance of the five fruits.[31] They have a plant called "sheep thorn"[32], the top of which produces honey.

[18] "Its territory is 300 *li* from east to west": For "300 *li*," the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Beishi* 北史 reads "200 *li*".

[19] For "sixteen walled towns," the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Beishi* reads "eight walled towns," following the "Gaochang zhuan" of *Weishu*. The "Xiyu zhuan" in *Suishu* reads "eighteen walled towns". The number kept steadily growing.

[20] For details on the bureaucracy, see the "Xibei zhu Rong zhuan" 西北諸戎傳 in *Liangshu* 梁書.

[21] "As far as statute records and archives are concerned...": The description here is not accurate, if we consider the materials unearthed in Turfan. The categorization, language, and format all copy the systems of the interior, and the official documents all include such formulaic expressions as 記識奏諾奉行, the typical language used in official communication, i.e., "something has been recorded and needs approval in order to be carried out".[5] The documents submitted to the king are referred to as "*zou*" 奏; the king used the word "*nuo*" 諾, combining the formats of the documents of the king and the crown prince, characteristic of the royal family of the Qus. Toward the end of the regime of the Qu family (624-640), the official who submitted memorials needed to add "*chen*" 臣 (subject) in front of his name, and to have the documents stamped with the official seal, bearing the characters 奏聞奉信, which reflected the strengthening of the king's power under Qu Wentai 麴文泰.[6]

[22] The heads of Gaochang County and the Town of Gaochang are the County Magistrate 縣令 and the City Administrator 城太守 (in the later period called Lord of the City 城主). Under them are the Attendant-in-ordinary 常侍, the County Major 縣司馬, the [Head of] the Military Section 兵曹, Writers of Farm Section 田曹錄事, Advisers of Receptions Section 客曹參軍, Advisers of Farm

Section 田曹參軍, Registrars of Farm Section 田曹主簿, Registrars of Military Section 兵曹主簿, and Department Clerks 省事.[7]

[23] "The Hu style": This seems to indicate the influence of the nomadic people to the north.

[24] "… they simultaneously use Hu script": From the materials unearthed, one can see that the documents were also written in the languages of Sute 粟特 (Sogdian) and Tujue 突厥 (Türkic), in addition to Chinese.

[25] "They possess the *Odes of Mao…*" Among the materials unearthed in Turfan, the classics in the Gaochang period included "Guanju xu" 關雎序 in the *Odes of Mao* (Tomb no. 59 in Astana), the *Zheng Commentary on the Odes of Mao* (*Maoshi Zhengjian* 毛詩鄭箋) (Tomb no. 524 in Astana), "Jianxi" 簡兮 in the *Odes of Mao* (unearthed at the site of the old town by Yār-Khoto),[8] "Xiaoya" 小雅 of the *Odes* (Ch. 2254), *The Analects*, the manuscript copy of the *Classic of Filial Piety* (Tomb no. 169 in Astana), the manuscript copy of *Xiaojing jie* 孝經解 of the first year of the Yixi 義熙 reign-period (Tomb no. 313 in Astana), among others. The *Classic of Filial Piety* and *The Analects* had been primers for pupils commencing school since Han times, and had been classics to be memorized by pupils since Wei and Jin.[9] Quite a few copies of the *Classic of Filial Piety* and many fragments of *The Analects* were unearthed in Gaochang, indicating that its education was attuned to that on the Central Plains.

[26] "… have established Educational Functionaries with disciples to provide for the study of and instruction in these": The materials unearthed reveal that there were official establishments of learning, with buildings, officials in charge, and disciples. One example is the fragment bearing the characters " 博士頡 " in the fourth year of the Jiaxing 嘉興 reign-period of the Western Liang 西涼 (420), unearthed at Tomb no. 59 at Astana.[10]

[27] "Although they learn to read the texts, they still translate it all into the Hu language": The copies of the *Classic of Odes*, the *Classic of Filial Piety*, and *The Analects*, among others, were all in Chinese. The text here states that the people read the Chinese classics in the Hu languages, which was perhaps a rumor.[11] It is stated in the "Xibei zhu Rong zhuan" of *Liangshu* that "the people's speech somewhat resembles that of the Middle Kingdom", which is different from the statement here. The statement in *Liangshu* is probably closer to the reality.

[28] "The military and civil administrative taxes are reckoned for remission in silver coins": This can be corroborated by materials unearthed in Turfan. The document titled "Gaochang jiang Xianshou deng tianmu de yinqian zhang" 高昌將顯守等田畝得銀錢帳 (Tomb no. 78 at Astana)[12] explicitly and systematically records the details in the calculation of the taxes according to the possession of land.

The taxes were reckoned according to the fertility of the land, not the area of the land. The taxes were classified into two types, *suzu* 俗租 and *sengzu* 僧租, which were a local feature.[13]

[29] "Those without, remit hempen fabric": In the materials unearthed in Turfan there are no instances of this. What we see is only the substitution of silver coins with wheat and grains. This statement may not be accurate.

[30] "Their penal laws…": According to the materials unearthed in Turfan, the Qu regime in Gaochang levied fines in cases of embezzlement, bribery, theft, and harboring loot (the so-called *zang qian* 贓錢).[14] From the contracts and official records of the legal cases, one can see the laws concerning civil administrations, the principles guiding the judgment of the criminal cases, and their relationship with the laws practiced in the Central Plains. Their clothing, food, housing, and means of transportation, as well as their religious beliefs and festivals, although inherited from the Central Plains, were conspicuously influenced by the Hu, a result of their submission to the Gaoche, Rouran, and Tujue, and the complexity in the composition of their resident population. The forms of wedlock included monogamy as well as polygamy; the family structure was stable, with the ritual marriage arrangements strictly observed. They buried the dead, and their tombs evolved from ground tombs to grotto tombs. In the mourning period they observed a specific set of rites and wore a specific set of mourning cloths, as in the Central Plains.

[31] "The climate is genially warm, so that the cereals ripen twice. It is suitable for the silkworm, and there is an abundance of the five fruits": The "Xiyu zhuan" of *Beishi* reads that "the climate is genially warm and the soil is fertile, so that the cereals ripen twice. It is suitable for the silkworm, and there is an abundance of the five fruits".

[32] Sheep thorn (*yangci* 羊刺), is, according to some, a type of plant like camel thorn (*Alhagi*).[15]

自嘉以來，世修蕃職於魏。[33]大統十四年，詔以其世子玄喜爲王。[34]恭帝二年，又以其田地公茂嗣位。[35]武成元年，其王遣使獻方物。[36]保定初，又遣使來貢。[37]

Beginning with [Qu] Jia, [the kings] for several generations served as frontier march officers for the Wei Dynasty.[33] In the fourteenth year of the Datong 大統 reign-period [548], an edict was issued to proclaim that his eldest son, Xuanxi 玄喜, be made king.[34] Then, in the second year of the reign of Emperor Gong 恭 [555], Mao 茂, Duke of Tiandi, was made to succeed to the throne.[35] In the first year of the Wucheng 武成 reign-period [559], its king sent an envoy to present its local products,[36] and at the

beginning of the Baoding 保定 reign-period [561-566], it again sent an envoy to present tribute.[37]

[33] The instances of Gaochang presenting tribute to Wei, according to the basic annals and the "Gaochang zhuan" of *Weishu*, are as follows: Since Qu Jia, in the first year of the Yongping 永平 reign-period (508); on the day *yiwei* 乙未 in the first month, in the sixth month, and on the day *wushen* 戊申 in the eighth month of the second year of the Yongping reign-period (509); on the day *bingwu* 丙午 in the second month of the third year of the Yongping reign-period (510); in the tenth month of the first year of the Yanchang 延昌 reign-period (512); and, on the day *bingyin* 丙寅 in the third month of the second year of the Yanchang 延昌 reign-period (513), according to "Shizong ji" 世宗紀; on the day *gengshen* 庚申 in the ninth month of the fourth year of the Yanchang 延昌 reign-period (515); on the day *wuxu* 戊戌 in the fourth month, on the day *yiyou* 乙酉 in the seventh month of the first year of the Xiping 熙平 reign-period (516), and in the fifth month and the in the winter of the fifth year of the Shengui 神龜 reign-period (518); on the day *jisi* 己巳 in the sixth month, and on the day *yiwei* 乙未 in the eleventh month of the Zhengguang 正光 reign-period (521), according to "Suzong ji" 肅宗紀 and "Gaochang zhuan".

[34] Xuanxi 玄喜 was Jian's heir apparent, who ascended the throne in the fourteenth year of the Datong 大統 reign-period (548). He was appointed king by the Western Wei, with Yongping 永平 as his reign title.

[35] "Mao, Duke of Tiandi," was the Bao Mao 寶茂 in "Ningshuo jiangjun Qu Bin zaosi bei" 寧朔將軍麴斌造寺碑 (The monument in the temple erected by Qu Bin 麴斌, the Ningshuo 寧朔 General),[16] who reigned between 555 and 560, with Jianchang 建昌 as his reign title.

[36] According to the "Mingdi ji" 明帝紀 in *Zhoushu* 周書, on the day *gengshen* 庚申 in the intercalary fifth month of the first year of the Wucheng 武成 reign-period (559), "Gaochang sent an envoy to present local products".

[37] According to the "Wudi ji (shang)" 武帝紀上 in *Zhoushu*, on the day *guiyou* 癸酉 in the first month of the first year of the Baoding 保定 reign-period (561), "... and Gaochang all sent envoys to present local products".

自燉煌向其國，多沙磧，道里不可准記，唯以人畜骸骨及駞馬糞爲驗，又有魍魎怪異。[38]故商旅來往，多取伊吾路[39]云。

All the way from Dunhuang 燉煌 to that state sand and rocks abound, so that neither the road nor the mileage can be exactly marked. Only by the skeletons of men and animals and by the droppings of camels and horses can one verify [the way]. Also, there are hobgoblins and prodigies there[38], for which reason the merchant caravans, going and coming, usually take the Yiwu 伊吾 route[39].

[38] "All the way from Dunhuang to that state…": The way from Dunhuang to Gaochang, where "sand and rocks abound," should be the "Route of the Great Sea", as described in the fragment of *Xizhou tujing* 西州圖經: "[The route] from the borders of Liuzhong 柳中 County in the southeastern direction to Sha 沙 Province is 1,360 *li*. There are often flowing sands, where people get lost. There are springs or wells with salty and bitter water. There is no pasture. Conveying water, carrying provisions, and walking on sand and boulders, the travelers passing to and fro are exhausted".[17]

[39] "The Yiwu route": The route from Dunhuang to Gaochang via Yiwu.[18]

鄯善[40]，古樓蘭國也。[41]東去長安五千里[42]，所治城[43]方一里。地多沙鹵，少水草，北即白龍堆[44]路。[45]魏太武時，爲沮渠安周所攻，其王西奔且末。西北有流沙數百里，夏日有熱風，爲行旅之患。風之欲至，唯老駞知之，即鳴而聚立，埋其口鼻於沙中，人每以爲候，亦即將氈擁蔽鼻口。其風迅駛，斯須過盡，若不防者，必至危斃。[46]

Shanshan 鄯善[40] is the state of Loulan 樓蘭 of antiquity.[41] To the east it is 5,000 *li*[42] from Chang'an. The town which is the seat of its king's government[43] is one *li* square. The land abounds in sand and salt, with little water or vegetation. To the north is White Dragon Mounds[44] Road[45]. During the reign of Emperor Taiwu 太武 of the Wei Dynasty [424-452] it was assaulted by Juqu Anzhou 沮渠安周, whereupon its king decamped west to Qiemo 且末. Northwest [of Qiemo] there are Flowing Sands for several hundred *li*. On summer days there is a hot wind which is disastrous for travelers. Only the old camels know that the wind is about to strike: then, crying out and huddling together, they stand burying their mouths and noses in the sand. Whenever this happens, the men recognize it as a sign, and take felt and press it over their noses and mouths to cover them. This wind is swift, but after a while it is completely calm. Nevertheless, those who do not take precautions are sure to come to grief and perish.[46]

[40] Shanshan 鄯善 was an oasis state on the Southern Route of the Western Regions, first mentioned in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu*.

[41] "The state of Loulan 樓蘭 of antiquity": The precursor of Shanshan was Loulan. According to the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu*, in the fourth year of the Yuanfeng 元鳳 reign-period of Emperor Zhao 昭 (77 BCE), Han sent Fu Jiezi 傅介子, Inspector [of the Stables] at the Pingle 平樂 Palace, to stab its king to death, and enthroned Weituqi 尉屠耆, who was pro-Han. The name of the state was changed to Shanshan.

[42] "5,000 *li*" (Distance 2): The distance between the seat of the king's government of Shanshan and Chang'an via Dunhuang; i.e., the aggregate of 1,500 *li*, the distance between the seat of the king's government of Shanshan to Dunhuang, and 3,600 *li*, the distance between Dunhuang and Chang'an. The figure "5,000" should be an abbreviated form of "5,100". According to "Faxian zhuan" 法顯傳, the distance between Dunhuang and Shanshan was "about 1,500 *li*", which shows that 1,500 *li* was actually the distance between Wuni 扜泥 and the Yang Barrier 陽關. According to the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu*, the distance between the town of Wuni and the Yang Barrier was 1,600 *li*.[19]

[43] "*Suo zhi cheng*" 所治城 refers to the seat of the king's government of Shanshan. In view of the distance between the town and Chang'an, we might as well think that the location is the same as the seat of the king's government of Shanshan recorded in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu*.

[44] "White Dragon Mounds" 白龍堆 refers to the present Yardang groups to the northeast of Lop Nor.

[45] The thirteen characters after 地多沙鹵 are from the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu*, with alterations. The introduction to this memoir states: "The Yi from all directions who have come to visit and pay their respects are hereby recorded in the following. As for the distances along their routes, the local products, and customs, all provided here, if we examine them against the detailed accounts in the previous histories, we may find differences. The account here is from the contemporary records, which complement [the previous histories] which may have some lacunae". From this we know that all the details about the various states in the Western Regions come from those who came and paid their respects to the court of the Northern Zhou. However, if we read this memoir in its entirety, it is not difficult to discover that the writings are not necessarily records unavailable in the previous histories. To be more precise, much is from previous histories, especially in the cases where not much is available in the so-called contemporary records, which were so scanty that it was impossible for the accounts therein to constitute a complete narrative.

[46] The text from "northwest [of Qiemo] there are Flowing Sands for several hundred *li*" to

"those who do not take precautions are sure to come to grief and perish": This should be a description of the northwest of Tuyuhun, but the editor of this memoir mistakenly inserted it into the section on Shanshan. The "Xiyu zhuan" of *Suishu* records: "The territories under the rule of [Tuyuhun] include Shanshan and Qiemo. In the northwest there are Flowing Sands for several hundred *li*. On summer days there is a hot wind which is fatal to travelers. Old camels know that the wind is about to strike: then, craning their necks, crying out and huddling together, they stand with their mouths and noses buried in the sand. Whenever this happens, people recognize it as a sign and cover their noses and mouths with felt in order to protect themselves from disaster". This shows that some of the sources for this memoir are the same as those for the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Suishu*.

大統八年，其王兄鄯米率衆内附。[47]

In the second year of the Datong 大統 reign-period [542], leading his people, the elder brother of the king [of Shanshan 鄯善], Shanmi 鄯米, submitted to the imperial court.[47]

[47] This section does not appear in the basic annals of *Zhoushu*. For "Shanmi" 鄯米, the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Beishi* 北史 reads Shanshanmi 鄯善米.

焉耆國[48]，在白山[49]之南七十里[50]，東去長安五千八百里[51]。其王姓龍[52]，即前涼張軌所討龍熙之胤。[53]所治城[54]方二里，部内凡有九城。[55]國小民貧，無綱紀法令。兵有弓刀甲矟。婚姻畧同華夏。死亡者皆焚而後葬，[56]其服制滿七日則除之。丈夫竝剪髮以爲首飾。文字與婆羅門同。[57]俗事天神[58]，竝崇信佛法。尤重二月八日、四月八日，是日也，其國咸依釋教，齋戒行道焉。[59]氣候寒，土田良沃，穀有稻粟菽麥，畜有駝馬牛羊。養蠶不以爲絲，唯充綿纊。俗尚蒲桃酒，兼愛音樂。南去海[60]十餘里，有魚鹽蒲葦[61]之饒。

The state of Yanqi 焉耆[48]: It is 70 *li*[50] south of the White Mountain[49] and it is 5,800 *li*[51] from Chang'an to the east. Its king is surnamed Long 龍[52], and is a descendant of Long Xi 龍熙[53], against whom Zhang Gui 張軌 of the Former Liang 涼 Dynasty had sent a punitive force. The town which is the seat of its king's government[54] is two *li* square. Within its tribal (lands) there are a total of nine towns.[55] The country is small and its people are destitute. They do not have the principles of government, or laws and

regulations. For arms they have bows, swords, armor, and halberds. Marriage is similar to that in Huaxia 華夏 (China). All the deceased are cremated and then buried.[56] They wear mourning for seven full days, after which they put it off. The adult men all clip their hair to decorate their head. Their script is similar to that of the Brahmans.[57] It is their custom to serve the "Heavenly God(s)"[58], but they also revere and believe in the law of the Buddha. They especially celebrate these days: the eighth day of the second month, and the eighth day of the fourth month. All the country abstains and does penance according to the teachings of Śakyamuni, and follows His Way.[59] The climate is cold, and the land good and fertile. For cereals, they have rice, millet, pulse and wheat. For animals, they have camels, horses, cows and sheep. They raise silkworms but do not make silk, merely using [the silk fiber] for padding. It is their custom to relish grape wine, and they also love music. To the south there is a sea[60] at a distance of over 10 *li*, with an abundance of fish, salt, and rushes[61].

[48] Yanqi 焉耆 was an oasis state on the Northern Route of the Western Regions, first mentioned in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu*.

[49] "The White Mountain" refers to the Tianshan Mountains.

[50] "70 *li*" (Distance 3.1): The distance between the seat of the king's government of Yanqi and the White Mountain.

[51] "5,800 *li*" (Distance 3.2): The distance from the seat of the king's government of Yanqi to Chang'an via Dunhuang; i.e., the aggregate of 2,200 *li*, the distance between the seat of the king's government of Yanqi and Chang'an according to the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Suishu*, and 3,600 *li*, the distance between Dunhuang and Chang'an.

[52] Long 龍 was a popular family name in Yanqi.[20]

[53] "A descendant of Long Xi, against whom Zhang Gui of the Former Liang Dynasty had sent a punitive force": Zhang Gui 張軌 here refers to the regime of the Former Liang Dynasty of the Zhang family. At that time, Zhang Jun 張駿 was on the throne. For details on the expedition against Long Xi, see the "Xi Rong zhuan" 西戎傳 of *Jinshu*; the event occurred in the first year of the Yonghe 永和 reign-period (345).

[54] "*Suo zhi cheng*" 所治城 refers to the seat of the king's government of Yanqi. We might as well think that the location is the same as the seat of the king's government of Yanqi as recorded in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu*.

[55] "Within its tribal (lands) there are a total of nine towns": They may include the nearby smaller states subject to Yanqi, such as Weixu 危須 and Weili 尉犂.

[56] "All the deceased are cremated and then buried": This is perhaps a result of the influence of Buddhism.

[57] "Their script is similar to that of the Brahmans": According to some scholars, this is the evidence that Sanskrit was used in Yanqi.[21]

[58] "It is their custom to serve the "Heavenly God(s)": The god of Zoroastrianism in this memoir is called the fire god 火祆神, and so here the "Heavenly God(s)" may refer to the theism of heavenly bodies or the heavenly gods in Taoism. There is no consensus about this.

[59] *Jingchu suishi ji* 荊楚歲時記 records: "On the eighth day of the second month, the birthday of Śakyamuni, as well as on the day of his Enlightenment, the families of believers observe the eight precepts of the one-day vow holder and prepare wheels, ceremonial canopies, and lanterns decorated with paintings depicting scenes of the eight assemblies in seven different places. Towards dawn, [the people] carry incense and flowers and circumambulate the city once, which is called *xingcheng* 行城". "On the eighth day of the fourth month, the various temples observe ceremonies by bathing the statues of Buddha with water perfumed with five incenses in what is called the *longhuahui* 龍華會 (dragon-flower assembly)". Both are Buddhist holidays. Chapter 1 of *Jushelun shu* 俱舍論疏 (Exegesis on the *Abhidharmakosa-sastra*) states: "Generally speaking, there are two reasons [for the difference in month]. First, this is because of the different interpretation of which solar month is regarded as the first month. The country of the Brahmans regards the solar month of *zi* 子 as the first month, whereas here the solar month of *yin* 寅 is seen as the first month. The fourth month of the former is the second month of the latter; so those who observe the holiday according to Sanskrit texts say it is the fourth month, whereas those who observe the holiday according to the local calendar say it is the second month. Essentially both are the same".[22]

[60] The sea here refers to the Bagrash kul.

[61] *Puwei* 蒲葦 refers to various kinds of *luwei* 蘆葦 (rushes).

保定四年，其王遣使獻名馬。[62]

In the fourth year of the Baoding 保定 reign-period [564 CE], its king sent an envoy to present its renowned horses.[62]

[62] According to the "Wudi ji (shang)" 武帝紀上 of *Zhoushu*, on the day *wuyin* 戊寅 in the seventh month of the fourth year of the Baoding reign-period (564), "Yanqi sent an envoy to present its renowned horses".

龜茲國[63]，在白山之南一百七十里[64]，東去長安六千七百里[65]。其王姓白[66]，即後涼呂光所立白震之後。[67]所治城[68]方五六里。其刑法，殺人者死，劫賊則斷其一臂，並刖一足。賦税，准地徵租，無田者則税銀錢。婚姻、喪葬、風俗、物産與焉支[69]畧同，唯氣候少溫爲異。又出細氈、麖[70]皮、氍毹[71]、鐃沙[72]、鹽綠[73]、雌黄[74]、胡粉[75]、及良馬、封牛[76]等。東有輪臺[77]，即漢貳師將軍李廣利所屠。[78]其南三百里有大水東流，號計戍[79]水，即黄河也。

The state of Qiuci 龜茲[63]: It is 170 *li* [64] south of the White Mountain and it is 6,700 *li* [65] from Chang'an to the east. Its king is surnamed Bai 白[66]; he is a descendant of Bai Zhen 白震, who was established by Lü Guang 呂光 of the Later Liang Dynasty.[67] The town, which is the seat of its king's government[68], is five or six *li* square. In its penal laws, a murderer is executed, and a robber has one arm and one leg cut off. For military and civil administrative taxes, they measure the land in order to assess the levies. Those who hold no fields remit in silver coins. Wedlock, funerals, customs and products are roughly similar to those in Yanzhi 焉支[69], but one difference is the climate, which is somewhat warmer here. It also produces delicate felt, deerskin[70] rugs, *qushu* 氍毹[71] (wool carpets), nušādir[72] (sal ammoniac), "salty green"[73], orpiment[74], and exotic cosmetics[75], as well as fine horses, humped cattle[76], and the like. To the east there is Luntai 輪臺[77], [whose people] were massacred by Li Guangli 李廣利, the Ershi 貳師 General, of the Han Dynasty.[78] Three hundred *li* to the south there is a great stream, which flows east and is called the Jishu 計戍 River;[79] this is the Yellow River.

[63] Qiuci 龜茲 was an oasis state on the northern route of the Western Regions, first mentioned in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu*.

[64] "170 *li*" (Distance 4.1): The distance from the seat of the king's government of Qiuci northward to the White Mountain.

[65] "6,700 *li*" (Distance 4.2): The distance from the seat of the king's government of Qiuci via that of Yanqi to Chang'an; i.e., the aggregate of 900 *li* according to the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Suishu*,

the distance between the seat of the king's government of Qiuci and that of Yanqi, and 5,800 *li*, the distance between the seat of the king's government of Yanqi and Chang'an. The distance between the seat of the king's government of Qiuci and Dunhuang is 3,100 *li* according to the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Suishu*. The aggregate of this figure and 3,600 *li*, the distance between Dunhuang and Chang'an, is also 6,700 *li*.

[66] Bai 白, also known as Bo 帛, was a popular family name in Qiuci.[23]

[67] "A descendant of Bai Zhen, who was established by Lü Guang of the Later Liang Dynasty": When Lü Guang made a punitive expedition against Qiuci, he drove away its king, Bo Chun 帛純, and established his younger brother, Zhen 震, as king. The event occurred in the seventh month of the ninth year of the Taiyuan 太元 reign-period (384). See the "Lü Guang zaiji" 呂光載記 of *Jinshu*.

[68] "*Suo zhi cheng*" 所治城 refers to the seat of its king's government of Qiuci. Since there is no reason to think that the location of the seat of the king's government of Yanqi is different from that described in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu*, the location of the seat of the king's government of Qiuci should also be the same as in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu*.

[69] Yanzhi 焉支 should be Yanqi 焉耆.[24]

[70] 麖 is *shuilu* 水鹿 or *malu* 馬鹿 (sambar; *Cervus unicolour*).

[71] 氍毹 is the *qushu* 氍毹 in the "Xi Rong zhuan" 西戎傳 of *Weilüe* 魏略.

[72] 鐃沙 is *sal ammoniac*; it originates from *nušādir* or *naušādir* in Persian.

[73] 鹽綠 (salty green), according to one opinion, refers to various kinds of *cupric oxide*.[25]

[74] 雌黃 is first mentioned in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu*.

[75] 胡粉 is perhaps a kind of cosmetic.

[76] 封牛 (humped cattle) is first mentioned in the "Xiyu zhuan" of the *Hanshu*.

[77] Luntai 輪臺 was originally an oasis state on the Northern Route; it should be the Luntou 侖頭 in the "Dayuan liezhuan" of *Shiji*.

[78] Li Guangli 李廣利 was the Ershi 貳師 General of the Western Han. During the Taichu 太初 reign-period of Emperor Wu 武 he led the troops in a punitive expedition against Dayuan 大宛. Luntai 輪臺, located on the route to Dayuan, refused to surrender, but was stormed by Li Guangli, with many of its inhabitants killed. See the "Dayuan liezhuan" 大宛列傳 of *Shiji* and "Zhang Qian, Li Guangli zhuan" 張騫李廣利傳 of *Hanshu*.

[79] "Jishu" 計戍 [kiet-xiuk], according to one opinion, is a transcription of *Kaš* in Türkic.[26]

保定元年，其王遣使來獻。[80]

In the first year of the Baoding 保定 reign-period [561 CE], its king sent an envoy to present tribute.[80]

[80] According to the "Wudi ji (shang)" of *Zhoushu*, on the day *wuchen* 戊辰 in the fifth month of the first year of the Baoding reign-period (561), "… and Qiuci all sent their envoys to present local products".

于闐國[81]，在葱嶺之北二百餘里[82]。東去長安七千七百里[83]。所治城[84]方八九里，部內有大城五，小城數十。[85]其刑法，殺人者死，餘罪各隨輕重懲罰之。自外風俗物産與龜茲畧同。俗重佛法，寺塔僧尼甚衆，王尤信尚，每設齋日，必親自洒掃饋食焉。城南五十里有贊摩寺[86]，卽昔羅漢比丘[87]比盧旃[88]爲其王造覆盆浮圖[89]之所，石上有辟支[90]佛趺處，雙跡猶存。[91]自高昌以西，諸國人等多深目高鼻，唯此一國，貌不甚胡，頗類華夏。[92]城東二十里有大水北流，號樹枝水[93]，卽黃河也。城西十五里亦有大水，名達利水[94]，與樹枝［水］俱北流，同會於計戍。

The state of Yutian 于闐[81]: It is over 200 *li*[82] north of the Cong 葱 Mountains and 7,700 *li*[83] from Chang'an to the east. The town which is the seat of its king's government[84] is eight or nine *li* square. Within its tribal lands there are five large towns and smaller ones which can be numbered in the tens.[85] In its penal laws, a murderer is executed, and other criminals are punished according to the degree of their offence. Otherwise, its customs and products are largely similar to those of Qiuci. It is the custom to esteem the law of the Buddha, and there are great numbers of temples, *stūpas*, monks and nuns. The king is an especially devoted believer, and each time he establishes a day of fasting, he always personally performs the sprinkling of water, the sweeping, and the offering of food. Fifty *li* south of the [main] town is Zanmo 贊摩 Temple[86], which is the spot where long ago an *arhat*, the *bhikṣu*[87] Vairocana[88], constructed an "inverted alms bowl" *stūpa* for the king[89]. On the top of the stone, the two footprints made when the Pratyekabuddha[90] sat there cross-legged are still to be found.[91] From Gaochang 高昌 west, the inhabitants of the various states mostly have deep-set eyes and high noses. Only in this one state are the people not so much like Hu 胡 but rather resemble the Chinese.[92] Twenty *li* east of the town there is a great stream, which flows north

and is called the Shuzhi 樹枝 River[93]; this is the Yellow River. Fifteen *li* west of the town there is also a great stream, named the Dali 達利 River[94]; it flows north with the Shuzhi, and both join the Jishu 計戍 [River].

[81] Yutian 于闐 was an oasis state on the Southern Route of the Western Regions, first mentioned in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu*.

[82] "200 *li*" (Distance 5.1): The distance from the seat of the king's government of Yutian southwards to the Cong Mountains.

[83] "7,700 *li*" (Distance 5.2): The distance between the seat of the king's government of Yutian and Chang'an. The figure 7,700 *li* could be the corruption of "7,900 *li*," the latter being calculated by the difference between 9,800 *li* and 1,900 *li* as recorded in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Weishu*.

[84] "*Suo zhi cheng*" 所治城 refers to the seat of the king's government of Yutian. In comparison with the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Weishu*, the distance from the seat of the king's government of Yutian to Chang'an is shorter by 200 *li*. If no corruptions or errors are involved, the difference may have resulted from the surveys conducted in the two different periods; we should not conclude that the location of the seat of the king's government was different. The distances given in this memoir are often shorter than those given in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Weishu*.

[85] "Within its tribal lands there are five large towns and smaller ones which can be numbered in the tens": The figure probably includes the neighboring smaller states, such as Wumi 杆彌, which submit to it.

[86] The Zanmo Temple 贊摩寺 is Tasar-ma Samghārāma (the great samghārāma).

[87] Biqiu 比丘 is *bhikṣu*.

[88] Biluzhan 比盧旃 is Vairocana.

[89] *Futu* 浮圖 is stupa.

[90] Bizhifo 辟支佛 is Pratyekabuddha.

[91] *Luoyang qielan ji* 洛陽伽藍記 (ch. 5) states: "Previously, the king of Yutian did not believe in Buddhism. A barbarian merchant brought a monk named Piluzhan 毗盧旃 (Vairocana) to the south of the city and had him wait beneath an apricot tree. He then went to see the king and asked for forgiveness, saying, 'Now, without authorization, I have brought an alien monk, who is now in the south of the city beneath an apricot tree'. Upon hearing this, the king was enraged. He immediately set out to see Piluzhan. Piluzhan then spoke to the king: 'Tathagāta sent me to come here, and he ordered Your Highness to construct a stūpa with a top shaped like an overturned plate as a way of

ensuring the everlasting prosperity of your reign'. The king said, 'If you would show me Buddha, I would then comply with your request'. Piluzhan rang a bell and told Buddha [about this], and Buddha instantly ordered Luohouluo 羅睺羅 (Rāhula) to change into the shape of a Buddha, showing his real appearance in the sky. The king, placing his knees, elbows, and head on the ground [to express his utmost respect], immediately had a shrine built beneath the apricot tree and had a portrait of Rāhula painted. Rāhula then suddenly disappeared. The king of Yutian again had a hall built to house the portrait [and display it]. Now the reflection of the plate-shaped [stūpa top] often appears outside of the house, and all of those who see it devotedly worship it. Inside of the house is Bizhifo's 辟支佛 (Pratyekabuddha) shoe, which has remained intact to this day. It is not made of leather, nor of silk, but of some unknown material". (Yi-t'ung Wang, trans., *A Record of Buddhist Monasteries in Lo-yang*, [Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984], pp. 221-222.)

[92] "From Gaochang west…": This section shows that the features of the people of the Western Regions west of Gaochang, as late as the age described in this memoir, were characterized by "deep-set eyes and high noses". "Only in this one state are the people not so much like Hu": This is probably because of the intermingling of the inhabitants there and the impact of the Di 氐 or Qiang 羌.

[93] The Shuzhi 樹枝 River is the Shouzhi 首枝 River in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Weishu*.

[94] The Dali 達利 River is the Tarim River. "Dali" 達利 should be a transcription of Tarim.

建德三年，其王遣使獻名馬。[95]

In the third year of the Jiande 建德 reign-period [574 CE], its king sent an envoy to present its renowned horses.[95]

[95] The "Wudi ji (shang)" 武帝紀上 in *Zhoushu* 周書 records: On the day *wuwu* 戊午 in the eleventh month of the third year of the Jiande reign-period (574), "Yutian sent an envoy to present renowned horses".

嚈噠國[96]，大月氏之種類[97]，在于闐之西，東去長安一萬百里[98]。其王治拔底延城，蓋王舍城也。[99]其城方十餘里。刑法、風俗，與突厥[100]畧同。其俗又兄弟共娶一妻，夫無兄弟者，其妻戴一角帽；若有兄弟者，依其多少之數，更加帽角焉。[101]其人兇悍，能戰鬬。于闐、安息等大小二十餘國，皆役屬之。[102]

The state of Nieda 嚈噠[96]: Its people are descended from Da Yuezhi 大月氐 stock.[97] It is located to the west of Yutian, and to the east it is distant by 10,100 *li* [98] from Chang'an. The seat of the king's government is the town of Badiyan 拔底延, which means something like "the town of Râjagṛha". [99] This town is over ten *li* square. Its penal laws and customs are roughly similar to those of the Tujue 突厥 [100] (Türks). They also have a custom in accordance with which older and younger brothers marry one wife. If one has no older or younger brother, one's wife wears a one-horned hat. If one has brothers, horns are added to the hat, according to their number.[101] Its people are fierce and violent, and make mighty warriors. Yutian, Anxi 安息, and other states, large and small, altogether more than twenty, are subject to it.[102]

[96] "Nieda" 嚈噠 [ngian-dat] is a transcription of the Nephthalites or Hephthalites, i.e., the Yeda 嚈噠 in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Weishu*.

[97] "Its people are descended from Da Yuezhi 大月氐 stock": 氐 should be a corruption of 氏. There is no evidence which points to any historical connection between Nieda and the Da Yuezhi. The statement in this memoir could only be based on the fact that, after it had migrated west to Central Asia, Nieda established a state in the area once conquered by the Da Yuezhi.[27]

[98] "10,100 *li*" (Distance 6): The distance between the seat of the king's government of Nieda via that of Yutian to Chang'an; i.e., the aggregate of 2,400 *li*, equivalent to twenty-four days' journey from the seat of the king's government of Nieda to that of Yutian, and 7,700 *li*, the distance between the seat of the king's government of Yutian and Chang'an.

[99] Badiyan 拔底延 should be Bactra, the capital of Bactria. "Badiyan" 拔底延 [buat-tyei-jian] should be a transcription of Bāχtriyā (i.e., Baχtri). Baχtri should be the "Fuhe" 縛喝 in *Da Tang Xiyu ji* 大唐西域記 (ch. 1). It is said that that town was also called "Xiao Wangshecheng" 小王舍城 (Little Rājagṛha), which conforms with the term "Wangshecheng" 王舍城 (Rājagṛha) in this memoir.

[100] The Tujue 突厥 built another powerful nomadic regime in North Asia after the Ruru 茹茹.

[101] "They also have a custom according to which older and younger brothers marry one wife": This indicates the practice of polyandry among the people of Nieda at the time of this memoir. This is, however, not the indigenous, original practice among the people of Nieda; they only followed the local practice after they migrated west to Central Asia.[28]

[102] "Yutian, Anxi, and other states, large and small, altogether more than twenty, are subject to it": The power of Nieda extended to most areas in Central and Western Asia in its height. According to

Luoyang qielan ji 洛陽伽藍記 (ch. 5): "The state received tribute from a number of countries: from Dieluo 牒羅 [29] in the south to as far as Chile 勑懃 [30] in the north, from Yutian in the east to Bosi 波斯 in the west". According to the text below, "Anxi" 安息 here seems to be in the valley of the Amu Darya.

大統十二年，遣使獻其方物。[103]魏廢帝二年[104]，明帝二年[105]，竝遣使來獻。後爲突厥所破，部落分散，[106]職貢遂絕。

In the twelfth year of the Datong 大統 reign-period [546 CE], it sent envoys to present its local products.[103] In the second year of the reign of Emperor Fei 廢 of the Wei Dynasty[104] [553 CE], and in the second year of the reign of Emperor Ming 明 [105] [of our Zhou Dynasty] [558 CE], it also sent envoys to present tribute. Later it was destroyed by the Tujue. Its tribe was scattered [106] and its tribute stopped.

[103] This is not seen in the basic annals of *Zhoushu*.

[104] This is not seen in the basic annals of *Zhoushu*.

[105] According to the "Mingdi ji" 明帝紀 in *Zhoushu*, on the day *guihai* 癸亥 in the sixth month of the second year in the reign of Emperor Ming (558), "Nieda sent envoys to present tribute".

[106] "Later it was destroyed by the Tujue. Its tribe was scattered…": In the sixth century, the Tujue rose in Northern Asia. Before 546, its chief Tumen 土門 (r. ?-552) vanquished the Tiele 鐵勒 on behalf of the Rouran 柔然, for which service he requested to form a matrimonial alliance. He, however, was insulted by Khan Anagui 阿那瓌 (r. 520-552), which infuriated him, leading him to kill the envoy and sever all ties with the Khan. In 552 he attacked and defeated Anagui, who committed suicide. As a result of repeated defeats by the Tujue, the Khanate of Rouran ended in complete collapse, with all its territories occupied by the Tujue. Thus, the Tujue adjoined Nieda to the west. Meanwhile, in the west, Khusrau I (r. 531-579), after ascending the throne, made a series of political, economic, and military reforms, resulting in the strengthening of Sassanian Persia. Khusrau I, while fighting against Byzantium for hegemony over the Mediterranean, formed a matrimonial alliance with the Tujue, so as to jointly prevail over Nieda. Between the end of the fifties and the beginning of the sixties of the sixth century, the joint forces of the Tujue and Bosi launched a pincer attack on Nieda, which suffered complete defeat and destruction. The Tujue and Bosi divided the land of Nieda, with the Amu Darya as the border. Soon the forces of the Tujue continued their advance to the south, occupying all the original lands of Nieda. What remained of Nieda's population scattered in Northern

Asia, Central Asia, and the Subcontinent, and became intermingled with various ethnic groups.[31]

粟特國[107]在葱嶺之西，蓋古之庵蔡[108]，一名溫那沙[109]。治於大澤[110]，在康居西北[111]。

The state of Sute 粟特[107]: It is located to the west of the Cong Mountains. It is presumably the Ancai 庵蔡[108] of antiquity. One name for it is Wennasha 溫那沙[109]. It has the seat of its king's government on the Great Marsh[110] to the northwest of Kangju 康居[111].

[107] "Sute" 粟特 is first mentioned in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Weishu*; it is "Suyi" 粟弋 in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hou-Han shu* and the "Xi Rong zhuan" 西戎傳 of *Jinshu*: all refer to Sogdiana. "Sute" 粟特 [siok-dək] is a transcription of Soghd. The states in the Western Regions recorded in this memoir are those that had paid tribute to the Northern Zhou, but in some cases there were no materials available, apart from records in previous histories. Yet as some record had to be made about these states, the only recourse was to copy materials from previous histories. The section on the state of Sute is a case in point.

[108] "It is presumably the Ancai of antiquity": The editor of this memoir has repeated the error in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Weishu*. The editor of the latter, based on the report of Dong and Gao, regarded "Sute" as "Yancai", the main reason being that, in their mission to the west, Dong and Gao heard that "Sute" was destroyed by the Xiongnu (Yeda), and at the same time they also heard that "Yancai" 奄蔡 (i.e., Alans 阿蘭) was destroyed by the Huns (the Xiong 匈). Since the Huns (Xiong) and Xiongnu sounded similar, and the Huns destroyed Alans around 370, very close to the time when the Xiongnu (Yeda) destroyed "Sute", Dong and Gao concluded that "Yancai" was "Sute".[32] "Ancai" 庵蔡 [am-tsat] and "Yancai" 奄蔡 are variations in the transcription of the same name.

[109] "One name for it is Wennasha": This is another case of a mistake from the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Weishu* being repeated here.[33] "Wennasha" 溫那沙 [uən-na-shea] is a transcription of Hūnashāh. Huna is the Nieda which once held Sogdiana in submission. Nieda was once called, or called itself, the Xiongnu.

[110] "The Great Marsh" refers to the present-day Aral Sea. According to the "Dayuan liezhuan" in *Shiji*, the state of Yancai was "situated on the Great Marsh".

[111] Kangju 康居 was a nomadic tribe on the northern side of the Syr Darya, first mentioned in

the "Dayuan liezhuan" of *Shiji*. It is stated here that the state of Sute was "to the northwest of Kangju" and was the Ancai of antiquity, which is not correct. According to the "Dayuan liezhuan" in *Shiji*, "Yancai is at a distance of about 2,000 *li* northwest of Kangju".

保定四年，其王遣使獻方物。[112]

In the fourth year of the Baoding reign-period [564 CE], its king sent an envoy to present its local products.[112]

[112] According to the "Wudi ji (shang)" in *Zhoushu*, on the day *wuwu* 戊午 in the seventh month of the fourth year of the Baoding reign-period (564), "Sute sent an envoy to present local products".

安息國[113]在葱嶺之西，治蔚搜城[114]。北與康居[115]、西與波斯[116]相接，東去長安一萬七百五十里[117]。

The state of Anxi 安息[113]: It is located to the west of the Cong Mountains. The seat of the king's government is the town of Weisou 蔚搜[114]. It adjoins Kangju[115] in the north and Bosi 波斯[116] in the west. To the east it is 10,750 *li*[117] from Chang'an.

[113] Anxi 安息 normally refers to Parthian Persia, first mentioned in the "Dayuan liezhuan" of *Shiji*. But the "Anxi" in this memoir obviously could not be Parthian Persia. One opinion is that this "Anxi" refers to the state of An 安 (Bukhārā)[34] in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Suishu*. Another view is that the "Anxi" refers to the remnants of Parthian Persia.[35] Should "Anxi" be the state of An, how could one account for the fact that the seat of its king's government was Weisou? So it is possible that "Anxi" 安息 [an-siək] is a variant transcription of Wakhsh, perhaps a Sai tribe west of the Cong Mountains and in the valley of the Amu Darya.

[114] The town of Weisou 蔚搜城 should be the seat of the king's government of the state of Anxi. Weisou 蔚搜 [iuət-shiu], like Anxi, should be a transcription of Wakhsh.

[115] Here "Kangju" 康居 probably refers to Sogdiana or Samarkand in that area, because Sogdiana was subject to Kangju for a long time and was once regarded as Kangju.

[116] Bosi 波斯 is generally regarded as Sassanian Persia.

[117] "10,750 *li*" (Distance 7): The distance from the town of Weisou to Chang'an.

天和二年，其王遣使來獻。[118]

In the second year of the Tianhe 天和 reign-period (567 CE), its king sent an envoy to present tribute.[118]

[118] According to the "Wudi ji (shang)" of *Zhoushu*, on the day *renshen* 壬申 in the fifth month of the second year in the Tianhe reign-period (567), "… and Anxi all sent envoys to present local products".

波斯國，大月（氏）[氐] 之別種，[119] 治蘇利城 [120]，古條支國也 [121]。東去長安一萬五千三百里 [122]。城方十餘里，戶十餘萬。王姓波斯（氏）[氐]。[123] 坐金羊床，戴金花冠，[124] 衣錦袍、織成帔 [125]，皆飾以珍珠寶物。其俗：丈夫剪髮，戴白皮帽，貫頭衫，兩廂近下開之，並有巾帔，緣以織成 [126]；婦女服大衫，披大帔，其髮前爲髻，後被之，飾以金銀華，仍貫五色珠，絡之於膊。

The state of Bosi 波斯: Its people are descended from Da Yuezhi stock. [119] The seat of the king's government is the town of Suli 蘇利 [120]. This is the state of Tiaozhi 條支 of antiquity.[121] To the east it is 15,300 *li* [122] from Chang'an. Its [main] town is over 10 *li* square and has more than 100,000 households. The king is surnamed Bosidi 波斯氐.[123] His throne is a divan with golden legs molded with protomes of sheep, and he wears on his head a golden flower crown.[124] He is clad in a brocade robe and a woven skirt[125], both decorated with pearls and precious objects. As for their customs, the adult men clip their hair and wear white leather hats, with shirts pinned across the top of the head and slit open near the bottom. They also have robes fashioned with woven [brocade] hems.[126] The women's apparel consists of a greatcoat and a voluminous shawl. Their hair is dressed in the front, but allowed to lie disheveled in the back. They adorn themselves with gold and silver flowers, and for ornaments string together five colored pearls and fasten them to the upper arm.

[119] "Its people are descended from Da Yuezhi stock": Information about the kingdom of the Kushano-Sasanians has found its way into this memoir; hence, the above statement. This is because the Sasanians were the rulers in the kingdom of the Kushano-Sasanians, who called themselves the

"Kushanshahanshah (King of Kings of the Kushans)" or "Kushanshah (King of the Kushans)", while the people of Guishuang, the ruled, had always been referred to as the "Da Yuezhi" by the dynasties on the Central Plains since the Eastern Han. In numismatic studies, the dating of the kingdom of the Kushano-Sasanians has not been resolved. One view is that the kingdom lasted from the middle of the third century to the middle of the fourth century,[36] while another opinion maintains that it lasted from the middle of the fourth century to the middle of the fifth century,[37]existing for more than a century. If so, we have to conclude that the dates of the materials used in this memoir were not verified.

[120] Suli 蘇利 should be the Suli 宿利 in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Weishu*. "Suli" 宿利 [siəuk-liet] and "Suli" 蘇利 [sa-liet] are generally regarded as transcriptions of Seleucia to the south of Baghdad.[38] Another view is that it is a transcription of Sūrastān.[39] The state of Bosi in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Weishu* refers to Sassanian Persia. During the Shengui 神龜 reign-period (518-520), the king of Bosi who sent an envoy to present a memorial and local products should be Kavād I (r. 488-496, 498-531). Its capital was Suli, i.e., Ctesiphon. Since "Suli" 宿利 and "Suli" 蘇利 are seen as variations in the transcription of the same name, the location of Suli 蘇利 should be the same as the Suli 宿利 in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Weishu*.

[121] "This is the state of Tiaozhi of antiquity": This may indicate that the Syrian areas, where the "Tiaozhi of antiquity" used to be, had become the territory of Bosi.

[122] "15,300 *li*" (Distance 8): The distance between Suli and Chang'an. According to the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Suishu*, the distance between the seat of the king's government of Bosi and Dunhuang was 11,700 *li*, and the distance between Dunhuang and Chang'an was 3,600 *li*: the aggregate of the two is "15,300 *li*".

[123] "The king is surnamed Bosidi 波斯氐": *Di* 氐 should be *shi* 氏. One opinion is that it is an incorrect transcription of Pārs (Persis, Parsa), the land where the Sassanian Kingdom rose.[40]

[124] "His throne is a divan with golden legs molded with protomes of sheep, and he wears on his head a golden flower crown" 坐金羊床，戴金花冠 : For "*chuang*" 床, the "Xi Rong (wu)" 西戎五 in "Bianfang (jiu)" 邊防九 of *Tongdian* 通典 reads "*zuo*" 座.[41] The above could only be the clothes and dresses of the rulers of the kingdom of Kushano-Sasanians; here they are mistaken for those of the Sassanian king, who did not sit on a bench-throne with golden legs of sheep-protomes, nor wore a golden flower crown.[42] The golden flower, according to some, is the lotus flower.[43] According to another opinion, it is the artichoke (*Cynara scolymus*).[44] Records of this kind are as unreliable as the previous statement about the people being of "Da Yuezhi stock". In the records about clothes and dresses, the administrative systems, and customs below, it is also difficult to differentiate

between those of the Sassanian Persians and those of the Kushano-Sasanians.

[125] "He is clad in … a woven skirt": According to the "Xi Rong zhuan" 西戎傳 of *Jiu Tangshu* 舊唐書, "[In Bosi] there are head and shoulder scarves, mostly dyed green and white of *sufang* 蘇方 [Malay: *supang* or *sapan*, a kind of evergreen], fashioned on both sides with woven brocade hems". "*Zhicheng*" 織成 is first mentioned in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hou-Han shu*.

[126] The character 錦 has been following 織成, in conformity to the text in the "Xi Rong (san)" 西戎三 of the "Si Yi (yiwu)" 四夷一五 of *Taiping yulan* 太平御覽 (ch. 794).

王於其國內別有小牙十餘所，猶中國之離宮也。每年四月出遊處之，十月乃還。[127]王卽位以後，擇諸子內賢者，密書其名，封之於庫，諸子及大臣皆莫之知也。王死，乃衆共發書視之，其封內有名者，卽立以爲王，餘子各出就邊任，兄弟更不相見也。[128]國人號王曰"翳囋"[129]，妃曰"防步率"[130]，王之諸子曰"殺野"[131]。大官有摸胡壇[132]，掌國內獄訟；泥忽汗[133]，掌庫藏關禁；地卑勃[134]，掌文書及衆務；次有遏羅訶地[135]，掌王之內事；薛波勃[136]，掌四方兵馬。其下皆有屬官，分統其事。兵有甲矟圓排劍弩弓箭，戰竝乘象，每象百人隨之。其刑法：重罪懸諸竿上，射而殺之，次則繫獄，新王立乃釋之；輕罪則劓、刖若髡，或翦半鬚，及繫排於項上，以爲恥辱；犯彊盜者，禁之終身；[137]姦貴人妻者，男子流，婦人割其耳鼻。[138]賦稅則准地輸銀錢。[139]

The king, in his country, has in addition [to the capital] more than ten lesser headquarters. These are like the detached palaces in the Middle Kingdom. Each year in the fourth month he sets out to go and dwell in these. Then in the tenth month he returns.[127] When the king ascends the throne, he selects the most sagacious of his sons, and secretly writing down his name, seals it in the archives. Neither his sons nor the great ministers know whose it is. When the king dies, [his sons and the great ministers] acting in concert take out the document and view it. He whose name has been sealed therein then becomes king. The rest of his sons all set out for duties on the frontiers. The brothers afterwards never see each other again.[128] The countrymen call their king *Yizan* 翳囋[129], and the queen *Fangbushuai* 防步率[130]. The sons of the king are called *Shaye* 殺野[131]. Among the high-ranking officials, there are the *Mohutan* 摸胡壇[132], who handles domestic litigation, the *Nihuhan* 泥忽汗[133], who handles the treasury and restrictions, and *Dibeibo* 地卑勃[134], who handles documents, as well as general

duties. Next there are the *Eluohedi* 遏羅訶地[135], who handles the king's private affairs, and the *Xuebobo* 薛波勃[136], who is in charge of the infantry and cavalry of the four quarters. Below these are subsidiary functionaries, among whom tasks are divided. For military equipment they have armor, halberds, dense arrays of swords, crossbows, and bows and arrows. In combat they also mount elephants, each elephant being followed by one hundred men. Under its penal laws, [those guilty of] serious offenses are executed by suspending them from the top of a pole and firing arrows at them. [Those guilty of offenses] next [in degree of gravity] are confined in prisons. When a new king ascends the throne, these prisoners receive an amnesty. [Those guilty of] minor offenses have their noses cut off, their feet mutilated, or their hair scalped; otherwise, half their beard is trimmed and fixed to their neck, to shame them. Those who commit flagrant acts of robbery are confined for life.[137] In the case of adultery involving the wife of a noble, the [guilty] man is banished, and the woman has her ears and nose amputated.[138] Military and civil administrative taxes are based on the measurement of land holdings and are assessed in silver coins.[139]

[127] Ctesiphon, the capital of Sassanian Persia, was the administrative center of the state. In the summer, the king often moved to a cool place on the highlands. Ctesiphon originally meant a cluster of towns; both Māhōzē and al-Madā'in, the Syrian and Arabic terms respectively, mean "various towns".[45] This is perhaps the background for "more than ten lesser headquarters" and "detached palaces".

[128] Such a practice surrounding the king's succession does not seem to be recorded in Iranian historical sources.[46]

[129] "Yizan" 翳囋 is a partial transcription of [*pāti*]*χšāh* in Middle Persian.

[130] "Fangbushuai" 防步率 is the transcription of *bānbišn* in Middle Persian.

[131] "Shaye" 殺野 is the transcription of *šahryār* in Middle Persian.

[132] *Mohutan* 摸胡壇 is a transcription of *magupatān* in Middle Persian.

[133] "Nihuhan" 泥忽汗, according to one opinion, is the corruption of "Kehuhan" 渴忽汗. "Kehuhan" 渴忽汗 is the transcription of *ganzwar* in Middle Persian.

[134] *Dibeibo* 地卑勃 is the transcription of *dipīr* in Middle Persian.

[135] *Eluohedi* 遏羅訶地 is a transcription of *Argabid* in Middle Persian. It was originally the name of a family, who supervised the coronation of kings for generations. The name of the family was then mistaken for the title of an office.

[136] *Xuebobo* 薛波勃 is a transcription of *spāhpat* in Middle Persian.[47]

[137] The forms of punishment mentioned here, such as the practice of trimming half of the beard and fixing it to the neck, do not seem to appear in ancient Iranian sources.[48]

[138] In Pahlavi sources, adultery is seen as the most severe crime, of more serious consequence than burglary or robbery: males were thrown into pots of molten bronze, while females had iron combs dragged across their breasts (*Sacred Books of the East Series*, vol. XVIII, chap. LXXII, 5; LXXVIII, 3).[49]

[139] Taxation systems in Sassanian Persia varied greatly in different periods; this is simply a general statement.[50]

俗事火祆神。[140]婚合亦不擇尊卑，諸夷之中，最爲醜穢矣。[141]民女年十歲以上有姿貌者，王收養之，有功勳人，卽以分賜。[142]死者多棄屍於山[143]，一月治服。城外有人別居，唯知喪葬之事，號爲不淨人，若入城市，搖鈴自別。[144]以六月爲歲首[145]，尤重七月七日，十二月一日，其日，民庶以上，各相命召，設會作樂，以極歡娛。[146]又以每年正月二十日，各祭其先死者。[147]

It is their custom to serve the fire god of Zoroastrianism.[140] In wedlock, they do not discriminate between noble and base, and are the lewdest of all the barbarians.[141] Daughters of commoners aged ten or more who are possessed of beauty are collected and reared by the king. When there are persons who have rendered meritorious service, these women are distributed as gifts among them.[142] When a man dies, his corpse is usually discarded in a mountainous place[143] and mourning continues for one month. Outside the towns there are men who live apart from the common people and are exclusively engaged as undertakers; they are regarded as unclean people, and when they enter a town, they must ring a bell to distinguish themselves from the common people.[144] The sixth month is taken to be the beginning of the year.[145] They particularly celebrate the seventh day of the seventh month and the first day of the twelfth month. On these days everyone, from the lowest classes on up, invites each other and holds parties at which music is performed and there is great rejoicing and hilarity.[146] Also, on the twentieth day of the first month of each year, all hold services in honor of their departed ancestors.[147]

[140] "The fire god of Zoroastrianism": The supreme god of Zoroastrianism, i.e., Ahura Mazda. The religion is therefore also called Mazdaism. Because of its worship of fire, the religion is also called "fire worship".[51]

[141] "In wedlock, they do not discriminate between noble and base...": According to the *Avesta*, "The most perfectly righteous of the righteous is he who remains in the good religion of the Mazda-yasnians, and continues the religious practice of next-of-kin marriage in his family" (*Bahman Yasht*, chap. II; trans. by E. W. West). From this we know that Zoroastrianism advocates next-of-kin marriage, that is, marriage between parents and children and that between siblings.[52]

[142] According to the *Avesta*, the marriageable age for females is around fifteen (*Vendidad*, XIV, 15).

[143] "When a man dies, his corpse is usually discarded in a mountainous place": This is the celestial burial, a typical burial custom of the followers of Zoroastrianism. This can be traced back to the Achaemenid period in the fifth century BCE. In the Sassanian period the practice underwent some changes.[53]

[144] "Unclean people": In Zoroastrianism, this group comprises those who participate in funerals, the priest, the pall-bearers, and those who clean and handle the body. Among them, those who handle the bodies are considered exceptionally dangerous. The "unclean people" here refers specifically to those who handle bodies professionally (*nasā-sālār*). According to the doctrine and practice of that religion, this profession entails the overcoming of evil. The use of the term "unclean people" here is a misunderstanding arising from the different views of believers and non-believers and among people of the ethnic group and those outside this group.[54]

[145] The Persian New Year is the Summer Solstice, i.e., June 21. Another view is that this refers to the New Avestan Calendar.[55]

[146] "They particularly celebrate the seventh day of the seventh month and the first day of the twelfth month. On these days everyone, from the lowest classes on up, invites each other and holds parties at which music is performed and there is great rejoicing and hilarity": The activities perhaps refer to the theatricals of *qihan* 乞寒 [literarily, begging winter to come (and perhaps praying for a bountiful new year)]; they are performed in the summer and winter respectively. According to *Yiqie jing yinyi* 一切經音義 by Huilin 慧琳 (ch. 41), "Sumozhe" 蘇莫遮 is from the Hu language of the Western Rong 戎; its correct transcription should be "samozhe" 颯磨遮. Such plays were introduced from the state of Qiuci in the Western Regions, and this music is still extant. The *huntuo* 渾脫 [actors wearing hats and caps made from the furs of small animals], *damian* 大面 [actors wearing masks], *batou* 撥頭 [another kind of masked dance] all belong to this category. Masks are to resemble animals,

gods and devils. Sometimes as part of the merrymaking, muddy water is sprayed upon passers-by, or ropes and long-handled hooks are used to take captives. At the beginning of the seventh month such plays are staged in the open, and they last for seven days. It is believed among the natives that through such activities they can pray for exemption from the calamities occasioned by rākṣasas and cannibalistic evil ghosts". The "Xuandi ji" 宣帝紀 in *Zhoushu* records that in the twelfth month of the first year of the Daxiang 大象 reign-period (579), "on the day *jiazi* 甲子, the emperor returned to the palace. He went to the Hall of Zhengwu 正武, and had ministers, the attendant women, and the women with titles from within and outside the palace gather together to amuse themselves. A large number of performers were assembled; music was performed and the Hu people staged the *qihan* plays, while the audiences were sprayed with water". The "Zhongzong ji" 中宗紀 in *Jiu Tang shu* 舊唐書 records: In the twelfth month of the third year of the Jinglong 景龍 reign-period (709), "on the day *yiyou* 乙酉 , the emperor ordered the heads of various departments to the plaza of Liquan 醴泉 to see the Hu kings staging the plays of *qihan* and water sprinkling". Such *qihan* plays in Qiuci and the Middle Kingdom originated in Bosi (Persia).[56] "At the beginning of the seventh month such plays are staged in the open, and they last for seven days," meaning from the first day in the seventh month to the seventh day. The day *jiazi* 甲子 in the twelfth month of the first year of the Daxiang reign-period happened to be the seventh day of the twelfth month, indicating that the staging of *qihan* plays also lasted for seven days in the twelfth month. Thus, "the seventh day of the seventh month" is the day such activities concluded, whereas the "first day of the twelfth month" is the day when such activities commenced.[57]

[147] "The twentieth day of the first month": The meaning of this festival is yet to be determined.[58]

氣候暑熱，家自藏冰，地多沙磧，引水溉灌。其五穀及禽獸等，與中夏畧同，唯無稻及黍秫。土出名馬及駞，富室至有數千頭者。又出白象、師子、大鳥卵[148]、珍珠、離珠[149]、頗黎[150]、珊瑚、琥珀[151]、[車渠][152]、瑠璃[153]、馬瑙[154]、水晶[155]、瑟瑟[156]、金、銀、鍮石[157]、金剛[158]、火齊[159]、鑌鐵[160]、銅、錫、朱沙[161]、水銀、綾、錦[162]、白疊[163]、㲲[164]、氍毹[165]、毾㲪[166]、赤麞皮，及熏六[167]、鬱金[168]、蘇合[169]、青木[170]等香，胡椒、蓽撥[171]、石蜜[172]、千年棗[173]、香附子[174]、訶梨勒[175]、無食子[176]、鹽綠[177]、雌黃等物。

The climate is hot and sultry. Ice is stored in the houses. The land abounds in sand and rocks. The people channel water to irrigate their fields. Their five grains,

birds, beasts, and other things are roughly similar to those in Zhong Xia 中夏 (China), except that they have no rice, millet, and sorghum. The land produces renowned horses and camels, of which a rich household will have as many as several thousand head. It also produces white elephants, lions, ostrich eggs[148], pearls, mock pearls[149], glass[150], coral[151], amber[152], *liuli* 瑠璃 (ceramic glazes)[153], agate[154], crystal[155], jadeite[156], gold, silver, zinc ore[157], diamonds[158], micax[159], steel[160], bronze, tin, vermilion[161], mercury, damask brocadex[162], *baidie* 白疊 (white cotton cloth)[163], felt[164], *qushu* 氍毹[165], *tadeng* 毾㲪[166], red roebuck hide, as well as frankincense[167], saffronx[168], storaxx[169], costus[170] and other aromatics, black pepper, pippal[171] (pippalī) [pepper], crystallized sugar[172], date palms[173], rhizome of nutgrass flatsedge[174], myrobalan[175], oak galls[176], "salty green"[177], orpiment, and other products.

[148] "Ostrich eggs" are first mentioned in the "Dayuan liezhuan" of *Shiji*.

[149] "*Lizhu*" 離珠 may be *liulizhu* 琉璃珠 ("mock pearls"). *Mengxi bitan* 夢溪筆談 (ch. 21) records: "In Buddhist sūtras, there are mock pearls. If they are thrown into water, they are visible even in deep water, like the image of the moon in the cloudless sky seen above".59

[150] "*Poli*" 頗黎, according to one opinion, is "*shuijing*" 水精.60 It is recorded in this memoir that the state of Bosi produces *liuli* 瑠璃. One view is that *poli* 頗黎 should be glass, whereas *liuli* 瑠璃 should be ceramic glazes.61

[151] "*Hupo*" 虎魄 (coral) is first mentioned in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu*.

[152] "Chequ" 車渠 (amber) is first mentioned in the "Xi Rong zhuan" 西戎傳 of *Weilüe* 魏略. "Chequ" is added here, after the text of the "Xiyu zhuan" in *Beishi*.

[153] "*Liuli*" 琉璃 (ceramic glazes) is first mentioned in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hou-Han shu*.

[154] "*Manao*" 馬瑙 (agate) is first mentioned in the "Xi Rong zhuan" of *Weilüe*.

[155] "*Shuijing*" 水晶 should be the "*shuijing*" 水精 in the "Xi Rong zhuan" of *Weilüe*.

[156] "*Sese*" 瑟瑟 , according to one view, is jadeite.62 Another view is that it is lazurite.63 Other opinions include blue diamond64 and turquoise.65

[157] "*Toushi*" 鍮石 is generally believed to be *chalcopyrite*. "*Tou*" is the transliteration of the first syllable of *tūtiya* in Persian.66 Another opinion is that "*toushi*" refers to natural zinc oxide and natural zinc sulfide.67

[158] "*Jingang*" 金剛 is diamond.68 According to the "Zhenbao (yier)" 珍寶一二 of *Taiping yulan* 太平御覽 (ch. 813), which quotes *Nanzhou yiwu zhi* 南州異物志: "*Jingang* is a kind of stone;

it is shaped like a pearl, and is sharp without rival. People in the outer states tend to inlay them to their jade ornaments. Wearing such may protect one from the harm of strong poison".

[159] "*Huoqi*" 火齊 is another name for *meigui* 玫瑰 (mica).[69] According to the "Zhenbao (ba)" 珍寶八 of *Taiping yulan* 太平御覽 (ch. 809), which quotes *Nanzhou yiwu zhi* 南州異物志: "*Huoqi* is a product of Tianzhu. It is sheeted like mica, has a golden purple color, and glitters. If the sheets are separated, they are as thin as the wings of the cicada; if they are piled up, they are like sheets of gauze one on top of the other".

[160] "*Bintie*" 鑌鐵 is a kind of steel, obtained from a special kind of ore. According to one view, "*bin*" is the transcription of *spaina* in Persian.[70]

[161] "Zhusha" 朱沙 is the same as "zhusha" 朱砂.[71]

[162] "Damask brocade": The Persian variety has golden thread interwoven, which is its characteristic.

[163] "*Baidie*" 白疊 (white cotton cloth) is also seen in the "Xibei zhu Rong zhuan" 西北諸戎傳 of *Liangshu*.

[164] "*He*" 毼 is a kind of felt, or woolen carpet.

[165] "*Qushu*" 氍毹 is the *qushu* 氍毹 above.

[166] "*Tadeng*" 毾㲪 is first mentioned in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hou-Han shu*.

[167] "*Xunlu*" 熏陸 (frankincense) is first mentioned in the "Xi Rong zhuan" of *Weilüe*.

[168] "*Yujin*" 鬱金 (saffron) is first mentioned in the "Xi Rong zhuan" of *Weilüe*.

[169] "Suhe" 蘇合 (storax) is first mentioned in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hou-Han shu*.

[170] *Qingmu* 青木, according to one view, is costus.[72]

[171] "*Bibo*" 蓽撥 is pippal (*Piper longum*), a kind of pepper. It comes from *pippalī* in Sanskrit.[73]

[172] "*Shimi*" 石蜜 (crystallized sugar) is first mentioned in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hou-Han shu*.

[173] "Qiannianzao" 千年棗 is generally believed to be the date palm (*Phoenix dactylifera Arecaceae*).

[174] "*Xiangfuzi*" 香附子 is the rhizome of nutgrass flatsedge (*Cyperus rotundus*).[74]

[175] "*Helile*" 訶梨勒 is myrobalan, a kind of fruit tree (*Terminalia chebulla*). "*Helile*" 訶梨 is the transcription of *harītakī* in Sanskrit and *halīla* in Persian.

[176] "*Wushizi*" 無食子, according to one opinion, is oak gall. It is formed when wasps sting the branches, leaves, or petals, and deposit their eggs. "*Wushi*" 無食 is *muzak* in Middle Persian.[75] According to *Youyang zazu* 酉陽雜俎 (ch. 18): "*Wushizi* is a product of Persia, which is called *mozei* 摩賊 [*mañak*] by the Persians. The tree is six to seven *zhang* tall, with a girth of eight to nine *chi*. The leaves resemble those of peaches, except that they are somewhat elongated. It blossoms in the third

month into white flowers with reddish stamens and pistils. The acorns are round in shape, resembling pellets. At the beginning they are green, but as they ripen they turn yellow or white. When they are completely ripe they are worm-eaten. Those having skins with no holes can be used as medicine. The kernels of one-year trees are called *wushi* 無石, those of the next year are called *balü* 跋屢 [*bwaδ-lu*; *ballu* or *barru* in Middle Persian; *balut* in New Persian]. The latter are the size of a finger, as long as three *cun*, with hard shells. The kernels, like those of chestnuts, are edible".

[177] "*Yanlü*" 鹽綠 ("salty green"), according to one view, is various kinds of copper oxide.[76]

魏廢帝二年，其王遣使來獻方物。[178]

In the second year of the reign of Emperor Fei 廢 of the Wei Dynasty [553 CE], its king sent envoys to present its local products.[178]

[178] This is not seen in the basic annals of *Zhoushu*. The "Xiyu zhuan" of *Beishi* reads, "In the second year of Emperor Gong 恭 (553), its king sent an envoy to present local products". In the "Linghu Zheng zhuan" 令狐整傳 of *Zhoushu*, Zhang Daoyi's 張道義 former title was given as "the principal envoy to Bosi", which testifies to the Northern Zhou's mission to Bosi.

NOTES

1 Cf. Yu Taishan 余太山 , *Liang Han Wei Jin Nanbeichao yu Xiyu guanxi shi yanjiu* 兩漢魏晉南北朝與西域關係史研究 (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 1992), pp. 259-261, 250-252.

2 Matsuda Hisao 松田壽男, *Kodai Tenzan no rekishi-chirigakuteki kenkyū* 古代天山の歷史地理學的研究 (Tokyo: Waseda daigaku 早稲田大學出版部, 1970), pp. 127-137; Ma Yong 馬雍, "Xinjiang suochu Qulu wenshu de duandai wenti – Jianlun Loulan yizhi he Wei Jin shiqi de Shanshan-jun" 新疆所出佉盧文書的斷代問題——兼論樓蘭遺址和魏晉時期的鄯善郡, in *Xiyu shidi wenwu congkao* 西域史地文物叢考 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1990), pp. 89-111.

3 See "Longyou dao (xia)" 隴右道下, Yuanhe junxian tuzhi 元和郡縣圖志 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1983), p. 1031.

4 Wang Su 王素, *Gaochang shigao, Tongzhi pian* 高昌史稿・統治篇 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1998), pp. 338.

5 Zhu Zongbin 祝總斌, "Gaochang guanfu wenshu zakao" 高昌官府文書雜考, *Dunhuang Tulufan wenxian yanjiu lunji* 敦煌吐魯番文獻研究論集 (Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe, 1983), 2: 465-501.

6 Shirasu Jōshin 白須淨真, "Kikushi Kōsyōkoku ni okeru jyōsō monjyo shishaku – Minbu, Heibu, Tokan, Tonden tō shokanshi jyōsō monjyo no kentō" 麹氏高昌國における上奏文書試釋——民部、兵部、都官、屯田等諸官司上奏文書の檢討, *Tōyō shien* 東洋史苑 23 (1984): 13-66.

7 Zhu Zongbin, "Gaochang guanfu wenshu zakao".

8 Huang Wenbi 黃文弼, *Tulufan kaogu ji* 吐魯番考古記 (Beijing: Zhongguo kexueyuan, 1954), pp.18-19.

9 Zhou Yiliang 周一良, *Wei Jin Nanbeichao shi zhaji* 魏晉南北朝史劄記 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1985), pp. 41-43.

10 The document is in *Tulufan chutu wenshu* 吐魯番出土文書 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1981), 1: 34. Cf. Tang Zhangru 唐長孺, "Tulufan wenshu zhong suojian Gaochang junxian xingzheng zhidu" 吐魯番文書中所見高昌郡縣行政制度, *Shanju cungao* 山居存稿 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1989), pp. 344-361.

11 Ma Yong, "Tujue yu Gaochang Qushi wangchao shi jianjiao kao" 突厥與高昌麹氏王朝始建交考, in *Xiyu shidi wenwu congkao*, pp. 151-152.

12 The document is in *Tulufan chutu wenshu*, 4: 68-70.

13 Lu Kaiwan 盧開萬, "Shilun Qushi Gaochang shiqi de fuyi zhidu" 試論麹氏高昌時期的賦役制度, *Dunhuang Tulufan wenshu chutan* 敦煌吐魯番文書初探 (Wuhan: Wuhan daxue chubanshe, 1983), pp. 66-99.

14 Lu Xiangqian 盧向前, "Lun Qushi Gaochang zangqian 論麹氏高昌臧錢, *Dunhuang Tulufan wenshu lungao* 敦煌吐魯番文書論稿 (Nanchang: Jiangxi renmin chubanshe, 1992), pp. 201-216.

15 For details, see B. Laufer, *Sino-Iranica;* Lin Yunyin, trans., *Zhongguo Yilang bian*, pp. 167-173; Wang Binghua 王炳華, *Tulufan de gudai wenming* 吐魯番的古代文明 (Urumqi: Xinjiang renmin chubanshe, 1989), pp. 140-142.

16 Huang Wenbi, *Tulufan kaogu ji*, pp. 51-53.

17 Wang Zhongluo 王仲犖, *Dunhuang shishi dizhi canjuan kaoshi* 敦煌石室地志殘卷考釋 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1993), p. 210; Wang Qufei 王去非, "Guanyu Dahaidao" 關於大海道, *Xiang Da xiansheng jinian lunwen ji* 向達先生紀念論文集 (Urumqi: Xinjiang renmin chubanshe, 1986), pp. 485-493.

18 Matsuda Hisao, *Kodai Tenzan no rekishi-chirigakuteki kenkyū*, pp. 56-57.

19 Cf. Yu Taishan, *Saizhong shi yanjiu* 塞種史研究 (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe,

1992), pp. 236-237.

20 Cf. Rong Xinjiang, "Longjia kao" 龍家考, *Zhongya xuekan* 中亞學刊 4 (1995): 144-160.

21 Cf. Ji Xianlin 季羨林, "Qiuci yanjiu santi" 龜茲研究三題, *Yanjing xuebao* 燕京學報 New Series 10 (2001): 57-69.

22 *Taishō shinshu daizōkyō* 大正新修大藏經, 41: 453.

23 Cf. H. W. Bailey, "Ttaugara", *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies* 8 (1935-37): 883-921; Feng Chengjun 馮承鈞, *Xiyu Nanhai shidi kaozheng lunzhu huiji* 西域南海史地考證論著彙輯 (Zhonghua shuju Xianggang fenju, 1976), pp. 158-175.

24 Cf. the collation notes of the punctuated edition.

25 B. Laufer, *Sino-Iranica;* Lin Yunyin, trans., *Zhongguo Yilang bian*, pp. 339-340; Sato Keishiro 佐藤圭四郎, "Hokugi jidai ni okeru tōzai kōshō" 北魏時代における東西交涉 (East-West relations during the Northern Wei period), in *Tōzai Bunka Kōryūshi* 東西文化交流史 (Tokyo: Yūzankaku, 1975), pp. 378-393.

26 Shiratori Kurakichi 白鳥庫吉, "Seiikishi jyō no sinkenkyū: Dai Getsushi kō" 西域史上の新研究・大月氏考, pp. 97-227, esp. pp.194-196.

27 Cf. Yu Taishan, *Yeda shi yanjiu* 嚈噠史研究 (Jinan: Qi Lu shushe, 1986), pp. 8-43.

28 For detail, see Yu Taishan, *Yeda shi yanjiu*, pp. 26-27, 155-156.

29 "Dieluo" 牒羅 should be an alternative transcription of "Diefuluo" 疊伏羅. It is in Zabulistan (Gazna).

30 "Chile" 勑懃 here refers to Gaoche 高車, specifically the tribe of Fufuluo 副伏羅 who migrated west to the northwest of present-day Turfan in 487.

31 Cf. Yu Taishan, *Yeda shi yanjiu,* pp. 103-113.

32 For detail, see Yu Taishan, *Yeda shi yanjiu,* pp. 44-65.

33 Yu Taishan, *Yeda shi yanjiu,* pp. 44-65.

34 R. A. Miller, *Accounts of Western Nations in the History of the Northern Chou Dynasty* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1959), pp. 36-37.

35 Uchida Ginpū 内田吟風, "Gisyo Seiikiden genbun kōshaku (ge)" 魏書西域傳原文考釋下, *Tōyōshi kenkyū* 東洋史研究 31.3 (1972): 58-72.

36 E. Herzfeld, *Kushano-Sasanian Coins*, Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India No. 38 (Calcutta: 1930), pp. 41-50; A. D. H. Bivar, "Sasanians and Turks in Central Asia," in G. Hambly, ed., *Central Asia* (New York: 1969), pp. 49-62.

37 R. Göbl, "Zwei neue Termini für ein zentrales Datum der Alten Geschichte Mittelasiens, das Jahr

I des Kušānkönigs Kaniška", *Anzeiger der phil-hist. Klasse der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 1964, pp. 137-151; *Documente zur Geschichte der Iranischen Hunnen in Baktrien und Indien*, I-IV, Wiesbaden, 1967, Bd. I, pp. 15-21, Bd. III, Tafel 1-4; V. G. Lukonin, "Kushano-Sasanidskie Monety", *Epigraphika Vostoka* 18 (1967): 14-31.

38 Uchida Ginpū, "Gisyo Seiikiden genbun kōshaku (chū)" 魏書西域傳原文考釋中, *Tōyōshi kenkyū* 東洋史研究 30-2 (1971): 82-101.

39 Song Xian 宋峴, "Folishisatangna, Sulasatangna kaobian" 弗栗恃薩儻那、蘇剌薩儻那考辨, *Yazhou wenming* 亞洲文明 3 (1995): 193-201.

40 Uchida Ginpū, "Gisyo Seiikiden genbun kōshaku (chū)".

41 For the design of the bench-throne with golden legs of sheep-protomes, see Tanabe Katsumi 田邊勝美, "Rōma to Chūgoku no shisho ni himerareta Kushano-Sasanchō" ローマと中國の史書に秘められたクシャノ・ササン朝, *Tōyō bunka kenkyūjyo kiyō* 東洋文化研究所紀要 (The Memoirs of the Institute for Advanced Studies on Asia) 124 (1994): 33-101.

42 For detail, see Tanabe Katsumi, "Rōma to Chūgoku no shisho ni himerareta Kushano-Sasanchō".

43 E. Herzfeld, *Kushano-Sasanian Coins*. M. L. Carter, "A Numismatic Reconstruction of Kushano-Sasanian History", *Museum Notes* 30 (1985): 15-281, Pls. 47-52.

44 A. D. H. Bivar, "The Kushano-Sassanian Coin Series", *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India* 18 (1956): 13-42.

45 E. Yarshater, ed., *The Cambridge History of Iran* (Cambridge University Press, 1983), 3 (1): 120-121.

46 Shāpūr I (r. 240—270) once appointed his sons and his brothers for duties on the frontiers. This seems to support the statement that "The rest of his sons all set out for duties on the frontiers". See E. Yarshater, ed., *The Cambridge History of Iran*, 3 (1): 126.

47 On the titles of Persian offices and their meaning, see Sato Keishiro, "Hokugi jidai ni okeru tōzai kōshō". See also B. Laufer, *Sino-Iranica;* Lin Yunyin, trans., *Zhongguo Yilang bian*, pp. 358-364; Hori Kentoku 堀謙德, "Seireki dairoku seiki no hashi" 西曆第六世紀の波斯 (Persia in the 6th century), *Shigaku zasshi* 史學雜誌 19.1 (1908): 40-53; and R. A. Miller, *Accounts of Western Nations in the History of the Northern Chou Dynasty,* pp. 38-40.

48 On Persia's penal code, see E. Yarshater, ed., *The Cambridge History of Iran*, 3 (2): 627-631.

49 For detail, see Lin Wushu 林悟殊, *Bosi Baihuojia yu gudai Zhongguo* 波斯拜火教與古代中國 (Taibei: Xinwenfeng chubanshe, 1995), p. 73.

50 On the taxation system of the Sassanian period, cf. E. Yarshater, ed., *The Cambridge History of*

Iran, 3 (2): 744-746.

51 On the Zoroastrianinsm in Persia, cf. E. Yarshater, ed., *The Cambridge History of Iran*, Vol 3 (2): 866-908.

52 For detail, see Lin Wushu, p. 73. Cf. also E. Yarshater, ed., *The Cambridge History of Iran*, 3 (2): 646-650.

53 On the burial ceremonies of Persia, especially in the Sassanian period, see Lin Wushu, pp. 85-94.

54 Zhang Xiaogui 張小貴, "Gu Bosi 'bujingren' kao" 古波斯不净人考, *Zhongshan daxue xuebao* 中山大學學報 2002.5: 68-75.

55 See Ye Yiliang 葉奕良, "Yilang lifa zongtan" 伊朗曆法縱談, *Yilangxue zai Zhongguo lunwen ji* 伊朗學在中國論文集 (Collection of Papers on Iranian Studies in China) (Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe, 1998), 2: 122-133. See also C. B. Wakeman, *Hsi Jung (the Western Barbarians): An Annotated Translation of the Five Chapters of the* "*T'ung Tien*" *on the Peoples and Countries of Pre-Islamic Central Asia* (UMI, 1990), pp. 821-823.

56 See Xiang Da 向達, *Tangdai Chang'an yu Xiyu wenming* 唐代長安與西域文明 (Sanlian shudian, 1957), pp. 71-75; Cen Zhongmian 岑仲勉, *Sui Tang shi* 隋唐史 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1982), p. 676; Han Rulin 韓儒林, "Pohan huxi yu poshui jie de qiyuan: Dushi suibi" 潑寒胡戲與潑水節的起源——讀史隨筆, in *Xiang Da xiansheng jinian lunwen ji* 向達先生紀念論文集, pp. 100-103; Jiang Boqin 姜伯勤, *Dunhuang yishu zongjiao yu liyue wenming* 敦煌藝術宗教與禮樂文明 (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 1996), pp. 537-539.

57 On the festivals in Sassanian Persia, cf. E. Yarshater, ed., *The Cambridge History of Iran*, 3 (2): 792-815.

58 Cf. Cai Hongsheng 蔡鴻生, *Tangdai jiuxing Hu yu Tujue wenhua* 唐代九姓胡與突厥文化 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1998), pp. 34-35, and S. A. Nigosian, *The Zoroastrian Faith: Tradition and Modern Research* (McGill-Queen's University Press, 1993), p. 115.

59 See the collated edition by Hu Daojing 胡道靜 with notes (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1963), p. 216.

60 Zhang Hongzhao 章鴻釗, *Shiya, Baoshi shuo* 石雅・寶石說 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji, 1993), pp. 42-48. See also Shiratori Kurakichi, "Keihinkoku kō", pp. 295-359, esp. pp. 356-358.

61 B. Laufer, *The Beginnings of Porcelain in China* (Chicago: 1917), p. 138; R. A. Miller, *Accounts of Western Nations in the History of the Northern Chou Dynasty*, p.15. On the difference between *boli* 玻璃 (glass) and *liuli* 琉璃 (ceramic glazes), see B. Laufer, *Sino-Iranica;* Lin Yunyin, trans., *Zhongguo Yilang bian*, pp. 508-510; Edward H. Schafer, *The Golden Peaches of Samarkand* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1963); trans. Wu Yugui 吳玉貴, *Tangdai wailai wenming*

唐代外來文明 (Beijing: Zhonguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 1995), pp. 508-510.

62 B. Laufer, *Sino-Iranica;* Lin Yunyin, trans., *Zhongguo Yilang bian*, pp. 345-348.

63 B. Laufer, *Sino-Iranica;* Lin Yunyin, trans., *Zhongguo Yilang bian*, pp. 499-506.

64 Zhang Hongzhao, *Shiya, Baoshi shuo*, pp. 65-93.

65 Song Xian 宋峴 , "Bosi yiyao yu gudai Zhongguo" 波斯醫藥與古代中國, in *Yilangxue zai Zhongguo lunwen ji* 2: 91-100.

66 See B. Laufer, *Sino-Iranica;* Lin Yunyin, trans., *Zhongguo Yilang bian*, pp. 340-344; Zhang Hongzhao, *Shiya, Baoshi shuo*, p. 353; Lin Meicun 林梅村 , "Toushi ru Hua kao" 鍮石入華考, in *Gudao xifeng: Kaogu xin faxian suojian Zhong-Xi wenhua jiaoliu* 古道西風: 考古新發現所見中西文化交流 (Sanlian shudian, 2000), pp. 210-239; Zhou Weirong 周衛榮, "'Toushi' kaoshu" 鍮石考述 , *Wenshi* 文史 53 (2001): 79-89.

67 Song Xian, "Bosi yiyao yu gudai Zhongguo".

68 Zhang Hongzhao, *Shiya, Baoshi shuo*, pp. 93-105.

69 Zhang Hongzhao, *Shiya, Baoshi shuo*, pp. 51-57.

70 B. Laufer, *Sino-Iranica;* Lin Yunyin, trans., *Zhongguo Yilang bian*, pp. 344-345; Lu Xun 盧勳 and Li Genpan 李根蟠, *Minzu yu wuzhi wenhua shi kaolüe* 民族與物質文化史考略 (Beijing: Minzu chubanshe, 1991), pp. 398-401.

71 F. Hirth, *China and the Roman Orient* (Shanghai and Hong Kong: 1885; rpt., 1939), p. 41; D. D. Leslie and K. H. J. Gardiner, *The Roman Empire in Chinese Sources* (Roma: 1996), p. 49.

72 See B. Laufer, *Sino-Iranica;* Lin Yunyin, trans., *Zhongguo Yilang bian*, pp. 289-291, and Schafer, *The Golden Peaches of Samarkand*; trans. Wu Yugui, *Tangdai wailai wenming*, pp. 365-366.

73 For details, see B. Laufer, *Sino-Iranica;* Lin Yunyin, trans., *Zhongguo Yilang bian*, p. 201.

74 B. Laufer, *Sino-Iranica;* Lin Yunyin, trans., *Zhongguo Yilang bian*, pp. 204-205.

75 B. Laufer, *Sino-Iranica;* Lin Yunyin, trans., *Zhongguo Yilang bian*, pp. 193-195.

76 B. Laufer, *Sino-Iranica;* Lin Yunyin, trans., *Zhongguo Yilang bian*, pp. 339-340; Sato Keishiro, "Hokugi jidai ni okeru tōzai kōshō".

一〇 《隋書·西域傳》要注

A CONCISE COMMENTARY ON CHAPTER 83 OF *SUISHU*, "THE MEMOIR ON THE WESTERN REGIONS"*

漢氏初開西域，有三十六國，其後分立五十五王，[1]置校尉、都護以撫納之。[2]王莽篡位，西域遂絕。[3]至於後漢，班超所通者五十餘國，西至西海，東西四萬里，皆來朝貢，復置都護、校尉以相統攝。[4]其後或絕或通，漢朝以爲勞弊中國，其官時廢時置。[5]暨魏、晉之後，互相吞滅，不可詳焉。[6]

When the Han Dynasty first opened up the routes to the Western Regions there were thirty-six states, which later divided into fifty-five principalities.[1] Han established the Colonel and the Protector-General to pacify them.[2] After Wang Mang 王莽 usurped the throne, [relations with] the Western Regions were interrupted.[3] Up to the Later Han Dynasty, there were fifty-five states that had been opened up by Ban Chao 班超. The area, in which these states were located, extends as far as the Western Sea for 40,000 *li* from east to west. These states all sent envoys to present tribute. The imperial court also established the Protector-General and Colonel to exercise control over them.[4] Subsequently, contacts between the Western Regions [and Han] were sometimes cut off and sometimes opened up. The Han Dynasty considered that this was burdensome for the Middle Kingdom, with the officials concerned sometimes being deposed, and sometimes reinstated.[5] Since the Wei 魏 and Jin 晉 Dynasties were founded, states [in the Western Regions] conquered and annexed each other, the details of which it is impossible to record.[6]

[1] "When the Han Dynasty first opened up the routes to the Western Regions…": This is based

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* The memoir is translated by Yu Taishan and edited by Victor H. Mair.

on the "Xiyu zhuan" of Hanshu: "Communications with the Western Regions started only in the time of Emperor Xiaowu. Originally there had been thirty-six states, but afterwards these were gradually divided into more than fifty. "

[2] "Han established the Colonel and the Protector-General to pacify them": The "Colonel" here refers to the Wuji Colonel 戊己校尉, established in the first year of the Chuyuan 初元 reign-period of Emperor Yuan 元 (48 BCE), and headquartered at the town of Jiaohe 交河, the seat of government of the king of Nearer Jushi 車師 [1]. The "Protector-General" here refers to the "Protector-General of the Western Regions". The title was created in the second year of the Dijie 地節 reign-period (68 BCE) of Emperor Xuan 宣, and the office was opened in the second year of the Shenjue 神爵 reign-period (60 BCE), headquartered at Wulei 烏壘 [2].

[3] "After Wang Mang usurped the throne, [the relations with] the Western Regions were interrupted": According to the "Wang Mang zhuan (zhong)" 王莽傳中 in *Hanshu*, after Wang Mang's usurpation, he sent envoys to the Western Regions, changing the titles of *Kings* 王 there into *Marquises* 侯. In the fifth year of the Shijianguo 始建國 reign-period (13 CE), the various states of the Western Regions considered that Wang Mang had repeatedly broken the ties binding them to Han. Yanqi 焉耆 revolted first, murdering the Protector-General, Dan Qin 但欽. In the third year of the Tianfeng 天鳳 reign-period (16 CE), Wang Mang dispatched Wang Jun 王駿, the General of the Five Majestic Principles, and Li Chong 李崇, the Protector-General of the Western Regions, to take command of the troops of the Wuji Colonel and to proceed to the Western Regions. The various states all welcomed them, providing them with troops and supplies. Because Yanqi had killed Dan Qin, the former Protector-General, Wang Jun wanted to launch an attack on it. He ordered his Lieutenant, He Feng 何封, and the Wuji Colonel, Guo Qin 郭欽, to separate their commands from his. Yanqi, feigning surrender, ambushed Wang Jun, killing him and all his troops. When Guo Qin and He Feng, separately leading troops, arrived later, they killed those inhabitants of Yanqi who were old or weak, and led their troops from Jushi back to the Great Wall. The ties with the Western Regions were then cut off.

[4] "Up to the Later Han Dynasty…": According to the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hou-Han shu*, in the sixth year of the Yongyuan 永元 reign-period (94 CE), Ban Chao defeated Yanqi, so more than fifty states in the Western Regions all sent hostages and pledged loyalty to Han. The states of Tiaozhi 條支 and Anxi 安息, as well as those right up to the edge of the sea more than 40,000 *li* away, all presented tribute via multiple interpreters. In the ninth year, Ban Chao sent his adjutant Gan Ying 甘英 on a mission to Da Qin; he traveled all the way to the coast of "the Western Sea" (the Mediterranean) and then made his way back.

[5] "After this ...": This refers to the management of the Western Regions in the Eastern Han. According to the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hou-Han shu*, "From the Jianwu 建武 reign-period to the Yanguang 延光 reign-period, the Western Regions' contacts [with Han] were cut off three times and opened up three times".

[6] "Since the Wei 魏 and Jin 晉 Dynasties were founded...": This refers to the hegemony of the large states on the oases after the Cao Wei, when the dynasties on the Central Plains or in the Hexi area were unable to control the Western Regions.[3]

煬帝時，遣侍御史韋節、司隸從事杜行滿使於西蕃諸國。[7] 至罽賓 [8]，得碼碯杯；王舍城 [9]，得佛經；史國 [10]，得十儛女 [11]、師子皮、火鼠毛 [12] 而還。[13] 帝復令聞喜公裴矩 [14] 於武威、張掖間往來以引致之。[15] 其有君長者四十四國。[16] 矩因其使者入朝，啗以厚利，令其轉相諷諭。[17] 大業年中，相率而來朝者三十餘國，[18] 帝因置西域校尉以應接之。[19] 尋屬中國大亂，朝貢遂絕。然事多亡失，今所存錄者，二十國焉。[20]

In the reign of Emperor Yang 煬 the Attendant Censor, Wei Jie 韋節, and the Attendant Official of the Metropolitan Colonel, Du Xingman 杜行滿, were sent as envoys to all the states of the western frontiers.[7] They reached Jibin 罽賓 [8] where they obtained a cup made of agate, the town of Rājagriha[9] where they obtained Buddhist sutras, and the state of Shi 史 [10] where they obtained ten dancing girls[11], a lion skin, and "firemouse" fur[12]; then they returned.[13] Subsequently the emperor ordered Pei Ju 裴矩, the Duke of Wenxi 聞喜 [14], to the area around Wuwei 武威 and Zhangye 張掖 to deal [with the tribes there] in order to win them over.[15] Those states that had their overlords or chiefs were forty-four in all.[16] Taking advantage of their envoys' coming to the court, [Pei] Ju lured them with large profits in order to have them persuade each other [to submit].[17] During the Daye 大業 reign-period, the envoys of over thirty states came to the court, one after another.[18] Therefore the emperor established a Colonel of the Western Regions to deal with their concerns.[19] Following this, because the Middle Kingdom was thrown into confusion, the presentation of tribute broke off. Because most of the accounts have been lost, those that are recorded here pertain to only twenty states.[20]

[7] The mission to the west by Wei Jie and Du Xingman: According to one view, Wei and Du set

out in the first year of the Daye reign-period (605).[4] According to another view, they set out after the third year of the Daye reign-period, because the Department of the Metropolitan Commandant was first established in the fourth month of the third year of the Daye reign-period.[5] Wei Jie wrote *Xifan ji* 西蕃記, which the "Jingji zhi (er)" 經籍志二 of *Suishu* 隋書 includes as *Zhu fanguo ji* 諸蕃國記 (17 chaps). The earliest possible date when Wei Jie could have presented his *Xifan ji* would be the fifth year of the Daye reign-period. The book is no longer extant, although some fragments of it are included in the "Xi Rong (wu)" 西戎五 in the "Bianfang (jiu)" 邊防九 in *Tongdian* 通典.

[8] Jibin 罽賓 should be Jiashimiluo 迦濕彌羅, because in this memoir the state of Cao 漕 is referred to as "the Jibin of Han times", but this does not necessarily mean that the Jibin 罽賓 in the Sui Dynasty was the state of Cao. According to the "Xi Rong zhuan" 西戎傳 in *Jiu Tangshu* 舊唐書, "during the reign of Emperor Yang of Sui, attempts were made to win over the states in the Western Regions. Sooner or later more than thirty states came over, with the sole exception of Jibin". The state of Cao, however, sent an envoy to pay respects to Sui during the Daye reign-period; hence, the difference between Jibin and the state of Cao. In *Da Tang Xiyu ji* 大唐西域記 (ch. 3), a note on Jiashimiluo 迦濕彌羅 (Kāśmīra) states that "formerly it was referred to as Jibin 罽賓, which is not correct". "Formerly" here refers to the Sui Dynasty.[6]

[9] Wangshecheng 王舍城 is where the first Buddhist assembly took place, with Wangshecheng being the literal translation of *Rājagṛha* in Sanskrit and *Rājagaha* in Pali, i.e., Geluoshejili 曷羅闍姞利 in *Da Tang Xiyu ji* (ch. 9).[7]

[10] The state of Shi 史 is Kāšāna or Kāšāniya, located at Shahri-sebz south of present-day Samarkand. "Shi" 史 [shiə] is an abbreviated transcription of Kešš, another name of the state.

[11] Dancing girls: According to one view, those who danced the leaping and swirling dances in Sogdiana.[8]

[12] "Fire-mouse" fur: Asbestos or materials for fire-washed cloth, according to one view.[9]

[13] The mission of Wei and Du reached the states of Kang 康, Yida 悒怛, and An 安, in addition to Jibin, Râjagriha, and the state of Shi. This memoir explicitly states that Du Xingman reached the state of An. The fragments of Wei Jie's *Xifan ji* preserved in the "Xi Rong (wu)" in the "Bianfang (jiu)" section of *Tongdian* show that they had been to the states of Kang and Yida 挹怛.

[14] Pei Ju 裴矩 (547-627), a native of Wenxi 聞喜 in Hedong 河東 (northeast of present-day Wenxi, Shanxi 山西 Province), courtesy name Hongda 弘大, held official positions in the Northern Qi and Northern Zhou. In the Sui Dynasty, he served as the Supervising Secretary and, concurrently, Record Keeper in the Headquarters of the Commander-in-chief. During the reign of Emperor Yang, he

was for some time in charge of commerce with the Western Regions. After he surrendered to Tang, he served as Minister of the Department of Revenue, and died in the position. His biography is included in *Suishu*.

[15] According to the "Pei Ju zhuan" in *Suishu*, "When Emperor Yang ascended the throne, the construction of the Eastern Capital was underway. [Pei] Ju was in charge of the ministries and departments concerned, and the project was completed in ninety days. At that time the various tribes in the Western Regions came to Zhangye in order to trade with the Middle Kingdom. The emperor entrusted this matter to [Pei] Ju". It was in the first year of the Daye reign-period (605) that Pei Ju arrived in Zhangye to take charge of the trade there.

[16] Forty-four states: The Preface to "Xiyu tuji" 西域圖記, included in the "Pei Ju zhuan" of *Suishu*, reads: "Since I, your vassal, have received orders to pacify them in order to win them over, and to preside over border trade, I collected and studied the records and documents, and interviewed a selected group of Hu people. Whenever doubts arose, I would carefully consider the statements of different people. I therefore composed *An Illustrated Account of the Western Regions* (*Xiyu tuji*) in three chapters, including the local costumes of the kings as well as commoners, and their appearance and bearing, which are illustrated in color. A total of forty-four states are treated".

[17] According to the "Pei Ju zhuan" in *Suishu*, "The emperor again sent [Pei] Ju to Zhangye, to win over the tribes in the west, and more than ten states came over". This occurred in the third year of the Daye reign-period. Furthermore, "the emperor was making a tour to the west of the Yellow River, and again sent [Pei] Ju to Dunhuang. [Pei] Ju sent envoys to the king of Gaochang 高昌, Qu Boya 麴伯雅, and to the Tutunshe 吐屯設 of Yiwu 伊吾, among others, and lured them with lucrative profits to come to pay their respects. When the emperor made the tour to the west and stayed at Mount Yanzhi 燕支 , the king of Gaochang and the [Tutun]she of Yiwu, as well as the western Hu from twenty-seven states, lined up on the left side of the roads to pay their respects and have an audience. [Pei Ju] had them wear gold and jade ornaments, as well as brocade and woolen dresses, burn incense, make music, and dance, which created a tumultuous sound. He then had the men and women in Wuwei and Zhangye come out, wearing extravagant clothes, to view the spectacle. The carriages lined up on the road, extending for tens of *li*, showcased the prosperity of the Middle Kingdom. The emperor, seeing all this, was delighted". This occurred in the fifth year of the Daye reign-period.[10] "Tutunshe" 吐屯設 is a transcription of *tudun* and *šad*, both official titles of the Türks. According to another view, the title was probably conferred on the ruler of Yiwu by the Tiele 鐵勒.[11] Yiwu was for a time subject to the Tujue (Türk) during the early Sui dynasty. According to the "Xi Tujue zhuan" 西突厥傳 of *Suishu*,

"The [ruler] of the Western Tujue was Daluobian 大邏便 (r. 581-587), the son of Khan Mugan 木杆 (553-572). The Western Tujue felt some enmity for Shabolüe 沙鉢略,[12] so split from it, and became strong and prosperous. It resisted Dujin 都斤 [13] in the east, and encroached upon the Jin 金 Mountains[14] in the west. Qiuci 龜兹, Tiele, Yiwu and the various Hu in the Western Regions became subject to it". According to the "Xiyu zhuan (xia)" 西域傳下 of *Xin Tangshu* 新唐書, "The town of Yiwu was the headquarters of the Yihe 宜禾 Colonel, where merchants and Hu people lived together. There were 1,000 men able to bear arms. It was subject to Tiele. The inhabitants were brave and tough, and its soil was fertile. It submitted to the Middle Kingdom toward the end of Sui, becoming the Prefecture of Yiwu. When chaos ensued, it submitted to the Tujue again. In the fourth year of the Zhenguan 貞觀 reign-period (630), its chief came to pay his respects. When Jieli 頡利 [15] was defeated, Yiwu surrendered with seven towns,[16] and the area became the Province of Xiyi 西伊州 ".[17] Before Yiwu was subject to Sui, it was subject to the Tiele and Tujue concurrently, hence the so-called "dual submission". So, it is not known whether the Tiele or the Tujue conferred the title of "Tutunshe" on the officer stationed at Yiwu.

[18] "Over thirty states": The specifics are unknown. During the Daye reign-period (605-617), the states in the Western Regions that came to pay their respects to the Sui court included Gaochang (in the third and fifth years of the Daye reign-period), Yiwu, the state of An 安 (the fifth and eleventh years of the Daye reign-period), the state of Cao 曹 (the tenth and eleventh years of the Daye reign-period), Wunahe 烏那曷, Bola 波臘, Tuhuoluo 吐火羅, Julüjian 俱慮建, Hulun 忽論, Heduo 訶多, Peihan 沛汗, Qiuci 龜兹, Shule 疎勒, Yutian 于闐, the states of Cao 曹, He 何, Mu 穆, Bi 畢, Fanyan 范延 (Bamian), and Jiazhe 伽折 (the above in the eleventh year of the Daye reign-period), and the states of Cao 漕, Shi 史, Mi 米, Yida 挹怛, Bosi 波斯, Yanqi 焉耆, and Kang 康 (dates unknown), a total of twenty-seven states. Among them, five states—Bola 波臘 (Pataliputra),[18] Julüjian 俱慮建 (a corruption of Judejian 俱德建, i.e., Quwadhiyan),[19] Hulun 忽論 (Kharun), Heduo 訶多 (Khuttal), and Jiazhe 伽折 (Gachi)—are not mentioned in this memoir. According to the "Xi Rong (wu)" 西戎五 in the "Bianfang (jiu)" 邊防九 section of *Tongdian* 通典, "Pei Ju was sent to receive [the envoys] of the states on the western border, and many states sent their delegations. Only contacts with with Tianzhu 天竺 were not established, to the regret of the emperor". Concerning Da Qin 大秦, there is the following record in the "Xi Rong (wu)" 西戎五 of the "Si Yi (shier)" 四夷十二 section of *Taiping huanyu ji* 太平寰宇記 (ch. 184): "Emperor Yang wanted to establish communications with it, but was eventually unable to reach it". Da Qin should refer to Byzantium.

[19] For the "Colonel of the Western Regions" 西域校尉, the "Xi Rong (san)" 西戎三 of the

"Bianfang (qi)" 邊防七 section in *Tongdian* 通典 reads "Colonel of the Western Rong" 西戎校尉. The date when the position of the Colonel of the Western Regions was created is unknown, but it might have been among the first offices in charge of the reception of the envoys from the Western Regions. Its charges were perhaps soon included in the office of the "Envoy to the Western Rong" 西戎使者 under the Sifang [Four Quarters] Institute 四方館 (see the "Baiguan zhi [xia]" 百官志下 of *Suishu*). This office only existed for such a short time that there is no way today to find details about it. The possibility cannot be ruled out that its seat was in Gua Province 瓜州 or Zhangye 張掖. If so, then the "Envoy to the Western Rong" 西戎使者 in the capital was not the successor of the "Colonel of the Western Regions".

[20] "Twenty states": Twenty-three states were accounted for in this memoir; three of them did not belong to the Western Regions. Of the forty-four states listed in Pei Ju's *Xiyu tuji*, over thirty came to pay their respects at the court during the Daye reign-period. Only slightly more than twenty states are listed in this memoir, because the source of this memoir seems to have been Pei's book, and this was not merely the result of the destruction of the imperial archive towards the end of Sui, when chaos erupted.[20]

…………[21]

[21] The two sections on Tuyuhun 吐谷渾 and Dangxiang 党項 before Gaochang are not commented on, because these do not belong to the Western Regions. There are twenty-three states recorded in this memoir, among them Tuyuhun, Dangxiang, the state of Fu 附, and the state of Women 女國 can be seen as one group; Gaochang, Yanqi 焉耆, Qiuci 龜兹, Yutian 于闐, and Shule 疏勒 can be seen as another; while the states of Cao 漕, Pohan 鏺汗, Shi 石, Mi 米, Shi 史, Kang 康, Cao 曹, and He 何, on the one hand, and the states of An 安, Wunahe 烏那曷, Mu 穆, and Bosi 波斯, on the other, can be seen as two neighboring groups. The remaining states can be seen as another group. But the order of presentation is chaotic, indicating that the editor was not familiar with the geography of the Western Regions. In their mission to the west, Wei and Du took different routes after reaching the state of Kang. Wei Jie reached Jibin 罽賓 and Rājagriha via the states of Shi and Yida. Du Xingman went directly to the state of An, and returned to court with an envoy from that state in the fifth year of the Daye reign-period (609). Li Yu 李昱, who set out in the company of Wei and Du, first went to the state of An along with Du Xingman, then went from there to Bosi.[21] This might possibly explain the jumbled sequence in the presentation of the various states in the Western Regions. In

short, the editor of this memoir was not familiar with the situation in the Western Regions, hence was unable to coordinate and reconcile the reports by different envoys, resulting, oddly, in a composition characterized by local orderliness but general chaos.

高昌國者，則漢車師前王庭也，[22] 去敦煌十三日行 [23]。其境東西三百里，南北五百里，四面多大山。昔漢武帝遣兵西討，師旅頓敝，其中尤困者因住焉。[24] 其地有漢時高昌壘，故以爲國號。[25] 初，蠕蠕 [26] 立闞伯周爲高昌王。[27] 伯周死，子義成立，爲從兄首歸所殺。首歸自立爲高昌王，又爲高車 [28] 阿伏至羅所殺。以敦煌人張孟明爲主。[29] 孟明爲國人所殺，更以馬儒爲王，以鞏顧 [30]、麴嘉二人爲左右長史。[31] 儒又通使後魏，請内屬。[32] 内屬人皆戀土，不願東遷，相與殺儒，立嘉爲王。[33] 嘉字靈鳳，金城榆中 [34] 人，既立，又臣于茹茹。及茹茹主爲高車所殺，嘉又臣于高車。[35] 屬焉耆 [36] 爲挹怛 [37] 所破，衆不能自統，請主於嘉。[38] 嘉遣其第二子爲焉耆王，由是始大，益爲國人所服。嘉死，子堅立。[39]

The state of Gaochang 高昌: In Han times it was the royal court of Nearer Jushi 車師.[22] One reaches Dunhuang 敦煌 after some thirteen days' journey[23].The area extends 300 *li* from east to west, and 500 *li* from south to north. The state is surrounded by many large mountains on four sides. Formerly, Emperor Wu 武 of the Han Dynasty dispatched forces on a westward expedition. When his army was wearied, those who were the most exhausted dwelled there.[24] In Han times, there was the fortress of Gaochang the name of which later became the title of the state.[25] Originally, the Ruru 蠕蠕 [26] established Han Bozhou 闞伯周 as king of Gaochang.[27] When [Han] Bozhou died, his son Yicheng 義成 ascended the throne. Yicheng was killed by his older male cousin Shougui 首歸. Shougui established himself as king of Gaochang and was also killed by [the ruler of] the Gaoche 高車[28], Afuzhiluo 阿伏至羅. [The people of Gaochang] made a native of Dunhuang named Zhang Mengming 張孟明 ruler [of Gaochang].[29] [Zhang] Mengming was killed by the locals, then Ma Ru 馬儒 was established as king. [Ma Ru] conferred on Gong Guli 鞏顧禮 [30] and Qu Jia 麴嘉 the titles of Chief Officials of the Left and Right.[31] [Ma] Ru sent an envoy to Later Wei asking to enter [the Wei Empire] as subject,[32] [but] the locals were all attached to their land and unwilling to move east, [so] collectively they killed [Ma] Ru and established [Qu] Jia as king.[33] [Qu] Jia, who styled himself Lingfeng 靈鳳, came from Yuzhong 榆中 [34] in Jincheng 金城. After

having been elevated to the throne, he also acknowledged allegiance to the Ruru 茹茹. When the master of the Ruru was killed by the Gaoche, [Qu] Jia also was subject to the Gaoche.[35] It happened that Yanqi 焉耆 [36] was crushed by the Yeda 嚈噠[37], and its hosts were unable to govern themselves, so they asked [Qu] Jia to appoint a ruler.[38] [Qu] Jia sent his second son to be king of Yanqi. Because of this, [Gaochang] became a powerful state for the first time, and [Qu] Jia was held in even greater respect by the locals. When [Qu] Jia died, his son, Jian 堅, was elevated to the throne.[39]

[22] "In Han times it was the royal court of Nearer Jushi": The statement is not accurate. In Han times, the royal court of Nearer Jushi was the town of Jiaohe 交河 , not Gaochang. The precursor of Gaochang was the Fortress of Gaochang of Nearer Jushi. See the "Xiyu zhuan (xia)" of *Hanshu*.

[23] "Thirteen days' journey" (Distance 1): The distance between Gaochang and Dunhuang, i.e., 1,300 *li*, probably a hundred *li* a day on horseback. This is the distance by way of the "Great Sea Route" (*Dahaidao* 大海道).

[24] "Formerly, Emperor Wu of the Han Dynasty dispatched forces on a westward expedition…": The "Xizhou" 西州 in the "Zhoujun (si)" 州郡四 section of *Tongdian* 通典 reads: "A punitive expedition against the west was thus launched. The place where those among the troops who were exhausted stayed was a high open area, and hence named Gaochang". This is not seen in previous histories, so perhaps it was simply a legend.

[25] The name of the state of Gaochang derived from the Fortress of Gaochang 高昌壁 in the state of Jushi. Gaochang and Jushi can be seen as different transcriptions of the same name.

[26] The Ruru 蠕蠕, an alternate rendering of the Ruru 茹茹 (see below), were a nomadic people in North Asia who attempted to control Gaochang and vied with the Wei of the Tuoba 拓跋 clan for the Western Regions. The use of "Ruru" 蠕蠕 here indicates that the editor referred to the account on Gaochang in *Weishu*.

[27] "The Ruru established Han Bozhou as king of Gaochang": This is based on the account of Gaochang in *Beishi* 北史 . This event was dated to the first year of the Heping 和平 reign-period (460) in the "Songji" 宋紀 of *Zizhi tongjian* 資治通鑒.

[28] Gaoche 高車 was a nomadic tribe. Here it refers to the group of Fufuluo 副伏羅 of the Gaoche, then subject to the Ruru. The group migrated west from the area north of the desert in 487 and occupied Dzungaria and the surrounding area.

[29] In the fifteenth year of the Taihe reign-period (491), the Fufuluo of the Gaoche took control

of Gaochang, killed its king Han Shougui, and enthroned Zhang Mengming, a native of Dunhuang.

[30] For "Gong Gu" 鞏顧, the account of Gaochang in *Beishi* reads "Gong Guli" 鞏顧禮.

[31] The killing of Zhang Mengming by the countrymen of Gaochang and the establishment Ma Ru as king occurred in the twentieth year of the Taihe reign-period (496).[22]

[32] According to the "Gaozu ji" 高祖紀 in *Weishu* 魏書, in the twelfth month of the twenty-first year of the Taihe reign-period (497), "the state of Gaochang sent an envoy to present tribute". This should have been in the same year that Ma Ru sent an envoy to petition to join the Wei Empire as subject.

[33] It is generally believed that the establishment of Qu Jia occurred in 501.

[34] "Yuzhong in Jincheng": Jincheng was a prefecture with its seat at Yuzhong (in the vicinity of present-day Yuzhong, Gansu 甘肅 Province).

[35] According to the account of Gaochang in *Beishi*, when Qu Jia "was established, he again submitted to Nagai (r. 506-508) of the Ruru. Guli and Yishu 義舒 followed [Han] Anbao 韓安保 to Luoyang 洛陽. When Futu 伏圖 (r. 506-508), the lord of the Ruru, was killed by the Gaoche, Qu Jia again submitted to the Gaoche".

[36] Yanqi 焉耆 was an oasis state on the Northern Route of the Western Regions, first mentioned in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu*.

[37] Yida 挹怛 is the Yeda 嚈噠 in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Weishu*. Originally a nomadic tribe north of the Great Wall, they migrated to Central Asia and founded a state in the valley of the Amu Darya. The "Xi Rong (wu)" 西戎五 of the "Bianfang (jiu)" 邊防九 section in *Tongdian* quotes the *Xifan ji* 西蕃記 by Wei Jie: "I personally asked the natives, and they all called their state Yitian 挹闐 ". "Yitian" 挹闐 and "Yida" 挹怛 are transcriptions of the same name.

[38] The exact date of Yida's defeat of Yanqi cannot be determined, but it should have been in the first five or six years of the sixth century.[23]

[39] According to the "Xiaozhuang ji" 孝莊紀 of *Weishu*, on the day *guimao* 癸卯 in the sixth month of the first year of the Jianyi 建義 reign-period (528), "the heir apparent of the king of Gaochang, Guang 光, was appointed the General Conquering the West and Governor of Gua 瓜 Province, and inherited the titles of the Earl of Kaiguo 開國 [Founder of Dynasty] of Tailin 泰臨 County and King of Gaochang". This indicates that after Qu Jia's death his son Qu Guang took his place. The installation of Qu Jian 麴堅 occurred after that of Qu Guang. According to the "Chudi ji" 出帝紀 in *Weishu*, on the day *guiwei* 癸未 in the tenth month in the winter of the second year of the Yongxi 永熙 reign-period (533), "The General of the Guards, Governor the Gua Province, Earl of Kaiguo of Tailin

County, son of the King of Gaochang, Qu Jian, was appointed Commander Unequalled in Honor and received the title of Prefectural King [*Junwang* 郡王, or king, second class]". It is generally believed that Qu Jian was enthroned in 531.

其都城 [40] 周迴一千八百四十步，於坐室畫魯哀公問政於孔子之像。[41] 國內有城十八。[42] 官有令尹一人，次公二人，次左右衛，次八長史，次五將軍，次八司馬，次侍郎、校郎、主簿、從事、省事。[43] 大事決之於王，小事長子及公評斷，不立文記。[44] 男子胡服，婦人裙襦，頭上作髻。其風俗政令與華夏略同。地多石磧，氣候溫暖，穀麥再熟，宜蠶，多五果。有草名爲羊刺 [45]，其上生蜜，而味甚佳。出赤鹽如朱，白鹽如玉。[46] 多蒲陶酒。俗事天神 [47]，兼信佛法。國中羊馬牧於隱僻之處，以避外寇，非貴人不知其所。北有赤石山 [48]，山北七十里有貪汗山 [49]，夏有積雪。此山之北，鐵勒 [50] 界也。從武威 [51] 西北，有捷路，度沙磧千餘里，四面茫然，無有蹊徑。欲往者，尋有人畜骸骨而去。路中或聞歌哭之聲，行人尋之，多致亡失，蓋魑魅魍魎也。[52] 故商客往來，多取伊吾路 [53]。

His capital[40] measures 1,840 paces in circumference. In his parlor is a painting of Duke Ai 哀 of Lu 魯 inquiring about government from Confucius.[41] There are eighteen towns in the country.[42] For officials, there is one Prime Minister. Next there are two Dukes, followed by the Protectors of the Left and Right, below which there are eight Chief Officials, and then five generals. Next there are eight Majors, followed by a Gentleman in Attendance, Examiner (Editor), Archivist, and Attendant Official and Ushers.[43] Great matters are decided by the king. In small matters, the king's eldest son and the two dukes make judgments, but without establishing written records.[44] The men wear Hu 胡 clothing; the women wear skirts and short jackets. Their customs and government decrees are roughly similar to those of Huaxia 華夏 (China). The land abounds in rocks and boulders, but the climate is genially warm, so that the cereals ripen twice. It is suitable for the silkworm, and there is an abundance of the five fruits. They have a plant called "sheep thorn"[45] the top of which produces honey with an excellent taste. The land produces red salt like vermilion and white salt like jade.[46] There is an abundance of wine made from grapes. It is their custom to serve the "Heavenly God(s)"[47], but they also believe the law of the Buddha concurrently. In the state sheep and horses are herded in covert and secluded places in order to keep them safe from robbers from elsewhere,

and only their nobles know these places. To the north [of the state] are the Chishi 赤石 Mountains[48]; *seventy li north of this mountain is the Tanhan* 貪汗 *Mountain*[49], *which is* covered with snow [even] in summer. North of this mountain is the Tiele 鐵勒 frontier.[50] Northwest of Wuwei 武威 [51] there is a short-cut across the desert, extending over 1,000 *li*. In the vastness that stretches in all four directions there are no paths. Those who wish to cross it must follow [the trail formed by] the skeletons of men and animals. On this road one sometimes hears the sound of singing or crying, and travelers who search for its source end up lost. These are the doings of goblins and demons[52]; therefore the traveling merchants who come and go all take the Yiwu 伊吾 road.[53]

[40] The capital was located at the old Gaochang site at Kalahajo Village in Sanbao 三堡 Township, 40 kilometers southeast of present-day Turfan.[24]

[41] "Duke Ai of Lu inquiring about government from Confucius": See the "Kongzi shijia" 孔子世家 of *Shiji* 史記, the "Aigong" 哀公 chapter of *Xunzi* 荀子 , and the "Zhengli" 政理 chapter of *Shuoyuan* 說苑. After the Wei Dynasty of the Cao family, in the rituals honoring Confucius, Confucius and Yan Hui 顏回 were revered respectively as Sage and Teacher. In the halls of the imperial court, portraits of Confucius and his disciples were displayed.[25] In the sitting room in the capital of Gaochang, the portraits were different from those of the Sage and Teacher in the Central Plains, in that the former placed more emphasis on the relationship between Confucius and politics.

[42] "There are eighteen towns in the country": For the number of towns, the account of Gaochang in *Weishu* reads eight, the "Yiyu zhuan" 異域傳 of *Zhoushu* 周書 reads sixteen, and the "Xi Rong zhuan" 西戎傳 of *Jiu Tangshu* 舊唐書, as well as the "Xiyu zhuan (shang)" 西域傳上 of *Xin Tangshu* 新唐書, read twenty-one. The number of the prefectures and counties was constantly changed and expanded. When Gaochang was a prefecture (327-449), the area was divided into one prefecture (Gaochang), and five counties (Gaochang, Tiandi 田地, Hengjie 橫截, Baile 白艻, and Gaoning 高寧). From the era of the Northern Liang 涼 to the regimes of the Han 闞, Zhang 張, and Ma 馬 families (450-501), who assumed the kingship one after another, the number of prefectures and counties increased, to include three prefectures (Gaochang, Tiandi 田地, and Jiaohe 交河) and eight counties (Gaochang, Tiandi, Jiaohe, Hengjie, Baile, Gaoning, Weishen 威神, and Jiuquan 酒泉). In the early phase of the regime of the Qu family (502-561), the Gaochang area boasted four prefectures (Gaochang, Tiandi, Jiaohe, and Hengjie) and twenty counties (Gaochang, Tiandi, Jiaohe, Hengjie, Nanping 南平, Wucheng 武城, Baile, Xinxing 新興, Ningrong 寧戎, Gaoning 高寧, Jiuquan

酒泉, Linchuan 臨川, Anle 安樂, Wulin 洿林, Yong'an 永安, Liupo 柳婆, Yancheng 鹽城, Wuban 無半, Shichang 始昌, and Dujin 篤進). Later (562-612), the prefecture of Hengjie was abolished, as well as the five counties of Nanping, Jiuquan, Wuban, Shichang, and Dujin. The two counties of Yongchang 永昌 and Weishen were added, resulting in three prefectures and seventeen counties. In the latter phase of the Qu regime, the Gaochang area boasted five prefectures (Gaochang, Tiandi, Jiaohe, Nanping, and Hengjie) and twenty-two counties (Gaochang, Tiandi, Jiaohe, Hengjie, Nanping, Wucheng, Baile, Yongchang, Weishen, Ningrong, Gaoning, Jiuquan, Linchuan, Anle, Longquan 龍泉, Wulin, Yong'an, Yancheng, Wuban, Anchang 安昌, Shichang, and Dujin).[26]

[43] For details of the bureaucracy, see the Commentary on "Xibei zhu Rong zhuan" 西北諸戎傳 in *Liangshu* 梁書.

[44] "Without establishing written records": For details, see the Commentary on "Yiyu zhuan (xia)" 異域傳下 in *Zhoushu* 周書.

[45] "Sheep thorn" (羊刺) is seen in the "Yiyu zhuan" of *Zhoushu*.

[46] Red salt and white salt: According to one view, they are probably salts of various colors, i.e., impure salt, or salt with other minerals.[27]

[47] "Heavenly God(s)": Scholars have debated about whether the God(s) are those of Zoroastrianism, or gods in the worship of heavenly bodies or deism, or the Heavenly Gods of Taoism. No consensus has been reached due to the paucity of available materials.[28]

[48] The Chishi Mountains: A small mountain range toward the northern end of the Turfan Basin; it was perhaps the Fire Mountains.[29]

[49] The Tanhan Mountain is the Bogdo ola. According to one view, Tanhan 貪汗 should be Tanwu 貪汙, which is a transcription of Tulga (helmet) in Turkic.[30]

[50] The Tiele were a nomadic people, consisting of many tribes. According to the "Tiele zhuan" 鐵勒傳 of *Suishu*, the various tribes of the Tiele lived "to the west of Yiwu, the north of Yanqi", and "along the White Mountains". Moreover, "In the first year of the Daye reign-period (605), Khan Chuluo 處羅 (r. 603-611) of the Tujue attacked the various Tiele tribes, and extorted heavy taxes and levies. He was suspicious of Xueyantuo 薛延陀 and others, and was afraid that they would rebel, so he assembled the Tiele chiefs and leaders and had them all killed. For this, [the Tiele tribes] all rose in revolt and resisted Chuluo. They established the Silifa 俟利發 and Sijin 俟斤 [official titles], Qibigeleng 契弊歌楞, as Khan Yiwuzhenmohe 易勿真莫何, whose seat was set up in the Tanhan Mountain. They also established the Neisijin 内俟斤 of the Xueyantuo 薛延陀 tribe, who styled himself Yezhi 也咥, as the Lesser Khan. With the defeat of Khan Chulo, the power of the Khan Mohe

莫何 increased. Mohe, renowned for his unrivaled valor and will, enjoyed the support of his people, and was feared by the neighboring states. The states of Yiwu 伊吾, Gaochang, and Yanqi were subject to him".

[51] Wuwei 武威 was a prefecture, whose seat is present-day Wuwei. Here Wuwei should be an error for Dunhuang 敦煌.

[52] The short-cut across the desert northwest of Dunhuang should be the "Great Sea Route" in the fragment of *Xizhou tujing* 西州圖經: "The route on the right from the borders of Liuzhong 柳中 County southeast towards Sha 沙 Province is 1,360 *li*. There are often flowing sands, where people get lost. There are springs or wells with salty and bitter water, but no pasture. Conveying water, carrying provisions, and walking on sand and boulders, the travelers passing to and fro are exhausted".[31] *Shiji zhengyi* 史記正義 (ch. 123) quotes Pei Ju's *Xiyu [tu]ji* 西域 [圖] 記, pointing out that the Salt Marsh "lies to the east of Gaochang County of Xi 西 Prefecture [i.e., Gaochang], and is 1,300 *li* to Gua Province to the southeast. It is completely covered with sand and boulders. Water and fodder are difficult to convey, and dangers loom in all directions. There are no clear paths; travelers can only take the skeletons of men and animals and the waste of horses and camels as marks of the path. Since the paths are bad, men with animals do not travel together. On the boulders one sometimes hears the sounds of men calling without seeing anyone. There is also the sound of crying. On many occasions men get lost: they vanish without a trace in an instant. For this reason, death occurs constantly. These are the doings of goblins and demons". According to the "Xizhou" 西州 section in the "Longyou dao (qi)" 隴右道七 of *Taiping huanyu ji* 太平寰宇記 (ch. 156), "The Liuzhong Road: According to *Xizhou [tu]ji* by Pei Ju, 'From the southeast of Gaochang to Gua Province is 1,300 *li*; the terrain is completely covered with sand and boulders, and water and pasture are scarce. When one travels west, one faces immense vastness in four directions. The path is not marked; one can only take the skeletons of the stock-animals and the dung of horses and camels as marks and signs and follow the trail. When there is snow, it is impassable. In addition there are goblins and demons. This is why travelling merchants often take the Yiwu Road'".

[53] The Yiwu Road refers to the road from Dunhuang to Gaochang via Yiwu. According to the "Liu Quan zhuan" 劉權傳 in *Suishu*, Liu Quan "in the fifth year of the Daye reign-period followed [the emperor] in the expedition against the Tuyuhun". "He, leading his subordinates, set out from the Yiwu Road". According to the "Xizhou" section in "Longyou dao (qi)" of the *Taiping huanyu ji* (ch. 156), "There is another road: One can travel from the county to the southeast, pass by the east of the great sea, cross the desert from the southeast, and reach the territory of Yi 伊 Province. This is what

Pei Ju called the Yiwu Road". According to this, some believe that the Yiwu Road is also from *Xiyu tuji* by Pei Ju. The Yiwu Road is also mentioned in the "Yiyu zhuan" 異域傳 of *Zhoushu*. Although the possibility cannot be ruled out that this memoir's source is the same as *Zhoushu*, it is difficult to conclude simply that the road is only described in Pei's work, because it is also possible that there were already similar records in the Northern Zhou.

開皇十年，突厥 [54] 破其四城，有二千人來歸中國。堅死，子伯雅立。[55] 其大母本突厥可汗女，其父死，突厥令依其俗，伯雅不從者久之。突厥逼之，不得已而從。[56]

In the tenth year of the Kaihuang 開皇 reign-period, the Tujue 突厥 (Türks) [54] captured its four towns and there were 2,000 people who came to give allegiance to the Middle Kingdom. When [Qu] Jian 麴堅 died, his son Boya 伯雅 ascended the throne.[55] His grandmother was originally a daughter of the Khan of the Tujue. When his father died, the Tujue ordered that he obey their customs; Boya did not do so for a long time. The Tujue exerted pressure on him [so that] he had no choice but to comply.[56]

[54] The Tujue 突厥 here refers to the Abo 阿波 tribe of the Western Tujue.[32]

[55] "When [Qu] Jian died, his son Boya ascended the throne": The record here is not accurate. According to the "Xi Rong zhuan" 西戎傳 in *Jiu Tangshu*, "Its king, Qu Boya, was the descendant of the King of Gaochang, [Qu] Jia, of the Later Wei, in the sixth generation". Between Qu Jia and Qu Boya, there were six kings: Qu Guang (reign title Ganlu 甘露), Qu Jian (reign title Zhanghe 章和), Qu Xuanxi 麴玄喜 (reign title Yongping 永平), Qu ... 麴□□ (reign title Heping 和平), Qu Baomao 寶茂 (reign title Jianchang 建昌), and Qu Qiangu 麴乾固 (reign title Yanchang 延昌).[33] Qu Boya ascended the throne in the first year of the Yihe reign-period (602).

[56] The grandmother of Qu Boya was the wife of Qu Baomao 麴寶茂. On the death of Qu Baomao, Qiangu 乾固 took her as wife. At the death of Qiangu, the Tujue in turn forced Boya to take her to be his wife.[34] The "Tujue zhuan" 突厥傳 of *Suishu* states: "When the father or the older brother dies, the son or younger brother may take his mother or sister-in-law as a wife".

煬帝嗣位，引致諸蕃。[57] 大業四年，遣使貢獻，[58] 帝待其使甚厚。明年，伯雅來朝。[59] 因從擊高麗。[60] 還，尚宗女華容公主。[61] 八年冬歸蕃，下令國中

曰：“夫經國字人，以保存爲貴，寧邦緝政，以全濟爲大。先者以國處邊荒，境連猛狄，同人無咎[62]，被髮左衽。今大隋統御，宇宙平一，普天率土，莫不齊向。孤既沐浴和風，庶均大化，其庶人以上皆宜解辮削衽。”帝聞而甚善之，下詔曰：“彰德嘉善，聖哲所隆，顯誠遂良，典謨貽則。光祿大夫、弁國公、高昌王伯雅[63]識量經遠，器懷温裕，丹款夙著，亮節遐宣。本自諸華[64]，歷祚西壤，昔因多難，淪迫獯戎，數窮毁冕，翦爲胡服，自我皇隋平一宇宙，化偃九圍[65]，德加四表。伯雅踰沙忘阻，奉賨來庭，觀禮容於舊章，慕威儀之盛典。於是襲纓解辮，削衽曳裾，蠻夷從夏，義光前載，可賜衣冠之具，仍班製造之式。[66] 幷遣使人部領將送。被以采章，復見車服之美，棄彼氈毳，還爲冠帶之國。”然伯雅先臣鐵勒，而鐵勒恒遣重臣在高昌國，有商胡往來者，則税之送於鐵勒。[67] 雖有此令取悦中華，然竟畏鐵勒而不敢改也。[68] 自是歲令使人貢其方物。[69]

After he succeeded to the throne, Emperor Yang 煬 brought various foreigners to the court.[57] In the fourth year of the Daye reign-period, it sent an envoy to present tribute.[58] The emperor treated the envoy kindly and generously. In the next year, Boya came to the court,[59] and consequently followed [the emperor] to take part in the attack on Gaoli 高麗.[60] When he returned he was rewarded with the hand of the princess of Huarong 華容.[61] In the winter of the eighth year he went home, and issued an order to his countrymen, saying: “In administering a state and caring for its people, it is most valuable to preserve them. In bringing peace to a country and governing its affairs, succoring all is most important. Previous to this, because our state was located on the barren borders, its territory was in contact with violent barbarians. It is impossible to lay blame on the people who wanted to pay allegiance to the court[62] that they wear their hair unbound and have the lapels of their coats buttoned on the left side. Now, the Great Sui Dynasty exercises imperial authority uniformly in the world, and the people of the lands under its control far and near all are of one heart. I am bathed in the harmonious breeze and have become thoroughly cultivated. Thus it is suitable that the common people and the élite all untie their queues and remove their lapels.” The emperor heard of this and approved it, and issued an edict stating: “To cite virtues and praise good conduct is what the sages worship. To commend sincerity and recommend persons of talent and virtue is the norm that the *Book of Documents* bequeathed. Boya, the Counselor of the Palace, Duke of Bianguo 弁國, and King of Gaochang[63],

is possessed of broad vision and magnanimity, a lenient mind and heartwarming comradeship. He has long been known for his loyalty, and his nobility of character is widely famous. He originally came from Hua 華 (China)[64], but has successively held posts in the Western Regions. Formerly, he was reduced to barbarian status by many disasters, and he destroyed [his Chinese] coronet, cutting it into rude attire because of his harsh fortune. Since our Great Sui Dynasty has brought the whole world under its domination, and culture has been brought to the nine administrative divisions[65], virtue extends to the four borders. Boya crossed the Flowing Sands, forgetting dangers and difficulties, and came to the court to present tribute. He observed the proper ceremony, with demeanor according to old decrees and regulations, and admiring the grand ritual in an impressive and dignified manner. Thus he now wears tassels, has untied his queue, and has removed lapels in exchange for the trailing skirts [of a Chinese gown]. He has transformed the barbarian into the Xia 夏, bringing glory to the records of the former dynasties. It is suitable to grant him accoutrements of hat and gown, allowing him to employ sumptuary norms in their manufacture[66], and to have envoys commanded to see him off. Thus will the beauty of carriages and clothing again be seen in all splendor, and animal felts will be cast aside in favor of crowns and sashes [befitting a civilized state]." However, Boya had earlier acknowledged allegiance to the Tiele 鐵勒, and the Tiele often sent ministers to the state of Gaochang. When the Hu merchants came and went, he collected taxes from them and sent the revenues to the Tiele.[67] Although he had issued the directive quoted above to please Zhonghua 中華 (China), he did not dare change the customs in the end because he was threatened by the force of the Tiele.[68] From then on he ordered envoys to present local products as tribute.[69]

[57] The "Pei Ju zhuan" in *Suishu* records: "When Emperor Yang ascended the throne … the various tribes in the Western Regions came to Zhangye in order to trade with the Middle Kingdom. The emperor entrusted this matter to [Pei] Ju. [Pei] Ju knew that the emperor was busily engaged in measures to make the imperial influence reach faraway places. When the Hu merchants came, he lured them to talk about the customs and geography of their states, and wrote *Xiyu tuji* in three chapters. When he went to the court, he presented the book [to the emperor]…. The emperor was immensely delighted, and rewarded him with 500 rolls of silk. Every day he would lead [Pei] Ju to where he sat, and would personally ask about the west. [Pei] Ju exuberantly talked about the many

treasures in the Hu states and annexation of Tuyuhun that could be easily accomplished. The emperor was thus satisfied and delighted with him and considered opening communications with the Western Regions, entrusting to him the task of dealing with the barbarians in the four quarters. He was appointed to the position of the Director of the Ministry of Revenue, and was soon promoted to the post of Gentleman Attendant at the Palace Gate or Director of the Chancellery before he had time to take charge in the former position. The emperor again sent [Pei] Ju to Zhangye, in order to win over the western barbarians. More than ten states sent their delegations. According to the "Yangdi ji (shang)" 煬帝紀上 in *Suishu*, in the third year of the Daye reign-period (607), in the sixth month, "on the day *jihai* 己亥, Tuyuhun and Gaochang both sent envoys to present their local products". The missions from Gaochang and other states were a result of Pei Ju's endeavors.

[58] The "Yangdi ji (shang)" in *Suishu* only mentions that on the day *renyin* 壬寅 in the fourth month of the fifth year of the Daye reign-period, Gaochang "sent an envoy to pay respects at the court". According to the "Pei Ju zhuan" in *Suishu*, in the third year of the Daye reign-period (607), the emperor "performed sacrificial rites at Mount Heng 恒", and the various states who had paid tribute to Sui "all sent envoys with gifts to participate in the ceremony". Thus, Gaochang sent envoys to Sui in the third and fifth years of the Daye reign-period. The annal and the memoir differ in their emphasis concerning details.

[59] This was the first time that Qu Boya came to pay his respects at the Sui court. According to the "Yangdi ji (shang)" in *Suishu*, in the fifth year of the Daye reign-period (609), in the sixth month, "on the day *renzi* 壬子, the king of Gaochang, Qu Boya, came to the court to pay his respects, and the Tutunshe 吐屯設 of Yiwu, among others, offered an area several thousand *li* square to the emperor. The emperor was greatly pleased.... On the day *bingchen* 丙辰, the emperor went to the Hall of Guanfeng 觀風 ["Observing Customs"], a temporary palace hall. With an extravagant display of antiques, the performance of nine-part music, and a display by magicians, jugglers, and acrobats, he held a banquet to entertain the king of Gaochang and the Tutunshe [of Yiwu] in the hall, showing his favor towards them. The barbarians from more than thirty states were also entertained along with them". In the ninth month of the fifth year of the Daye reign-period, Qu Boya returned to Chang'an with Emperor Yang. In the same year, Qu Boya returned to Gaochang, leaving his son, Wentai 文泰, at the Eastern Capital as a hostage.[35] According to the "Yinyue zhi (xia)" 音樂志下 of *Suishu*, "In the sixth year [of the Daye reign-period],[36] Gaochang presented [a group of musicians who were to played] a suite of music called "Shengmingyue" 聖明樂. The emperor sent people who understood music to the hotel where the guests were accommodated to listen to their practice; they began

practicing this suite when they returned from the hotel. When it was the time for the guests to present this set of music, it was performed [by that group of people], and the barbarians were surprised. The music to be accompanied by singing was called "Shanshanmoni" 善善摩尼; the music for the *envoi* called "Pojiaer" 婆伽兒 ; the music for dancing, called "Xiaotian" 小天; there was also "Shuleyan" 疏勒鹽 [music from Shule]. There were fifteen musical instruments to perform this suite … with twenty musicians".[37]

[60] "Boya … consequently followed [the emperor] to take part in the attack on Gaoli": This refers to the second time that Qu Boya came to the court. In the fifth month of the seventh year of the Daye reign-period (611), Qu Boya, accompanied by Khan Chuluo 處羅 of the Western Tujue, arrived in Sui via Wuwei 武威. As is recorded in the "Xi Tujue zhuan" 西突厥傳 of *Suishu*, "[Shegui] 射匱 gathered a force to attack Chuluo. Chuluo was utterly defeated and, abandoning his wife and children, led several thousand horsemen to flee to the east. On the road they were assailed and robbed. They escaped to the east of Gaochang, and settled at Mount Shiluoman 時羅漫 [near present-day Hami; i.e., the Tianshan Mountains]. Qu Boya, the King of Gaochang, sent a memorial to the emperor, who dispatched Pei Ju, along with the woman Xiang 向 and her kin, to ride expeditiously to the town of Jinchang 晉昌 near the Yumen 玉門 Barrier. [Pei] Ju asked Xiang to send a messenger to where Chuluo was staying. He told [Chuluo] how generous and supportive the court was, and persuaded him persistently and patiently. He thus went to the court. However, he often looked sad". According to the "Fan Zigai zhuan" 樊子蓋傳 of *Suishu*, "At that time when Khan Chuluo and the King of Gaochang reached the border defense line, [Fan] Zigai was ordered to serve as the Acting Administrator of Wuwei to receive the two of them", indicating that Qu Boya and Khan Chuluo went to the court at the same time. In the third month of the eighth year of the Daye reign-period (612), Emperor Yang personally commanded the forces in the expedition against Gaoli, and Qu Boya followed the emperor.

[61] "When he returned he was rewarded with the hand of the princess of Huarong": According to the "Yangdi ji (xia)" in *Suishu*, in the eighth year of the Daye reign-period (612), "in the eleventh month, on the day *jimao* 己卯, Princess Huarong was wedded to the King of Gaochang".[38] According to the entry for "Xizhou" 西州 in the "Longyou dao (xia)" 隴右道下 of *Yuanhe junxian tuzhi* 元和郡縣圖志 (ch. 40), "When Boya came to pay his respects at the court, Emperor Yang invested a daughter from the Yuwen 宇文 family, Yubo 玉波, with the title of the Princess Huarong 華容, and arranged for their marriage".

[62] "*Tongren wu jiu*" 同人無咎 : The reading for the hexagram "Tongren" 同人 in *Zhouyi* 周易 : "Nine at the beginning: *a*) Fellowship with men at the gate. No blame. *b*) Going out of the gate for

fellowship with men—who could find anything to blame in this?" (*The I Ching or Book of Changes: The Richard Wilhelm Translation rendered into English by Cary F. Baynes* [Princeton University Press, 1950], p. 453.)

[63] "Boya, the Counselor of the Palace, Duke of Bianguo, King of Gaochang": The "Cefeng (yi)" 冊封一 of the "Waichen (ba)" 外臣八 section *Cefu yuangui* 冊府元龜 (ch. 963) records: "In the fifth year of the Daye reign-period of Emperor Yang, the King of Gaochang came to pay his respects at the court, and was invested with the titles of the Counselor of the Palace of the Left, Administrator of Jushi 車師, and Duke of Bianguo". According to the "Libu" 吏部 of *Tang Liudian* 唐六典 (ch. 2), "Emperor Yang made the following changes: the Counselor of the Palace was to be of the first rank, B class; the Counselor of the Palace of the Left, the second rank, A class; the Counselor of the Palace of the Right, the second rank, B class". From this we know that the rank of the Counselor of the Palace was higher than that of the Counselor of the Palace of the Left. It is likely that Qu Boya, when he came to the court for the second time, had his official rank raised.

[64] "He originally came from Hua (China)": The Qus were a renowned Han family with a long history in Yuzhong 榆中.[39]

[65] "Jiuwei" 九圍 is another term for "Jiuzhou" 九州 ("the nine administrative divisions"). Sui destroyed Chen 陳 in the ninth year of the Kaihuang 開皇 reign-period, ending the long division and hostility between the north and the south, thereby unifying China again.

[66] "It is suitable to grant him accoutrements of hat and clothes, allowing him to employ sumptuary norms in their manufacture": The envoys who were to deliver them arrived at Gaochang in the latter half of the ninth year of the Daye reign-period (613) at the earliest.[40]

[67] At that time the Tiele people occupied the area north of Gaochang. While Qu Boya was subject to the Tiele, he handed them part of tax revenue he collected from the trade along the Silk Road. The levy of tax was a way for the nomadic peoples to rule over the oasis states. According to one view, the term "*adumo*" 阿都莫, which appears repeatedly in the Turfan documents, was the Tiele official stationed in Gaochang.[41]

[68] "Thus he now wears tassels, has untied his queue, and has removed lapels in exchange for the trailing skirts [of a Chinese gown]": This describes the change from Hu hairstyle and dress to Han styles. Not only does this change show the determination of Gaochang to join the system of rituals with Sui at its center, but it also signifies that the shaking off interference from nomadic tribes such as the Tujue and Tiele.[42] When it was opposed by the Tiele, this change could not be carried out.

[69] "From then on he ordered envoys to present local products as tribute": This does not appear

in the historical records of Sui. The change in hairstyle and dress advocated by Qu Boya intensified conflict with the Tiele, which also caused internal strife in Gaochang, leading to the so-called "the Yihe 義和 Coup d'état". Qu Boya and his heir apparent escaped to the Western Tujue for shelter. Communications with the dynasty on the Central Plains were not resumed until the nineteenth year of the Yanhe 延和 reign-period (619), when the Qus were restored.[43]

康國 [70] 者，康居之後也。遷徙無常，不恒故地，然自漢以來相承不絕。其王本姓溫，月氏人也。[71] 舊居祁連山北昭武城，因被匈奴所破，西踰葱嶺，遂有其國。支庶各分王，故康國左右諸國並以昭武爲姓，示不忘本也。[72] 王字代失畢 [73]，爲人寬厚，甚得衆心。其妻突厥達度可汗 [74] 女也。都於薩寶水 [75] 上阿祿迪城 [76]，城多衆居。大臣三人共掌國事。其王索髮 [77]，冠七寶金花，衣綾羅錦繡白疊 [78]。其妻有髻，幪以皂巾。丈夫翦髮 [79] 錦袍。名爲强國，而西域諸國多歸之。米國 [80]、史國、曹國 [81]、何國 [82]、安國 [83]、小安國 [84]、那色波國 [85]、烏那曷國 [86]、穆國 [87] 皆歸附之。有胡律，置於祆祠，決罰則取而斷之。重罪者族，次重者死，賊盜截其足。[88]

The state of Kang 康[70]: Its king is a descendant [of the royal house] of the Kangju 康居. They often change their residence and do not regularly live in their ancient lands. Their royal family has continued without interruption since Han times. Its king was originally surnamed Wen 温 and he was a Yuezhi.[71] In ancient times, they lived in the town of Zhaowu 昭武 to the north of the Qilian 祁連 Mountains; after they had been crushed by the Xiongnu 匈奴 and gone west across the Cong Mountains, they came at last to possess this state. Each branch of this people respectively established itself as king, therefore the states to the left and right of the state of Kang have taken Zhaowu as their surname to show that they have not forgotten their origin.[72] Its king, who is a man of generosity, styles himself Daishibi 代失畢[73], and has won considerable popular support. His wife is a daughter of Khan Dadu 達度 of the Tujue (Türks)[74]. Its capital is the town of Aludi 阿祿迪 [76] on the Sabao 薩寶 River[75]; which has a large number of inhabitants. Three ministers attend to the affairs of the state together. The king binds up his hair[77] and wears a crown [decorated with] the seven treasures and golden flowers, and he wears [a robe made of] of silks, rich brocade, and *baidie* 白疊 (white cotton cloth)[78]. His wife wears her hair in a chignon which she covers with a silk kerchief. The

men clip their hair[79] and wear embroidered robes. [Kang] has a reputation as a strong state, and the various states in the Western Regions all defer to it. The states of Mi 米[80], Shi 史, Cao 曹[81], He 何[82], An 安[83], Little An 安[84], Nasebo 那色波[85], Wunahe 烏那曷[86], and Mu 穆[87] are all subject to it. There is a Hu legal code set up in a Zoroastrian temple, and when there is a punishment [to be meted out], they consult it and pronounce judgment accordingly: a felon has his clan exterminated, a secondary felon is executed, and a robber has his legs cut off.[88]

[70] The state of Kang 康: "Kang" might be seen as an abbreviated transcription of [Samar]kand. The character "*Kang*" 康 was used probably because the people of Sui knew that the state formerly belonged to Kangju 康居. In other words, it is not necessarily after the name of the state was transcribed "Kang" that the people were reminded that they were "descendants of Kangju". According to one view, in the extant Sogdian documents there are such recordings as γ'n = Xān and 'n = Ān, indicating that the Han transcriptions of "Kang" 康 and "An" 安 had reached Sogdiana, with the result that the natives there also called Samarkand and Bukhara, "Kang" and "An".[44] In my opinion, the people of Sogdiana might have originally called them γ'n = Xān and 'n = Ān.

[71] "Its king is a descendant [of the royal house] of the Kangju": Sogdiana, including Samarkand, had been subject to Kangju until the end of the Eastern Han, at least after Zhang Qian's 張騫 first mission to the west, hence, the statement in this text, "Its king is a descendant [of the royal house] of the Kangju". From the perspective of a political relationship, this statement is not very accurate, but this should not be a grave error either. Modern scholars mistakenly regard Sogdiana, a dependency of Kangju, as Kangju proper; this should not be blamed on the editor of this memoir. He, actually, does not say that Kangju proper is in Sogdiana. Even if the conclusion that the people were "the descendants of Kangju" is reached simply because of the character "Kang", it may still have hit the mark, although by accident. According to the "Dayuan liezhuan" 大宛列傳 of *Shiji* 史記, when the Da Yuezhi migrated to the west, they "went far away, passing Dayuan and proceeding west to attack and subjugate Daxia". Therefore, the possibility cannot be ruled out that when the Da Yuezhi passed through Samarkand, which was the only way from Ferghāna to Tukhārestān, some of their people remained there, who made themselves masters of Samarkand and became the founders of the line of Zhaowu. The statement that "they often change their residence, and do not regularly live in their ancient lands" may have been the situation at the initial stage. In terms of the locality of their state, they were "the successors of Kangju", but, as far as their royal family is concerned, they

were the Yuezhi. The "Xiyu zhuan" of *Xin Tangshu* 新唐書 records that the king of An 安 , Helingjia 訶陵迦, who paid tribute during the Zhenguan 貞觀 reign-period, boasted of the long lineage of his royal house and said: "One surname [i.e., Zhaowu] has been continued uninterrupted for twenty-two generations". This same chapter also states that the state of the Eastern An, which paid tribute at the same time, also had the surname which had been "continued uninterrupted for ten generations". The kings of both states were branches of the royal family of the state of Kang. Thus it can be seen that the royal line of the state of Kang had a longer history and that the surname of Zhaowu in Samarkand originated in the distant past. However, we cannot conclude that the Zhaowu established themselves as the masters of Samarkand from the time when the Yuezhi "moved west and crossed the Cong Mountains". The statement that "they have possessed their own state" is a very general one. Nor should we infer hastily that the five lesser kings of Kangju recorded in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu* were all collateral branches of the Zhaowu in Samarkand. The statement that they "survived unbroken since Han times", however, shows that they had already lived in Samarkand as late as the end of Han times. The Yuezhi who remained in Samarkand gained strength gradually: from being the king of one state to being kings of different states, there should have been a process. We are unable to learn anything about them, not even about their relationship with the Da Yuezhi and Kangju, their neighbors to the south and north, as a result of the paucity of historical evidence. In the states whose kings were surnamed Zhaowu, the royal families were the Yuezhi, and the subjects were the Sogdians, the local inhabitants. Those bearing the surname of Zhaowu who came to China, of course, included the Sogdians, who assumed the royal surname. Probably because they were similar to the royal family in ethnicity, the Han people could not distinguish them. The statement that the royal family "was originally surnamed Wen 溫" shows that the states in Sogdiana had once been reduced to dependencies of Yida.[45]

[72] "In ancient times, they had lived in the town of Zhaowu to the north of the Qilian Mountains": According to present-day scholars, this theory has always been taken as nothing more than fantastical.[46] According to the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu*, the former lands of the Yuezhi lay "between Dunhuang 敦煌 and Qilian". The "Dunhuang" and "Qilian" in Han times may be identified as the present-day Qilian Mountains and the present-day Tianshan Mountains respectively.[47] According to the "Dili zhi" 地理志 of *Hanshu*, the county of Zhaowu belonged to the prefecture of Zhangye 張掖 and was situated north of the present-day Qilian Mountains. The present-day Qilian Mountains had been named the "Qilian Mountains" by Sui times. Additionally, in light of the "Dili zhi" of *Jinshu*, the name of the county of Zhaowu had already been changed to "Linze" 臨澤, in

order to avoid the taboo of Emperor Wen's 文 name in the Western Jin Dynasty. It was therefore both impossible and unnecessary for the Sui people to take the archaic name of the county, which had sunk into oblivion, as the surname of the kings of Sogdiana. In other words, the record regarding the royal family of Kang and of the other states which indicates that they were surnamed Zhaowu and that they were the Yuezhi people who formerly lived in "the town of Zhaowu" is not without solid foundation. It is very likely that this information had been obtained from individuals bearing the surname Zhaowu, who came to China at that time. Another opinion is that Zhaowu is a transcription of Javuga, i.e., a variant transcription of "*Xihou*" 翖侯 in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu*.[48]

[73] For "Daishibi" 代失畢, the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Beishi* 北史 reads "Shifubi" 世夫畢. "Shi" 世 was changed into "dai" 代 following the taboo in the Tang Emperor's name; "shi" 失 and "fu" 夫 are easily confused because of their similarity in form. According to one view, "Bi" 畢 is the same as the "Mi" 靡 commonly seen in the name of the *Kunmo* 昆莫 of Wusun 烏孫 , which is a transcription of *bäg*.[49]

[74] Khan Dadu 達度 of the Tujue (Türks) is the Khan of the Western Tujue (r. 576-603).

[75] The Sabao 薩寶 River refers to the present-day Zarafšan River.[50] "Sabao" 薩寶 [sat-pəu] is a transcription of the *s'rtp'w* in Sogdian, referring to the chief of the Iranian tribes who believed in Zoroastrianism.[51] The origin of the name of the Zarafšan River can be traced to Sabao, indicating, according to one view, the belief in Zoroastrianism in the state of Kang.[52] Another possibility cannot be ruled out: namely that Sabao derived its name from Samar[kand].

[76] The town of Aludi 阿祿迪 should be the town of Xiwanjin 悉萬斤, the seat of the king's government of the state of Xiwanjin according to the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Weishu* 魏書, an opinion that can be supported by the distance between the town of Xiwanjin and the seat of the king's government of Mimi 迷密 recorded in *Weishu* and the distance between the seat of the king's government of the state of Kang and that of the state of Mi 米 recorded in this memoir. If so, the town should be situated on the plateau of Afrasiab northeast of present-day Samarkand.[53] "Aludi" 阿祿迪 [a-liok-diek] is probably a transcription of *γrδmn* (←garō dəmana) in Sogdian, meaning the "heavenly kingdom".

[77] "The king binds up his hair" (索髮): According to one view, the king originally clipped his hair; he subsequently followed the practice of the Tujue, after submitting to them.[54]

[78] "*Baidie*" 白疊 is also mentioned in the "Xibei zhu Rong zhuan" 西北諸戎傳 of *Liangshu*.

[79] "The men clip their hair": *Huichao wang wu Tianzhu guo zhuan* 慧超往五天竺國傳 states: "In the Hu states here, all the [men] clip their hair and beard". According to one view, the nine Hu states whose kings were surnamed Zhaowu did not follow the practice of the Tujue of letting their hair hang long, but followed the old practice of the Persians of clipping their hair.[55]

[80] The state of Mi 米 : The seat of the king's government was located in present-day Panjikanth. "Mi" 米 [miei] is a transcription of Māymurgh (*m'ymrγc* in Sogdian).[56]

[81] It is generally believed that the state of Cao 曹 was Ištīkhan to the northwest of Samarkand (along the banks of the Ak-darya, an estuary of the Zarafšan River, between Katta Kurgan and Čiläk).[57] The "Xiyu zhuan (xia)" 西域傳下 of *Xin Tangshu* 新唐書 describes the state of Western Cao 西曹 in this way: "It is the Cao in the era of Sui. It adjoins Shi 史 and Bolan 波覽 [the meaning and location unknown] to the south. The seat of its king's government is the town of Sedihen 瑟底痕 (Ištīkhan). In the northeast was the town of Yueyudi 越于底 [meaning and location unknown], where there was a temple for the worship of the goddess of Dexi 得悉. There was goldware, on the left of which was the inscription, 'A gift from the Son of Heaven in Han times'".[58] "Cao" 曹 [dzô] is probably an abbreviated transcription of Sutrūshana. Sutrūshana is the so-called Eastern Cao 東曹 in the "Xiyu zhuan (xia)" 西域傳下 of *Xin Tangshu*. The people of Tang once confused Ištīkhan with Sutrūshana.[59] Since Sutrūshana was called the Eastern Cao, Ištīkhan was therefore called the Western Cao 西曹 or the state of Cao 曹國.

[82] The state of He: "He" 何 [hai] is probably an abbreviated transcription of Kuānīka. One theory is that it is a transcription of Qayy or Qayyi, another name of Kuānīka.[60]

[83] It is generally believed that the state of An 安 was located in present-day Buchārā. "An" 安 is generally believed to be an abbreviation of Anxi 安息. According to this memoir, the state of An was regarded as the successor to the state of Anxi of Han times. "An" 安 [an] can be seen as the transcription of 'n = Ān.

[84] The state of Little An 小安 was located north of the Nami 那密 River. According to the "Xiyu zhuan (xia)" of *Xin Tangshu*, "The state of Eastern An, also named the state of the Little An and Hehan 喝汗, is situated north of the River Nami. It is about 200 *li* to He to the east, and is 400 *li* to Da'an 大安 to the southwest. The seat of its king's government is the town of Hehan, which is also called Houjin 遙斤 ". "Da'an" is An. "Hehan" 喝汗 [hat-han] and "Houjin" 遙斤 [ho-kiən] are both transcriptions of Kharghānkath.[61]

[85] The state of Nasebo 那色波 is located between the Ğaiχun River (the present-day Amu Darya) and Samarkand; it is also called Nakhšab. It adjoins Boχāra to the east, Samarkand to the north, and Čaghāniyān of Toχārestan to the southeast with the mountain called Baïisun-tagh as the border. "Nasebo" 那色波 [na-shiək-puai] is the transcription of Naχšab or Našaf.[62]

[86] The state of Wunahe 烏那曷, according to one view, is located in present-day Andchûi.[63] The meaning of "Wunahe" 烏那曷 [a-na-hat] is unknown.

[87] The state of Mu 穆, according to one opinion, was located in present-day Čardjui. "Mu" 穆 [miəuk] is an abbreviated transcription of Āmrda (Āmul).[64]

[88] "Hu legal coda": In *Da Ci'en si Sanzang fashi zhuan* 大慈恩寺三藏法師傳 (ch. 2) there is a record about the practice of Hu law in the state of Kang: "The king and the commoners did not believe in Buddhism, and practiced the worship of fire instead. There were two temples, but no monks ever resided there. When the itinerant monks visited them for hospitality, the various Hu people drove them away with fire, not allowing them to stay. When the Master of the Dharma first arrived there, the king received him with arrogance. After staying there for one night, he preached about the karma of humans and heavenly beings, the goodness and virtue in praising the Buddha, as well as the benefits in respecting [Buddha]. The king rejoiced in this, asked to be allowed to fast and follow the precepts, and became sincere and serious. The two disciples of the Master went to the temple to worship [the Buddha], and the various Hu people again drove him away with fire. The śrāmaera, having returned, reported this to the king. When the king heard this, he ordered that those who tried to burn [the disciples] be arrested. They were apprehended. The king gathered the commoners together, and ordered them to cut the hands off the culprits. The Master wanted to preach benevolence, and could not bear to see their bodies mutilated, so he intervened to save them. The king had them thrashed, and driven from the capital". According to one opinion, the fact that the Hu legal code was set up in the Zoroastrian temple reveals the theocratic characteristic of the state of Kang, as well as the orthodoxy of Zoroastrianism and the sacred nature of Hu laws.[65]

人皆深目、高鼻、多鬚髯。善於商賈，[89] 諸夷交易多湊其國。有大小鼓、琵琶、五絃、箜篌、笛。[90] 婚姻喪制與突厥同。國立祖廟，以六月祭之，[91] 諸國皆來助祭。俗奉佛，[92] 爲胡書。氣候溫，宜五穀，勤修園蔬，樹木滋茂。出馬、駝、騾、驢、封牛 [93]、黃金、鐃沙 [94]、香 [95]、阿薩那香 [96]、瑟瑟 [97]、麖皮 [98]、氍毹 [99]、錦、疊。多蒲陶酒，富家或至千石，連年不敗。

The people all have deep-set eyes and high noses, and [the men have] thick beards. They are expert traders,[89] the transactions of the various barbarians mostly being concentrated in this state. They possess large and small drums, the *pipa* 琵琶 (a type of lute), the *wuxian* 五弦 (a five-stringed plucked instrument), the *konghou* 箜篌 (the harp), and the flute.[90] Marriage and funeral rites are the same as those of the Tujue 突厥 (Türks). In the state an ancestral temple is set up where the people hold a memorial ceremony in

the sixth month,[91] and the various states all come to assist in the ceremony.[92] It is the custom to worship the Buddha, and their script is the same as that of the Hu. The climate is mild and suitable for the five grains; they diligently cultivate vegetable gardens, and trees grow vigorously. The state produces horses, camels, mules, donkeys, humped cattle[93], gold, nušādir (sal ammoniac)[94], *nalada*,[95] *asarna*[96], jadeite[97], deerskin rugs[98], *qushu* 氍毹 (wool carpet)[99], brocade, and [*bai*]*die* [白] 疊 (white cotton cloth). There is an abundance of wine made from grapes; a rich household will have as many as 1,000 *shi* 石 , and it will not spoil for years.

[89] The "Xi Rong (wu)" 西戎五 of "Bianfang (jiu)" 邊防九 section in *Tongdian* 通典 quotes the *Xifan ji* 西蕃記 by Wei Jie 韋節: "The people of Kang are all expert traders. When a boy reaches the age of five, he is told to study writing. When he achieves some understanding of it, he is then sent to study trade. The more profit he makes, the better".

[90] The "Xi Rong (wu)" 西戎五 of "Bianfang (jiu)" 邊防九 section in *Tongdian* 通典 quotes *Xifan ji* by Wei Jie: "The people were fond of music and singing". According to the "Yinyue zhi (xia)" of *Suishu*: "The performance of the music from the state of Kang began when Emperor Wu 武 of [the Northern] Zhou 周 was engaged with a Northern Di woman and thereby received the performers of the music of the Western Rong she had obtained. That style of music was followed and continued. The music accompanied by singing is *Jidiannonghezheng* 戢殿農和正 [meaning unclear]; the music for dancing is *Helanbobishi* 賀蘭鉢鼻始 [Sogdian, Sute: *wrn bagpshyy*], *Moxibodi* 末奚波地 [Sogdian, Sute: *m'xy pd'ys*], *Nonghuibobishi* 農惠鉢鼻始 [Sogdian, Sute: *nm'y bagpshyy*], and *Qianbadihidi* 前拔地惠地 [meaning unclear]. The instruments include flutes, regular drums, side drums, and cymbals, which constitute an ensemble. Seven performers are needed".[66]

[91] "In the state an ancestral temple is set up where the people hold a memorial ceremony in the sixth month": This is perhaps because the people of Kang regarded the first day of the sixth month as the beginning of the year. According to *Xifan ji* by Wei Jie quoted in the "Xi Rong (wu)" 西戎五 of "Bianfang (jiu)" 邊防九 section in *Tongdian* 通典, in that state, "the first day of the sixth month is regarded as the beginning of the year. On that day, the king and the commoners wear new clothes and clip their hair and trim their beard. In the forest east of the capital, horse racing and shooting competitions are held for seven days. On the last day, a gold coin is placed on the target, and the one who succeeds in shooting it will be king for a day". According to the "Bosiguo zhuan" 波斯國傳 of *Tang huiyao* 唐會要 (ch. 100), "it is their custom to serve the various gods of Heaven, Earth, Water,

and Fire. Those Hu who follow Zoroastrianism all go to Bosi for doctrines. The first day of the sixth month is regarded as the beginning of the year".

[92] The "Xi Rong (wu)" 西戎五 of "Bianfang (jiu)" 邊防九 section in *Tongdian* 通典 quotes *Xifan ji* by Wei Jie: "It is their custom to serve the god of Heaven, who is worshipped extravagantly. It is said that the son of the god died in the seventh month, and his body was lost. In that month, those who serve the god all wear black cotton clothes, go around barefooted, wailing, and beating their breast, with tears streaming down their faces. Three to five hundred men and women scatter in the wilderness, searching for the remains of the son of god for seven days. Outside of the capital there are more than 200 households that specialize in funerals. [Each household] has a special courtyard, in which to keep dogs. Whenever a death occurs, the corpse is brought into the courtyard to feed the dogs. When the flesh is all consumed, the bones are collected and buried, without coffins and caskets". According to *Wang wu Tianzhu guo zhuan* 往五天竺國傳 by Huichao 慧超: "These six states [An 安, Cao 曹, Shi 史, Shiluo 石騾, Mi 米, and Kang 康] are followers of Zoroastrianism; they do not know Buddhism. There is only one Buddhist temple in the state of Kang. One monk resided there, but he knew nothing about reverence [for Buddha]". *Da Ci'ensi Sanzang fashi zhuan* (ch. 2) quoted above can also serve as a reference in this context.

[93] "Humped cattle" 封牛 is first mentioned in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu*.

[94] Nušādir 鐃沙 (sal ammoniac) is seen in the "Yiyu zhuan" 異域傳 of *Zhoushu*.

[95] 香 is 甘松香 (nard).[67]

[96] The meaning of *asana* 阿薩那 is unknown. The extent "Xiyu zhuan" of *Weishu* reads *axuena* 阿薛那 ; we do not know which version is correct.

[97]"*Sese*" 瑟瑟 (jadeite) is seen in the "Yiyu zhuan" of *Zhoushu*.

[98] "Deerskin rugs" 麖皮 is seen in the "Yiyu zhuan" of *Zhoushu*.

[99] *Qushu* 氍氀 (wool carpet) should be the *qushu* 氍毹 in the "Xi Rong zhuan" 西戎傳 of *Weilüe* 魏略.

大業中，始遣使貢方物，後遂絕焉。[100]

During the Daye 大業 reign-period it first sent an envoy to present its local products, but afterwards [missions] were suspended.[100]

[100] This is not recorded in the "Yangdi ji" 煬帝紀 of *Suishu*.

安國，漢時安息國也。[101] 王姓昭武氏，與康國王同族，字設力登。妻，康國王女也。[102] 都在那密水 [103] 南，城有五重，環以流水。宮殿皆爲平頭。[104] 王坐金駝座 [105]，高七八尺。每聽政，與妻相對，大臣三人評理國事。風俗同於康國。[106] 唯妻其姊妹，及母子遞相禽獸，此爲異也。[107] 煬帝卽位之後，遣司隸從事杜行滿使於西域，至其國，得五色鹽 [108] 而返。

The state of An 安: It is the state of Anxi 安息 of Han times.[101] The king, whose clan is the same as that of the king of Kang 康 state, is surnamed Zhaowu 昭武 and styles himself Shelideng 設力登. His wife is a daughter of the king of the state of Kang.[102] The capital is located to the south of the River Nami 那密[103]. The town has five layers of walls and is surrounded by flowing water. The palaces all have flat roofs[104] and the king sits on a golden camel throne[105] seven or eight *chi* 尺 high. Whenever the king hears cases of government, he sits opposite his wife. Three ministers deal with the affairs of the state. The customs are the same as those of the state of Kang[106], except that men marry their sisters and mothers their sons, like animals. This is what is different [from the state of Kang].[107] After he ascended the throne, Emperor Yang sent the Attendant Official of the Metropolitan Colonel, Du Xingman 杜行滿, on missions to the Western Regions. [Du Xingman] reached the state, obtained five-colored salt[108], and returned.

[101] "It is the state of Anxi of Han times": This seems to imply that Anxi had once occupied the Bukhara area, the right side of the Amu Darya; it may also be the result of a misunderstanding on the part of the Sui people,who had called the area the state of An. It is recorded in *Cefu yuangui* 冊府元龜 (ch. 560) that in the 17th year of the Zhenyuan 貞元 reign-period (801 CE), Jia Dan 賈耽 presented the memorial, "Hainei Hua Yi tu ji gujin junguo-xian-dao si Yi shu biao" 海內華夷圖及古今郡國縣道四夷述表 (Illustrations of the Chinese and the Yi within the [Four] Seas, with an account of the Yi in the prefectures, the states, the counties, and the dao 道 [an administrative district], ancient and modern), which stated, "Formerly, in the 'Xi Rong zhi' 西戎志 the state of An was confused with Anxi. Now it is seen as Kangju, with the mistake addressed. All errors of this nature have been corrected accordingly". This shows that the Tang people had already discovered this mistake.

[102] The king of An took the hand of the daughter of the king of Kang, indicating the intermarriage among the royal houses of Zhaowu.[68]

[103] It is generally believed that the Nami River is the Zarafšan River, and that "Nami" 那密

[namiet] is a transcription of the *namīdh* or *namiq* in Iranian.

[104] "The palaces all have flat roofs": The site of Pyanjikent and other ruins prove that the buildings with flat roofs were very popular in Sogdiana at that time.[69]

[105] A golden camel throne: The legs of the throne were shaped like those of a camel.[70]

[106] Since "the customs are the same as those of the state of Kang", there should be no doubt that they also "enjoy music and singing". According to the "Yinyue zhi (xia)" of *Suishu*, "The state of An: Their music for singing is called *Fusadanshi* 附薩單時; their music for dancing, *Moxi* 末奚; the *envoi*, *Juhezhi* 居和祇. The instruments include ten items... which constitute one ensemble, with twelve performers".[71]

[107] "Men marry their sisters and mothers their sons, like animals": This refers to the practice of next-of-kin marriage among the Zoroastrians. The *Avesta* states: "The most perfectly righteous of the righteous is he who remains in the good religion of the Mazdayasnians, and continues the religious practice of next-of-kin marriage in his family" (*Bahman Yasht*, chap. II; trans. by E. W. West). According to this scripture, next-of-kin marriage is a form of merit and a pious act, with the purpose of maintaining unity and purity among believers.[72]

[108] Five-colored salt 五色鹽: A kind of salt with many chemical components.[73]

國之西百餘里[109]有畢國[110]，可千餘家[111]。其國無君長[112]，安國統之。大業五年，遣使貢獻。[113]後遂絕焉。[114]

To the west one reaches the state of Bi 畢[110] after traveling more than 100 *li*[109]. There are more than 1,000 households.[111] The state has no overlord or chief[112], but is controlled by the state of An. In the fifth year of the Daye reign-period it sent an envoy to present tribute[113], but afterwards [missions] were suspended.[114]

[109] "More than 100 *li*" (Distance 2): The distance between the state of Bi and the seat of the king's government of the state of An. The seat of the king's government of An was the datum point for calculating the distance to the states of Bi, Wunahe 烏那曷, Mu, even Bosi.

[110] The state of Bi 畢 was Baikand, situated south of the Nami River in the west of present-day Uzbekistan.[74] "Bi" 畢 [piet] is a transcription of Baik.

[111] "Over 1,000 households": They were all merchants, traveling between China and abroad (by the Caspian Sea) and making a lucrative profit.[75]

[112] “The state has no overlord or chief”: This reflects the unique administrative system of that state, which was actually an autonomous “free market” of merchants and the general populace.

[113] This is not recorded in the basic annals.

[114] “Afterwards [missions] were suspended”: This is not accurate. According to the “Yangdi ji (xia)” in *Suishu*, in the eleventh year of the Daye reign-period (615), on the day *jiawu* 甲午 (the first day) in the first month, the state of An sent an envoy to present tribute.

石國[115]，居於藥殺水[116]，都城方十餘里。其王姓石，名涅。國城之東南立屋，置座於中，正月六日、七月十五日以王父母燒餘之骨，金甕盛之，置于牀上，巡遶而行，散以花香雜果，王率臣下設祭焉。[117]禮終，王與夫人出就別帳，臣下以次列坐，享宴而罷。有粟麥，多良馬。其俗善戰。曾貳於突厥，射匱可汗[118]興兵滅之，令特勤[119]甸職攝其國事。[120]南去鏺汗[121]六百里[122]，東南去瓜州[123]六千里[124]。

The state of Shi 石[115]: It is located on the Yaosha 藥殺 River[116], and its capital is over ten *li* square. Its king is surnamed Shi 石 and named Nie 涅. Southeast of the capital a house has been erected in the middle of which a throne has been set up. On the sixth day of the first month and on the fifteenth day of the seventh month a golden urn containing the ashes of the king’s parents is placed on the throne and [the court] parades around it strewing flowers, incense, and various fruits, the king leading ministers in making sacrifice [to his dead parents].[117] When the ceremony is over the king and his consort go outside to a separate tent [where] the ministers arrange themselves according to rank and all sit down to feast, after which the events are concluded. The state produces millet, wheat, and a large number of fine horses. By custom they are good at fighting. The state was once disloyal to the Tujue, with the result that Khan Shekui 射匱 sent an army to destroy it[118], and ordered a *Teqin* 特勤[119], Dianzhi 甸職, to handle its state affairs in an acting capacity.[120] It is 600 *li*[122] from Pohan 鏺汗[121] to the south and 6,000 *li*[124] from Gua Province 瓜州[123] to the southeast.

[115] The state of Shi: “Shi” 石 [zjyak] is the transcription of Šaš. It is generally believed to have been located in present-day Tashkent.

[116] The Yaosha 藥殺 River refers to the Syr Darya. “Yaosha” 藥殺 [jiak-sheat] is generally

believed to be a transcription of Iaxartes, an old name of the river.

[117] Although the nine Hu states whose kings were surnamed Zhaowu did not use coffins and caskets, they used ossuaries. Unlike the gold urns used by kings, the commoners used pottery urns. This was a different practice from the Zoroastrians.[76]

[118] Khan Shekui 射匱 was Khan of the Western Tujue (r. 605-617), the grandson of Khan Dadu 達度. According to the "Pei Ju zhuan" 裴矩傳 in *Suishu*, in the eleventh year (615) of the Daye reign-period, "Khan Shekui sent his nephew as an envoy, leading the various Hu in the west to pay their respects at the court. The Emperor ordered [Pei] Ju to entertain them with a banquet".

[119] *Teqin* 特勤 is the title of an office. It is generally regarded as the transcription of *tegin* in Turkic.

[120] "The state was once disloyal to the Tujue": According to the "Xiyu zhuan (xia)" of *Xin Tangshu*, "At the beginning of the Daye reign-period, the Western Tujue killed its king, and ordered a *Tele* 特勒, Fuzhi 匐職, to rule over the state". "Tele" 特勒 is the corruption of "*Teqin*" 特勤; and of "fu" 匐 or "dian" 甸, we do not know which version is correct.

[121] Pohan was located in Ferghāna. "Pohan" 鏺汗 [puat-han] is a transcription of Ferghāna.

[122] "600 *li*" (Distance 3.1): The distance between the seat of the king's government of Shi and that of Pohan. In light of the text below, we know that "600 *li*" 六百里 should be a corruption of "500 *li*" 五百里 (Distance 8.4). Further, according to the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Weishu*, Zheshe 者舌 (the state of Shi) is 1,000 *li* to Poluona 破洛那.

[123] Gua Province 瓜州 was established by the Northern Wei, with Dunhuang 敦煌 (southwest of present-day Dunhuang) as its seat. According to the "Longyou dao (xia)" 隴右道下 of *Yuanhe junxian tuzhi* 元和郡縣圖志 (ch. 40), in the third year of the Daye reign-period (607), it was changed to Dunhuang Prefecture. This indicates that the distance, calculated with the seat of Gua Province as the datum point, is based on data before the third year of the Daye reign-period.

[124] "6,000 *li*" (Distance 3.2): The distance between the seat of the king's government of Shi, via that of Pohan, and Gua Province; i.e., the aggregate of 600 *li*, the distance between the seat of the king's government of Shi and that of Pohan, and 5,500 *li*, the distance between the latter and Gua Province. The figure "6,000 *li*" could be an approximate figure or "100 *li*" was left out mistakenly.

甸職以大業五年遣使朝貢，其後不復至。[125]

In the fifth year of the Daye 大業 reign-period, Dianzhi 甸職 sent an envoy to

present tribute, but afterwards its envoy no longer reached [the capital].[125]

[125] This is not included in the basic annals. Shekui, under pressure from Khan Chuluo, was forced to migrate west to the valley of the Syr Darya, and destroyed the state of Shi in the process.

…………[126]

[126] Preceding the section on Yanqi 焉耆 is the memoir on the state of Women 女國. Since this state does not belong to the Western Regions, I will not comment on the text.

焉耆國，都白山[127]之南七十里[128]，漢時舊國也。其王姓龍[129]，字突騎。[130]都城方二里。國內有九城，勝兵千餘人。國無綱維。其俗奉佛書，類婆羅門[131]。婚姻之禮有同華夏。死者焚之，持服七日。男子剪髮。有魚鹽蒲葦之利。東去高昌九百里[132]，西去龜茲[133]九百里[134]，皆沙磧。東南去瓜州二千二百里[135]。大業中，遣使貢方物。[136]

The state of Yanqi 焉耆: Its capital is 70 *li*[128] to the south of the White Mountain[127]. It is an old state of Han times. Its king is surnamed Long 龍[129], and styles himself Tuqi 突騎.[130] Its capital is two *li* square. There are nine towns inside the state, and over 1,000 persons able to bear arms. The state has no social order and law. It is the custom to worship the Buddha, and their script similar to that of the Brahmans.[131] Wedding customs are the same as those of Huaxia 華夏 (China). They cremate the dead body and then go into mourning for seven days. The men clip their hair. They enjoy abundant fish, salt, and reeds. It is 900 *li*[132] from Gaochang 高昌 to the east, and 900 *li*[134] from Qiuci 龜茲[133] to the west, with nothing but sand and rocks [along the way]. It is 2,200 *li*[135] from Gua Province to the southeast. During the Daye reign-period, [its king] sent an envoy to present local products.[136]

[127] The White Mountain is the present-day Tianshan Mountains.

[128] "70 *li*" (Distance 4.1): The distance between the seat of the king's government of Yanqi and the White Mountain. This figure is the same as that in the "Yiyu zhuan" 異域傳 of *Zhoushu*.

[129] Long 龍 is the family name of Yanqi's royal house.[77]

[130] "Its king … styles himself Tuqi": "Tuqi" is Tuqishi 突騎施, one of the ten most popular family names of the Western Tujue according to the "Tujue zhuan (xia)" 突厥傳下 of *Jiu Tangshu* 舊唐書. The king styled himself Tuqi, indicating that Yanqi at that time was under the control of the Tujue.[78]

[131] The term "Brahmans" here refers to Buddhists.

[132] "900 *li*" (Distance 4.2): The distance between the seat of the king's government of Yanqi and Gaochang. According to the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu*, the seat of the king's government of Yanqi was 835 *li* from that of Nearer Jushi 車師, Jiaohe 交河. Further, according to the "Xizhou" 西州 in the "Longyou dao" 隴右道 section of *Yuanhe junxian tuzhi* 元和郡縣圖志 (ch. 40), the town of Jiaohe was 80 *li* from Gaochang. Thus, the figure "900 *li*" is the distance via Jiaohe, an approximate figure.

[133] Qiuci 龜茲 was an oasis state on the Northern Route of the Western Regions, first mentioned in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu*.

[134] "900 *li*" (Distance 4.3): The distance between the seat of the king's government of Yanqi and that of Qiuci. According to the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu*, the distance from the seat of the king's government of Yanqi, Yuanqu 員渠, via that of Weili 尉犂, to the town of Wulei 烏壘 was 400 *li*, and the distance between Wulei and the seat of the king's government of Qiuci, Yancheng 延城, was 350 *li*. The aggregate of the two is only 750 *li*.

[135] "2,200 *li*" (Distance 4.4): The distance between the seat of the king's government of Yanqi and Gua Province; i.e., the aggregate of 900 *li*, the distance between the seat of the king's government of Yanqi and Gaochang, and 1,300 *li*, the distance between Gaochang and Dunhuang.

[136] This is not mentioned in the basic annals.

龜茲國，都白山[137]之南百七十里[138]，漢時舊國也。其王姓白[139]，字蘇尼咥。[140]都城方六里。勝兵者數千。俗殺人者死，劫賊斷其一臂，并刖一足。俗與焉耆同。[141]王頭繫綵帶，垂之於後，坐金師子座。土多稻、粟、菽、麥，饒銅、鐵、鉛、麖皮、氍氀、鐃沙、鹽綠[142]、雌黃、胡粉[143]、安息香[144]、良馬、封牛。東去焉耆九百里[145]，南去于闐[146]千四百里[147]，西去疏勒[148]千五百里[149]，北去突厥牙[150]六百餘里[151]，東南去瓜州三千一百里[152]。大業中、遣使貢方物。[153]

The state of Qiuci 龜茲: Its capital is 170 *li*[138] south of the White Mountains[137]. It is an old state of Han times. Its king is surnamed Bai 白[139], and styles himself Sunidie 蘇尼咥.[140] Its capital is six *li* square. There are several thousand persons able to bear

arms. In its penal laws, a murderer is executed, and a robber has one arm and one leg cut off. The customs are the same as those of Yanqi.[141] The king ties his hair with a colored ribbon and lets it hang down his back. He sits on a golden lion throne. In the land there is an abundance of rice, millet, beans, and wheat, as well as copper, iron, lead, deerskin rugs, *qushu* 氍毹 (wool carpet), nušādir (sal ammoniac), "salty green"[142], orpiment, exotic cosmetics[143], benzoin[144], fine horses, and humped cattle. It is 900 *li* [145] from Yanqi to the east, 1,400 *li* [147] from Yutian 于闐 [146] to the south, 1,500 *li* [149] from Shule 疏勒 [148] to the west, over 600 *li* [151] from the "tusk tent" of the Tujue (Türks) [150] to the north, and 3,100 *li* [152] from Gua Province to the southeast. During the Daye reign-period, [its king] sent an envoy to present local products.[153]

[137] The White Mountains here refers to the Ak tag (the Ajietian 阿羯田 Mountain in the "Xiyu zhuan (shang)" of *Xin Tangshu*.

[138] "70 *li*" (Distance 5.1): The distance between the seat of the king's government of Qiuci and the White Mountains. According to the "Yiyu zhuan" of *Zhoushu*, Qiuci was "one hundred and seventy *li* south of the White Mountains". In this memoir, "one hundred" is missing.

[139] Bai 白 was the family name of the royal house of Qiuci, first seen in the "Ban Chao zhuan" 班超傳 in *Hou-Han shu* 後漢書.[79]

[140] "Its king … styles himself Sunidie": "Sunidie" 蘇尼咥 is "Shunishi" 鼠尼施 in the "Tujue zhuan (xia)" of *Jiu Tangshu*, one of the ten family names of the Western Tujue, which, along with Tuqishi 突騎施, belonged to the five Duolu 咄陸 tribes. The fact that the king styled himself "Sunidie" indicates that Qiuci then was under the control of the Tujue.[80] From the "Xi Tujue zhuan" 西突厥傳 of *Suishu*, we may know that the relationship between Qiuci and the Tujue can be traced to the reign of Khan Abo 阿波 (r. 581-587).

[141] "The customs are the same as those of Yanqi": This refers to the practice that men clipped their hair.[81]

[142] "Salty green" 鹽綠 is already mentioned in the "Yiyu zhuan" of *Zhoushu*.

[143] *Hu fen* 胡粉 (exotic cosmetics) is already mentioned in the "Yiyu zhuan" of *Zhoushu*.

[144] *Anxi xiang* 安息香 (benzoin), according to one opinion, is the resin of the *Btyrax benjoin*.[82]

[145] "900 *li*" (Distance 5.2): The distance between the seat of the king's government of Qiuci and that of Yanqi.

[146] Yutian 于闐 was an oasis state on the Southern Route of the Western Regions, first mentioned

in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu*.

[147] "1,400 *li*" (Distance 5.3): The distance between the seat of the king's government of Qiuci and that of Yutian.

[148] Shule 疏勒 was an oasis state on the Northern Route of the Western Regions, first mentioned in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu*.

[149] "1,500 *li*" (Distance 5.4): The distance between the seat of the king's government of Qiuci and that of Shule. According to the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu*, the distances from Shule and Qiuci to Wulei were 2,210 *li* and 670 *li* respectively. The distance between Qiuci and Shule should be the difference between 2,210 *li* and 670 *li*, i.e., 1,540 *li*.

[150] "The tusk tent of the Tujue": According to the "Xi Tujue zhuan" of *Suishu*, "Khan Chuluo 處羅 did not have a fixed residence, but most of the time he moved about in the former land of the Wusun 烏孫. He then established two lesser Khans to take control of their tribes. One was to the north of the state of Shi 石 , to take control of the various Hu states. The other was to the north of Qiuci; the place was named Yingsuo 應娑 ". According to the "Xi Tujue zhuan" of *Xin Tangshu*, in the second year of the Xianqing 顯慶 reign-period (657) of Emperor Gaozong 高宗, "Su Dingfang 蘇定方 launched an assault on [Ashina 阿史那] Helu's 賀魯 separate tent [command post] of Shunishi 鼠尼施 in the valley of Yingsuo 鷹娑 River". Here the so-called "tusk tent of the Tujue" (*Tujue ya[zhang]*) was located along the River Yingsuo 應娑 or Yingsuo 鷹娑, i.e., the valley of the Greater Yuldus River. "Helu's separate tent" (*Helu bie zhang*) should refer to the "Lesser Khan" appointed by Chuluo. The results of research indicate that the valley of the Greater Yuldus River was also the base of the Khans Dadu 達度 and Shekui 射匱.[83]

[151] "Over 600 *li*" (Distance 5.5): The distance from the seat of the king's government of Qiuci to that of the Tujue.

[152] "3,100 *li*" (Distance 5.6): The distance from the seat of the king's government of Qiuci via that of Yanqi to Gua Province; i.e., the aggregate of 900 *li*, the distance between the seat of the king's government of Qiuci and that of Yanqi, and 2,200 *li*, the distance between the latter and Gua Province.

[153] According to the "Yangdi ji (xia)" in *Suishu*, the state of Qiuci came to the court to pay tribute on the day *jiawu* 甲午 (the first day) in first month of the eleventh year of the Daye reign-period (615). As is recorded in the "Yinyue zhi (xia)" 音樂志下 of *Suishu*, "Formerly, when institutions were set up during the Kaihuang 開皇 reign-period, there were seven types of musical performance: first, the State Performance; second, the Qingshang 清商 Performance [of traditional Chinese folk music]; third, the Gaoli 高麗 Performance; fourth, the Tianzhu 天竺 Performance; fifth, the State of An

Performance; sixth, the Qiuci 龜茲 Performance; seventh, the Wenkang 文康 Performance. … Towards the Daye reign-period, Emperor Yang decided on the nine types of musical performance: Qingyue 清樂, Xi Liang 西涼, Qiuci 龜茲, Tianzhu 天竺, Kang 康, Shule 疏勒, An 安, Gaoli 高麗 , and Libi 禮畢 [the Wenkang 文康 music, performed at the end]. The making of musical instruments and costumes was completed, a culmination of all previous endeavors". Further, "Qiuci Music: It became popular with the destruction of Qiuci by Lü Guang 呂光, who obtained its music scores [and musicians]. With the death of Lü, the musicians scattered. When the [Northern] Wei brought peace to the Central Plains, the musical scores were recovered. Later, the melodies underwent many transformations. Toward Sui, there were Xiguo Qiuci 西國龜茲 [the Qiuci music popular in the Western Regions), Qichao Qiuci 齊朝龜茲 (Qiuci music under Qi), and Tu Qiuci 土龜茲 (Native Qiuci music), a total of three suites".

疏勒國，都白山南百餘里 [154]，漢時舊國也。其王字阿彌厥，手足皆六指。產子非六指者，即不育。都城方五里，國內有大城十二，小城數十。勝兵者二千人。王戴金師子冠。土多稻、粟、麻、麥、銅、鐵、錦、雌黃，每歲常供送於突厥。[155] 南有黃河，西帶葱嶺，東去龜茲千五百里 [156]，西去䥫汗國千里 [157]，南去朱俱波 [158] 八九百里 [159]，東北至突厥牙 [160] 千餘里 [161]，東南去瓜州四千六百里 [162]。大業中，遣使貢方物。[163]

The state of Shule 疏勒: Its capital is more than 100 *li* [154] to the south of the White Mountains. It is an old state of Han times. Its king, who styles himself Amijue 阿彌厥, has six digits on both hands and feet; when a [royal] child is born without six fingers and toes, it is not brought up. Its capital is five *li* square. In the state there are twelve large towns and small towns which can be numbered in the tens. There are 2,000 persons able to bear arms. The king wears a golden lion crown. In the land there is an abundance of rice, millet, hemp, wheat, copper, iron, brocade, and orpiment. It regularly presents its [local products] to the Tujue (Türks) every year.[155] There is the Yellow River in the south, and it connects with the Cong Mountains in the west. It is 1,500 *li* [156] from Qiuci to the east, 1,000 *li* [157] from Pohan 䥫汗 to the west, 800 or 900 *li* [159] from Zhujubo 朱俱波 [158] to the south, more than 1,000 *li* [161] from the "tusk tent" of the Tujue[160] to the northeast, and 4,600 *li* [162] from Gua Province to the southeast. During the Daye reign-period it sent an envoy to present its local products.[163]

[154] "Over 100 *li*" (Distance 6.1): The distance between the seat of the king's government of Shule and the White Mountains.

[155] "It often presents its [local products] to the Tujue (Türks) every year": The Tujue levied taxes, a typical way for nomadic regimes to exercise control over the various states north of the Great Wall.

[156] "1,500 *li*" (Distance 6.2): The distance between the seat of the king's government of Shule and that of Qiuci.

[157] "1,000 *li*" (Distance 6.3): The distance from the seat of the king's government of Shule to that of Pohan.

[158] Zhujubo 朱俱波 was the successor to the state of Zihe 子合 of Han times, located in the upper valley near Kosrāb, where the Yarkand and the Asgan-sal converge.[84] "Zhujubo" 朱俱波 [tjio-kio-puai] is generally believed to be a transcription of *čakukalka*.

[159] "800 or 900 *li*" (Distance 6.4): The distance between the seat of the king's government of Shule and that of Zhujubo.

[160] "The tusk tent of the Tujue" 突厥牙: According to one opinion, the "tusk tent of the Tujue" was located in Suy-âb, the Ak-Beshim Ruin eight kilometers southwest of present-day Tokmak, the royal court of the Western Tujue since Khan Tongyehu 統葉護. "Over 1,000 *li* from the tusk tent of the Tujue to the northeast" means that from Shule one travels upstream along the Toyun River, crosses the Tianshan Mountains from Turgat dawān, crosses the Naryn River and its estuary, the At-bashi River, by way of the Chatyr-kul (Chadyr köl), crosses the Tianshan Mountains again at Dolon dawān, and then walks northwards to the banks of the Chu 楚 River.[85] It is recorded in the "Tujue zhuan (xia)" of *Jiu Tangshu* that Khan Tongyehu "moved the royal court to Qianquan 千泉 [present-day Merke] to the north of the state of Shi 石 ". According to *Da Tang Xiyu ji* 大唐西域記 (ch. 2), by the second year of the Zhenguan 貞觀 reign-period (628) of Emperor Taizong 太宗 at the latest, the royal court of Khan Tongyehu was in Suy-âb. The "Xi Tujue zhuan" of *Suishu* states that the royal court of one of the Lesser Khans established by Khan Chuluo 處羅 was also to the north of the state of Shi; only we do not know whether it was Qianquan or Suy-âb.

[161] "Over 1,000 *li*" (Distance 6.5): The distance between the seat of the king's government of Shule and Suy-âb.

[162] "4,600 *li*" (Distance 6.6): The distance from the seat of the king's government of Shule via that of Qiuci to Gua Province; i.e., the aggregate of 1,500 *li*, the distance between the seat of the king's government of Shule and 3,100 *li*, the distance between the seat of the king's government of

Qiuci and Gua Province.

[163] According to the "Yangdi ji (xia)" of *Suishu*, on the day *jiawu* 甲午 (the first day) in the first month of the eleventh year of the Daye reign-period (615), Shule sent an envoy to the court to present tribute. Further, the "Yinyue zhi" of *Suishu* includes an entry on the music from Shule: "The music accompanied by singing is called *Hanglisirang yue* 亢利死讓樂; the music for dancing, *Yuanfu* 遠服; the finale, *Yanqu* 鹽曲 [*yan* meaning music]. There are ten musical instruments..., which constitute one suite, with twelve performers".

于闐國，都葱嶺之北二百餘里[164]。其王姓王，字卑示閉練。都城方八九里。國中大城有五，小城數十。勝兵者數千人。俗奉佛，尤多僧尼，王每持齋戒。城南五十里有贊摩寺[165]者，云是羅漢比丘[166]比盧旃[167]所造，石上有辟支佛[168]徒跣之跡。于闐西五百里有比摩寺[169]，云是老子化胡成佛之所。[170]俗無禮義，多盜賊淫縱。王錦帽，金鼠冠，妻戴金花。其王髮不令人見，俗云，若見王髮，年必儉。土多麻、麥、粟、稻、五果，多園林，山多美玉。東去鄯善[171]千五百里[172]，南去女國[173]三千里[174]，西去朱俱波千里[175]，北去龜茲千四百里[176]，東北去瓜州二千八百里[177]。大業中，頻遣使朝貢。[178]

The state of Yutian 于闐: Its capital is over 200 *li* [164] to the north of the Cong 葱 Mountains. Its king is surnamed Wang 王, and styles himself Bei Shibilian 卑示閉練. Its capital is six *li* square. In the state there are five large towns and small towns which can be numbered in the tens. There are several thousand persons able to bear arms. It is the custom to worship the Buddha, and there is an especially large number of monks and nuns. The king often fasts. Fifty *li* south of the town is the temple of Zanmo 贊摩 [165]. It is said that the temple was constructed by an *arhat*, the *bhikṣu*[166] Vairocana[167]. The temple has a stone on top of which there is a footprint of the Pratyekabuddha[168].West of Yutian at a distance of 500 *li* is the temple of Bimo 比摩 [169] which is locally reputed to be the place where Laozi 老子 converted the Hu and became the Buddha.[170] There is neither propriety nor righteousness, but many robbers and promiscuous deeds. Its king wears an embroidered cap and golden rodent crown; and his wife decorates her hair with gilt flowers. The king does not let people see his hair; they maintain that if his hair should be seen the harvest will be poor. In the land there is an abundance of hemp, wheat, millet, rice, and five fruits, as well as many orchards and forests. There is much

fine jade in the mountains. It is 1,500 *li* [172] from Shanshan 鄯善 [171] to the east, 3,000 *li* [174] from the state of Women[173] to the south, 1,000 *li* [175] from Zhujubo 朱俱波 to the west, 1,400 *li* [176] from Qiuci to the north, and 2,800 *li* [177] from Gua Province to the northeast. During the Daye reign-period it frequently sent envoys to present tribute.[178]

[164] "Over 200 *li*" (Distance 7.1): The distance between the seat of the king's government of Yutian and the Cong Mountains.

[165] "The temple of Zanmo" is the Tasar-ma Samghārāma.

[166] "*Biqiu*" 比丘 is *bhikṣu*.

[167] "*Biluzhan*" 比盧旃 is Vairocana.

[168] "*Bizhifo*" 辟支佛 is Pratyekabudaha.

[169] "The temple of Bimo 比摩": According to *Hunyuan sheng ji* 混元聖記 (ch. 8) by Xie Shouhao 謝守灝 of the Song Dynasty, "in the first year of the Wansui tongtian 萬歲通天 reign-period (696), … Huicheng 惠澄, a monk of the Fuxian 福先 Temple in the Eastern Capital, submitted a memorial, requesting the destruction of *Laozi hua Hu jing* 老子化胡經, and the emperor instructed the Vice Director in the Bureau of Judicial Administration 秋官侍郎 to call together the scholars of the Imperial Academy 成均監 and the Institute for the Advancement of Letters 弘文館 to give careful consideration to this matter. The Superior Grand Master of the Palace, acting Vice Director in the Bureau of Judicial Administration, and Supreme Pillar of State, Liu Ruxuan 劉如璿, presented his opinion: 'It is recorded in *Huangchao shilu* 皇朝實錄 that in the state of Yutian, 500 *li* west [of the capital] there is the Temple of Pimo 毗摩, built to commemorate the event of Laozi converting the Hu. Laozi arrived there to ascend to the Heaven in broad daylight, departing from the Hu crowd'".[86] "Pimo" 毗摩 and "Bimo" 比摩 in this memoir are variations in the transcription of the same name, very probably the transcription of *Bhīmā*, i.e., the "Pimo" 媲摩 in *Da Tang Xiyu ji* 大唐西域記 (ch. 12).[87]

[170]"Laozi converted the Hu and became the Buddha": In addition to this memoir, similar writings include the commentary on the chapter "Wenxue" 文學 of *Shishuo xinyu* 世說新語, the "Shi Lao zhi" 釋老志 in *Weishu*, the "Jingji zhi" 經籍志 in *Suishu*, *Bianzheng lun* 辨正論 (ch. 5) by Falin 法琳, the chapters "Si Yi bu" 四夷部 and "Renshi bu" 人事部 of *Taiping yulan* 太平御覽, and *Shiji zhengyi* 史記正義 (ch. 130, "Dayuan liezhuan" 大宛列傳). The opinion that the Temple of Bimo 比摩 was the site where Laozi converted the Hu is simply groundless and farfetched.

[171] Shanshan 鄯善 was an oasis state on the Southern Route of the Western Regions, first mentioned in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu*. The "Dili zhi (shang)" 地理志上 of *Suishu* records: "The Prefecture

of Shanshan was established in the fifth year of the Daye reign-period, after the defeat of the Tuyuhun. The seat was the town of Shanshan, i.e., the site of the ancient town of Loulan 樓蘭. At the same time the Prefectures of Qiemo 且末, Xihai 西海, and Heyuan 河源 were founded: a total of four prefectures". According to another view, the seat of Shanshan Prefecture would have been in the town of Yixun 伊循 of Han times, i.e., present-day Charkhlik.[88]

[172] "1,500 *li*" (Distance 7.2): The distance between the seat of the king's government of Yutian and that of Shanshan.

[173] The state of Women 女國 is Suvarna-gotra in *Da Tang Xiyu ji* (ch. 4), located to the north of the Himalayas, south of Hetian 和闐, and east of Ladakh.[89]

[174]"3,000 *li*" (Distance 7.3): The distance between the seat of the king's government of Yutian and that of the state of Women.

[175] "1,000 *li*" (Distance 7.4): The distance between the seat of the king's government of Yutian and that of Zhujubo.

[176] "1,400 *li*" (Distance 7.5): The distance between the seat of the king's government of Yutian and that of Qiuci.

[177] "2,800 *li*" (Distance 7.6): This figure is incorrect.

[178] According to the "Yangdi ji (xia)" of *Suishu*, on the day *jiawu* 甲午 (the first day) in the first month of the eleventh year of the Daye reign-period (615), the state of Yutian sent an envoy to the court to present tribute.

鏺汗國，都葱嶺之西五百餘里[179]，古渠搜國也。[180]王姓昭武，字阿利柒。都城方四里。勝兵數千人。王坐金羊牀，妻戴金花。俗多朱砂、金、鐵。東去疏勒千里[181]，西去蘇對沙那國[182]五百里[183]，西北去石國五百里[184]，東北去突厥牙[185]二千餘里[186]，東去瓜州五千五百里[187]。大業中，遣使貢方物。[188]

The state of Pohan 鏺汗: Its capital is over 500 *li*[179] to the west of the Cong Mountains. It was the state of Qusou 渠搜 of antiquity.[180] Its king is surnamed Zhaowu, and styles himself Aliqi 阿利柒. Its capital is four *li* square. There are several thousand persons able to bear arms. The king sits on a golden sheep couch, and his wife decorates her hair with gilt flowers. There is an abundance of vermilion, gold and iron. It is 1,000 *li*[181] from Shule to the east, 500 *li*[183] from the state of Suduishana 蘇對沙那[182] to the west, 500 *li*[184] from the state of Shi 石 to the northwest, over 2,000 *li*[186] from the "tusk

tent" of the Tujue (Türks)[185] to the northeast, and 5,500 *li* [187] from Gua Province to the northeast. During the Daye reign-period it sent an envoy to present its local products.[188]

[179] "Over 500 *li*" (Distance 8.1): The distance between the seat of the king's government of Pohan and the Cong Mountains. The seat of the king's government of Pohan was the datum point for calculating distances to the states of Shi 石, Suduishana 蘇對沙那, Mi 米, Shi 史, Kang 康, Cao 曹, He 何, and even Little An 小安.

[180] "It was the state of Qusou of antiquity": "Qusou" 渠搜 is probably an alternative transcription of Asii, a Sai tribe. Its people might have entered Ferghāna earlier than the Tochari. Ferghāna was called "Dayuan" 大宛 because of the latter. The people of the Asii tribe might have replaced the Tochari to become the suzerain of Ferghāna in the age described in this memoir; hence the name of "Qusou" gained popularity. In Chinese histories "Dayuan" 大宛 was changed to "Poluona" 破洛那 ("Xiyu zhuan" of *Weishu*) or "Pohan" 鏺汗, probably to reflect this development.[90] *Shiji zhengyi* 史記正義 quotes *Xiyu tuji* 西域圖記: "Pohan 鉢汗 was the Qusou of antiquity" (see the section "Yiyuguo shu" 異域國書 in the "Dili" 地理 part of *Yuhai* 玉海). This is in conformity with this memoir, but should not be taken as evidence to prove that this memoir uses *Xiyu tuji* as a source, because it was probably a very popular view that Qusou was the predecessor of Pohan.

[181] "1,000 *li*" (Distance 8.2): The distance between the seat of the king's government of Pohan and that of Shule.

[182] It is generally believed that the state of Suduishana was located in present-day Ura-tüpä. "Suduishana" 蘇對沙那 is a transcription of Ošrūsana or Satrušna.

[183] "500 *li*" (Distance 8.3): The distance between the seat of the king's government of Pohan and that of Suduishana.

[184] "500 *li*" (Distance 8.4): The distance between the seat of the king's government of Pohan and that of the state of Shi 石 . The figure is different from Distance 3.1 in the section on Shi; the figure here should be relied on.

[185] "The tusk tent of the Tujue" here is located in Suy-âb, as in the section on Shule in this memoir.[91]

[186] "Over 2,000 *li*" (Distance 8.5): The distance between the seat of the king's government of Pohan and Suy-âb. According to *Da Tang Xiyu ji* (ch. 1), the distance from the town of Suye 素葉 to Qianquan 千泉 was over 400 *li*; it was 140 to 150 *li* from Qianquan to the town of Daluosi 怛邏斯

(Talas, present-day Zhambul in Kazakhstan); over 200 *li* from Daluosi to the town of Baishui 白水 (Isbījāb, present-day Sayram, 15 kilometers east of Chimkent); over 200 *li* from Baishui to the town of Gongyu 恭御 (Chach-Ilak, located in the valleys of the Chirchik and Angren Rivers, both estuaries of the Syr Darya); 40 to 50 *li* from the town of Gongyu to the state of Nuchijian 笯赤建 (Nujakth, Ханабад in Tashkent); 200 *li* from the state of Nuchijian to the state of Zheshi 赭時 (Šaš; believed by some to be Binkath near the Chirchik River); over 1,000 *li* from the state of Zheshi to the state of Feihan 怖捍 (Ferghāna).

[187] "5,500 *li*" (Distance 8.6): The distance between the seat of the king's government of Pohan and Gua Province. The figure "5,500 li" is probably an error for "5,400 *li*".

[188] The "Yangdi ji (xia)" of *Suishu* reads "Peihan" 沛汗. On the day *jiawu* 甲午 (the first day) in the first month of the eleventh year of the Daye reign-period (615), the state sent an envoy to the court to present tribute.

吐火羅國 [189]，都葱嶺西五百里 [190]，與挹怛雜居。[191] 都城方二里。勝兵者十萬人，皆習戰。其俗奉佛。兄弟同一妻，迭寢焉，每一人入房，戶外挂其衣以爲志。生子屬其長兄。[192] 其山穴中有神馬，每歲牧牝馬於穴所，必産名駒。南去漕國 [193] 千七百里 [194]，東去瓜州五千八百里 [195]。大業中，遣使朝貢。[196]

The state of Tuhuoluo 吐火羅[189]: Its capital is 500 *li* [190] to the west of the Cong Mountains. The people live together with the Yida 挹怛.[191] Its capital is two *li* square. There are 100,000 persons able to bear arms, and they are all experienced at fighting. It is their custom to worship the Buddha. The brothers marry one wife, sleeping with her by turns. While one is in the wife's bed-room, he hangs his coat on the door as a signal. A child that is born [to the wife] will belong to the oldest brother.[192] There are magical horses in its caves. If mares are grazed near the caves every year, then they are certain to give birth to renowned horses. It is 1,700 *li* [194] from the state of Cao 漕 [193] to the south, and 5,800 *li* [195] from Gua Province to the east. During the Daye reign-period it sent an envoy to present tribute.[196]

[189] It is generally believed that the state of Tuhuoluo refers to Tukhārestān. According to another opinion, Tuhuoluo only consists of the area of Qal'a-ye Zāl, i.e., Warwālīz in Arab geographies, to the north of present-day Kunduz.[92]

[190] "500 *li*" (Distance 9.1): The distance between the seat of the king's government of Tuhuoluo and the Cong Mountains.

[191] "The people live together with the Yida": The Yida, nomadic tribes to the north of the Great Wall, had Tukhārestān as the center of their regime after their migration to the west. At this time, their regime was defeated by the alliance of the Tujue and Bosi. Their remnants then lived together with the indigenous people.

[192] Their matrimonial customs: According to *Huichao wang wu Tianzhu guo zhuan* 慧超往五天竺國傳, "From the state of Tuhuoluo to the states of Jibin 罽賓 [Kashmira], Fanyin 犯引 (Bamian), and Xiexu 謝旭 (Zābulistān), brothers of ten, five, three, or two are wedded to one wife; they are not allowed to practice monogamy, for fear of damaging the household economy". This indicates that the practice was widespread, and the reason for it was economic.

[193] The state of Cao 漕 should be the Jiabishi 迦畢試 (Kāpiśī) in *Da Tang Xiyu ji*.[93] "Cao" 漕 [dzô], according to one view, is a transcription of Zābul. The territory of the state of Zābul (with Gazna as the capital) once reached from Qiantuoluo 乾陀羅 to Kāpiśī, resulting in Kāpiśī being referred to as the state of Cao 漕.[94]

[194] "1,700 *li*" (Distance 9.2): The distance between the seat of the king's government of Tuhuoluo and that of the state of Cao 漕.

[195] "5,800 *li*" (Distance 9.3): The distance from the seat of the king's government of Tuhuoluo to Gua Province. The specific route is unknown. The "Xi Rong (wu)" 西戎五 in the section "Bianfang (jiu)" 邊防九 of *Tongdian* 通典 records that it "is 6,700 *li* from Gua Province to the east".

[196] According to the "Yangdi ji (xia)" of *Suishu*, on the day *jiawu* 甲午 (the first day) in the first month of the eleventh year of the Daye reign-period (615), the state of Tuhuoluo sent an envoy to the court to present tribute.

挹怛國，都烏滸水[197]南二百餘里，[198]大月氏之種類也。[199]勝兵者五六千人。俗善戰。先時國亂，突厥遣通設字詰强領其國。[200]都城方十餘里。多寺塔，皆飾以金。兄弟同妻。婦人有一夫者，冠一角帽，夫兄弟多者，依其數爲角。[201]南去漕國千五百里[202]，東去瓜州六千五百里[203]。大業中，遣使貢方物。[204]

The state of Yida 挹怛: Its capital is 200 *li*[198] to the south of the Wuhu 烏滸 River[197]. It is a branch of the Da Yuezhi 大月氏.[199] There are five or six thousand persons able to bear arms. By custom they are good at fighting. Previous to this, the state was

in confusion. The Tujue (Türks) sent Šad, who was named Jieqiang 詰强, to possess the state.[200] Its capital is over ten *li* square. There are many temples and pagodas, which are all decorated with gold. The brothers marry one wife. If a woman has one husband, she wears a one-horned hat. If her husband has brothers, horns are added to the hat, according to their number.[201] It is 1,500 *li* [202] from the state of Cao 漕 to the south, and 6,500 *li* [203] from Gua Province to the east. During the Daye reign-period it sent an envoy to present its local products.[204]

[197] The Wuhu River is the Amu Darya. "Wuhu" 烏滸 [a-xu] is a transcription of Oxus.

[198] "Over 200 *li*" (Distance 10.1): The distance between the seat of the king's government of Yida and the Wuhu River. The seat of the king's government of Yida was located near Balkh.[95]

[199] "It is a branch of the Da Yuezhi": We already know that the Yida and the Da Yuezhi are not related, but since the Yida people migrated west from the north of the Great Wall, the center of their regime moved to Tukhārestān. Because the area had been under the control of, first, Guishuang 貴霜 (Kushāns) and, then, Jiduoluo Guishuang 寄多羅貴霜 (Kidāra Kushāns) since the Eastern Han, and because the Chinese, "basing themselves upon the old appellation", referred to them as the "Da Yuezhi", this memoir mistakenly takes the Yida to be "a branch of the Da Yuezhi". The editors of the "Yiyu zhuan" of *Zhoushu* and of this memoir record only the events and conditions after the Yida had established their royal court south of the Amu Darya, probably believing that the Yida people had always resided there.

[200] Its relationship with the Tujue: According to the "Tujue zhuan" of *Suishu*, "Mugan, brave and wise, attacked the Ruru and destroyed their state. He [also] defeated the Yida in the west, and drove away Qigu 契骨 in the east. The Rong and Di in the north all pledged allegiance to him and they together opposed Zhongxia 中夏 (China)". Actually, it was Shidianmi 室點密, not Mugan himself, that had "defeated the Yida in the west". It was only because Mugan was the supreme Khan of the Tujue at that time that the "Tujue zhuan" of *Suishu* attributed the victory over the Yida to him. Under the orders of Khan Mugan, Shidianmi, called Silzibul in Western sources, led troops, along with his son, Dadu 達度, in an expedition against the Yida in the west, and, before 558, destroyed the Yida regime after joining forces with Khusrau I (r. 531-579) of Sassanian Persia with whom he divided the kingdom along the Amu Darya.[96] An imperial edict in the third year of Kaihuang 開皇 reign-period (583) was recorded in the "Tujue zhuan" of *Suishu*: "Previously Datou 達頭 attacked Jiuquan 酒泉; later, the three states of Yutian, Bosi, and Yida rebelled at the same time". The attack on Jiuquan by

Datou (i.e., Khan Dadu in this memoir) occurred in the first year of the Xuanzheng 宣政 reign-period (578). That "the state was in confusion" probably refers to the agitation caused by the remnants of the Yida when Dadu marched to the east. After the turmoil was brought under control, the Tujue sent a Tongshe 通設, whose name was Jieqiang 詰强, to rule over the state temporarily. "Tongshe" 通設 should be "Tutunshe" 吐屯設, with "Tutun" 吐屯 becoming "tong" when read rapidly.

[201] Matrimonial customs: According to the section on Yeda 嚈噠 in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Weishu*, at the beginning there was no practice of polyandry in Yida. In light of the records concerning the marriage customs in Tukhārestān, it was after they had entered Central Asia and were under the influence of the natives there that the Yida people adopted such a practice.[97]

[202] "1,500 *li*" (Distance 10.2): The distance between the seat of the king's government of Yida and that of the state of Cao 漕. The seat of the king's government of the state of Cao was the datum point in calculating the distances to Yida and Tuhuoluo.

[203] "6,500 *li*" (Distance 10.3): The distance from the seat of the king's government to Gua Province; the particular route is unknown.

[204] This is not seen in the basic annals.

米國，都那密水西，[205] 舊康居之地也。[206] 無王。其城主姓昭武，康國王之支庶，字閉拙[207]。都城方二里。勝兵數百人。西北去康國百里[208]，東去蘇對沙那國五百里[209]，西南去史國二百里[210]，東去瓜州六千四百里[211]。大業中，頻貢方物。[212]

The state of Mi 米: Its capital is located to the west of the Nami 那密 River.[205] It is in the former land of Kangju 康居.[206] There is no king in the state. Its master of the town is surnamed Zhaowu, who is a relative of the king of the state of Kang 康, and styles himself Bizhuo 閉拙[207]. Its capital is two *li* square. There are several hundred persons able to bear arms. It is 100 *li* [208] from the state of Kang to the northwest, 500 *li* [209] from the state of Suduishana to the east, 200 *li* [210] from the state of Shi 史 to the southwest, and 6,400 *li* [211] from Gua Province to the east. During the Daye reign-period it frequently sent envoys to present its local products.[212]

[205] The "Xiyu zhuan (xia)" of *Xin Tangshu* records: "Mi 米 is also known as Mimo 彌末 and Mimohe 弭秣賀. To the north it is 100 *li* from Kang. The seat of its king's government is the town of

Boxide 鉢息德. During the Yonghui 永徽 reign-period it was destroyed by Dashi 大食 ". The town of Boxide 鉢息德 is located in present-day Penjikent.[98] "Boxide" 鉢息德 was probably a transcription of *ptsytk* in Sogdian.[99]

[206] "It is in the former land of Kangju": Sogdiana was once a dependency of Kangju.[100]

[207] "Bizhuo" 閉拙, according to one view, is Pycwtt, father of Ck'yn cwr, the lord of Penjikent in the Sogdian documents unearthed at Mount Mug (горы Муг). According to the "Xiyu zhuan (xia)" of *Xin Tangshu*, "In the third year of the Xianqing 顯慶 reign-period, its land was made Nanmi 南謐 Province, and its king, Zhaowu Kaizhuo 昭武開拙, was made Governor. Since then, he has consistently sent tribute to the court". "Kaizhuo" 開拙 should be "Bizhuo" 閉拙; the similarity of the characters caused the error.[101]

[208] "100 *li*" (Distance 11.1): The distance between the seat of the king's government of the state of Mi and that of the state of Kang.

[209] "500 *li*" (Distance 11.2): The distance between the seat of the king's government of the state of Mi and that of Suduishana.

[210] "200 *li*" (Distance 11.3): The distance between the seat of the king's government of Mi and that of Shi 史 .

[211] "6,400 *li*" (Distance 11.4): The distance from the seat of the king's government of the state of Mi via that of Pohan to Gua Province; i.e., the aggregate of 500 *li*, the distance between the seat of the king's government of Mi and that of Suduishana; another 500 *li*, the distance between the seat of the king's government of Suduishana and that of Pohan; and 5,400 *li*, the distance between the seat of the king's government of Pohan and Gua Province.

[212] This does not appear in the basic annals.

史國，都獨莫水 [213] 南十里 [214]，舊康居之地也。[215] 其王姓昭武，字逖遮，亦康國王之支庶也。都城方二里。勝兵千餘人。俗同康國。北去康國二百四十里 [216]，南去吐火羅五百里 [217]，西去那色波國二百里 [218]，東北去米國二百里 [219]，東去瓜州六千五百里 [220]。大業中，遣使貢方物。[221]

The state of Shi 史: Its capital is ten *li* [214] to the south of the Dumo 獨莫 River[213]. It is in the former land of Kangju.[215] Its king, who is also a relative of the king of the state of Kang, is surnamed Zhaowu and styles himself Dizhe 逖遮. Its capital is two *li* square. There are over a thousand persons able to bear arms. The customs are the same

as those of the state of Kang. It is 240 *li* [216] from the state of Kang to the north, 500 *li* [217] from the state of Tuhuoluo 吐火羅 to the south, 200 *li* [218] from the state of Nasebo 那色波 to the west, 200 *li* [219] from the state of Mi 米 to the northeast, and 6,500 *li* [220] from Gua Province to the east. During the Daye reign-period it sent an envoy to present its local products.[221]

[213] The Dumo River is the Kaškarūd River.[102] "Dumo" 獨莫 [dok-mak], according to one opinion, is the transcription of *tūmu* in Iranian (Turkic: *tūmāq*, meaning "strong, sudden rising").[103]

[214] "Ten *li*" (Distance 12.1): The distance between the seat of the king's government of the state of Shi and the Dumo River.

[215] "It is in the former land of Kangju": The predecessor of the state of Shi was probably king Suxie 蘇巂, one of the lesser kings of Kangju in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu*.[104]

[216]"240 *li*" (Distance 12.2): The distance between the seat of the king's government of the state of Shi and that of the state of Kang.

[217] "500 *li*" (12.3): The distance between the seat of the king's government of Shi and that of Tuhuoluo.

[218] "200 *li*" (Distance 12.4): The distance between the seat of the king's government of Shi and that of Nasebo.

[219] "200 *li*" (Distance 12.5): The distance between the seat of the king's government of Shi and that of Mi.

[220] "6,500 *li*" (Distance 12.6): The distance from the king's government of Shi via that of Mi to Gua Province; i.e., the aggregate of 200 *li*, the distance between the seat of the king's government of Shi and that of Mi, and 6,400 *li*, the distance between the latter and Gua Province. The figure "6,500" is probably an error for "6,600".

[221] This is not seen in the basic annals. According to the "Xiyu zhuan (xia)" of *Xin Tangshu*, "During the Daye reign-period of Sui, its king, Dizhe, started to communicate with the Middle Kingdom".

曹國，都那密水南數里 [222]，舊是康居之地也。國無主，康國王令子烏建領之。都城方三里。勝兵千餘人。國中有得悉神 [223]，自西海 [224] 以東諸國並敬事之。其神有金人焉，金破羅 [225] 闊丈有五尺，高下相稱。每日以駝五頭、馬十匹、羊一百口祭之，常有數千人食之不盡。東南去康國百里 [226]，西去何國百五十里 [227]，

東去瓜州六千六百里[228]。大業中，遣使貢方物。[229]

The state of Cao 曹: Its capital is several *li* [222] to the south of the Nami River. It is in the former land of Kangju. There is no ruler in the state, so the king of the state of Kang charges his son Wujian 烏建 with governing it. Its capital is three *li* square. There are over a thousand persons able to bear arms. In this state is the goddess of Dexi 得悉 [223] who is revered and served by all the various states east of the Western Sea[224]. There are gold images of the goddess, as well as golden *poluo* 破羅 [225] for the worship of the goddess that are about fifteen *chi* 尺 high, the taller and shorter forming a well-proportioned group. Every day five camels, ten horses, and one hundred sheep are sacrificed to them. Often several thousand men cannot eat them all. It is 100 *li* [226] from the state of Kang to the southeast, 150 *li* [227] from the state of He 何 to the west, and 6,600 *li* [228] from Gua Province to the east. During the Daye reign-period it sent an envoy to present its local products.[229]

[222] "Several *li*" (Distance 13.1): The distance from the seat of the king's government of the state of Cao 曹 to the Nami River.

[223] Dexi goddess: Dexi should be the goddess in charge of the stars and rain in Zoroastrianism. "Dexi" 得悉 is the transcription of *txs'yc* in Sogdian.[105]

[224] The Western Sea 西海 refers to the Mediterranean.

[225] The "golden *poluo*" are wine vessels. "*Poluo*" 破羅 is a transcription of *patrōd* in Iranian.[106]

[226] "100 *li*" (Distance 13.2): The distance between the seat of the king's government of the state of Cao 曹 and that of the state of Kang 康.

[227] "150 *li*" (Distance 13.3): The distance between the seat of the king's government of Cao and that of He.

[228] "6,600 *li*" (Distance 13.4): The distance from the seat of the king's government of Cao via those of Kang and Mi to Gua Province; i.e., the aggregate of 100 *li*, the distance between the king's government of Cao and that of Kang; 100 *li*, the distance between the seat of the king's government of Kang and that of Mi; and 6,400 *li*, the distance between the seat of the king's government of Mi and Gua Province.

[229] According to the "Yangdi ji (xia)" of *Suishu*, on the day *yimao* 乙卯 in the seventh month of the tenth year of the Daye reign-period (614), and on the day *jiawu* 甲午 (the first day) in the first month of the eleventh year of the Daye reign-period (615), the state of Cao sent envoys to the court to

present tribute.

何國，都那密水南數里[230]，舊是康居之地也。[231]其王姓昭武，亦康國王之族類，字敦。都城方二里。勝兵千人。其王坐金羊座。東去曹國百五十里[232]，西去小安國三百里[233]，東去瓜州六千七百五十里[234]。大業中，遣使貢方物。[235]

The state of He 何 : Its capital is several *li* [230] to the south of the Nami River. It is in the former land of Kangju.[231] Its king, who is also a clansman of the king of the state of Kang, is surnamed Zhaowu and styles himself Dun 敦. Its capital is two *li* square. There are 1,000 persons able to bear arms. The king sits on a golden sheep throne. It is 150 *li* [232] from the state of Cao to the east, 300 *li* [233] from the state of Little An 安 to the west, and 6,750 *li* [234] from Gua Province to the east. During the Daye reign-period it sent an envoy to present its local products.[235]

[230] "Several *li*" (Distance 14.1): The distance between the seat of the king's government and the Nami River.

[231] "It is in the former land of Kangju": The predecessor of the state of He might have been King Fumo 附墨, one of the five lesser kings of Kangju in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu*.[107]

[232] "150 *li*" (Distance 14.2): The distance between the seat of the king's government of the state of He 何 and that of the state of Cao 曹.

[233] "300 *li*" (Distance 14.3): The distance between the seat of the king's government of He and that of Little An 小安.

[234] "6,750 *li*" (Distance 14.4): The distance from the seat of the king's government of He via that of Cao to Gua Province; i.e., the aggregate of 150 *li*, the distance between the seat of the king's government of He and that of Cao, and 6,600 *li*, the distance between the latter and Gua Province.

[235] According to the "Yangdi ji (xia)" of *Suishu*, on the day *jiawu* 甲午 (the first day) in the first month of the eleventh year of the Daye reign-period (615), the state of He sent an envoy to the court to present tribute.

烏那曷國，都烏滸水西，舊安息之地也。[236]王姓昭武，亦康國種類，字佛食。都城方二里。勝兵數百人。王坐金羊座。東北去安國四百里[237]，西北去穆國二百餘里[238]，東去瓜州七千五百里[239]。大業中，遣使貢方物。[240]

The state of Wunahe 烏那曷: Its capital is located to the west of the Wuhu 烏滸 River. It is in the former land of Anxi 安息.[236] Its king, who is also a clansman of [the king of] the state of Kang 康, is surnamed Zhaowu 昭武 and styles himself Foshi 佛食. Its capital is two *li* square. There are several hundred persons able to bear arms. The king sits on a golden sheep throne. It is 400 *li* [237] from the state of An 安 to the northeast, over 200 *li* [238] from the state of Mu 穆 to the northwest, and 7,500 *li*[239] from Gua Province to the east. During the Daye reign-period it sent an envoy to present its local products.[240]

[236] "It is in the former land of Anxi": Since Wunahe was to the south of the Amu Darya, it is possible that it was once a dependency of Anxi.

[237] "400 *li*" (Distance 15.1): The distance between the seat of the king's government of Wunahe and that of An 安.

[238] "Over 200 *li*" (Distance 15.2): The distance from the seat of the king's government of Wunahe and that of Mu 穆.

[239] "7,500 *li*" (Distance 15.3): The distance between the seat of the king's government of An and Gua Province. From this we can deduce the distance between the seat of the king's government of An and Gua Province, i.e., the difference between 7,500 *li*, the distance between the seat of Wunahe and Gua Province, and 400 *li*, the distance between the seat of the king's government of Wunahe and that of An.

[240] According to the "Yangdi ji (xia)" of *Suishu*, on the day *jiawu* 甲午 (the first day) in the first month of the eleventh year of the Daye reign-period (615), Wunahe sent an envoy to the court to present tribute.

穆國，都烏滸河之西，亦安息之故地，[241] 與烏那曷爲鄰。其王姓昭武，亦康國王之種類也，字阿濫密。都城方三里。勝兵二千人。東北去安國五百里[242]，東去烏那曷二百餘里[243]，西去波斯國[244]四千餘里[245]，東去瓜州七千七百里[246]。大業中，遣使貢方物。[247]

The state of Mu 穆: Its capital is located to the west of the Wuhu 烏滸 River. It is also in the former land of Anxi[241], which borders on Wunahe. Its king, who is also a clansman of the king of the state of Kang, is surnamed Zhaowu and styles himself

Alanmi 阿濫密. Its capital is three *li* square. There are 2,000 persons able to bear arms. It is 500 *li* [242] from the state of An to the northeast, over 200 *li* [243] from the state of Wunahe to the east, over 4,000 *li* [245] from the state of Bosi 波斯 [244] to the west, and 7,700 *li* [246] from Gua Province to the east. During the Daye reign-period it sent an envoy to present its local products.[247]

[241] "It is also in the former land of Anxi": Since the state of Mu 穆 was to the south of the Amu Darya, it is possible that it was once a dependency of Anxi.

[242] "500 *li*" (Distance 16.1): The distance between the seat of the king's government of the state of Mu and that of the state of An 安.

[243] "Over 200 *li*" (Distance 16.2): The distance between the seat of the king's government of the state of Mu and that of the state of Wunahe.

[244] The state of Bosi 波斯 refers to Sassanian Persia.

[245] "4,000 *li*" (Distance 16.3): The distance between the seat of the king's government of the state of Mu and that of Bosi.

[246] "7,700 *li*" (Distance 16.4): The distance from the seat of the king's government of Mu via that of Wunahe to Gua Province; i.e., the aggregate of 200 *li*, the distance between the seat of the king's government of Mu and that of Wunahe, and 7,500 *li*, the distance between the seat of the king's government of Wunahe and Gua Province.

[247] According to the "Yangdi ji (xia)" of *Suishu*, on the day *jiawu* 甲午 (the first day) in the first month of the eleventh year of the Daye reign-period (615), the state of Mu sent an envoy to the court to present tribute.

波斯國，都達曷水[248]之西蘇藺城[249]，即條支之故地也。[250]其王字庫薩和[251]。都城方十餘里。勝兵二萬餘人。乘象而戰。國無死刑，或斷手刖足，沒家財，或剃去其鬚，或繫排於項，以爲標異。[252]人年三歲已上，出口錢四文。妻其姊妹。[253]人死者，棄屍于山，[254]持服一月。王著金花冠，坐金師子座[255]，傅金屑於鬚上以爲飾。衣錦袍，加瓔珞於其上。土多良馬，大驢，師子，白象，大鳥卵[256]，真珠、頗黎[257]、獸魄[258]、珊瑚、瑠璃、碼碯、水精、瑟瑟、呼洛羯[259]、呂騰[260]、火齊[261]、金剛[262]、金、銀、鍮石[263]、銅、鑌鐵[264]、錫、錦、疊、細布、氍毹、毾毲[265]、護那[266]、越諾布[267]、檀、金縷織成[268]、赤麖皮、朱沙、水銀，薰陸[269]、鬱金[270]、蘇合[271]、青木[272]等諸香，胡椒、畢撥[273]、石蜜[274]、半蜜[275]、千年

棗[276]、附子[277]、訶黎勒[278]、無食子[279]、鹽綠、雌黃。突厥不能至其國，亦羈縻之。波斯每遣使貢獻。[280] 西去海[281] 數百里[282]，東去穆國四千餘里[283]，西北去拂菻[284] 四千五百里[285]，東去瓜州萬一千七百里[286]。

The state of Bosi 波斯: Its capital is the town of Sulin 蘇藺[249], which is located on the Dahe 達曷 River[248], and is in the former land of Tiaozhi 條支[250]. Its king styles himself Kusahe 庫薩和[251]. Its capital is over ten *li* square. There are over 20,000 persons able to bear arms. The inhabitants ride on elephants in warfare. There is no death penalty, but a prisoner has his arms or legs cut off and his property confiscated, or else his beard is trimmed and fixed to his neck, to set him apart.[252] Commoners aged three or more must pay four cash in population tax. The men marry their own older or younger sisters.[253] When a man dies, they leave the corpse on a mountain[254] and go into mourning for one month. The king wears on his head a golden flowered cap, sits on a golden lion throne,[255] and decorates himself by sprinkling gold filings on his beard. He is clad in a brocade robe with tassels attached to it. In the land there is an abundance of fine horses, large donkeys, lions, white elephants, large birds' eggs[256], true pearls, glass[257], amber[258], coral, *liuli* 瑠璃 (ceramic glazes), agate, crystal, jadeite, *huluojie* 呼洛羯[259], *lüteng* 呂騰[260], mica[261], diamond[262], gold, silver, zinc ore[263],bronze, steel[264], tin, brocade, *[bai]die* [白] 疊 (white cotton cloth), delicate cloth, *qushu* 氍毹, *tadeng* 毾㲪[265], *guna*[266], *var nakā*[267], sandalwood, gold threaded [268] weave,red deerskin rugs, vermilion, mercury, frankincense[269], saffron[270], storax[271], costus[272], and other aromatics, black pepper, pippal (pippalī)[273], crystallized sugar[274], half honey[275], date palms[276], monkshood[277], myrobalan[278], oak galls[279], "salty green", and orpiment. The Tujue (Türks) are unable to reach the state, but do maintain ties with it. Bosi often sent envoys to present tribute.[280] It is several hundred *li* [282] from the sea to the west[281],over 4,000 *li* [283] from the state of Mu to the east, 4,500 *li* [285] from Fulin 拂菻 [284] to the northwest, and 11,700 *li* [286] from Gua Province to the east.

[248] The Dahe River refers to the Tigris. "Dahe" 達曷 [dat-hat] is a transcription of Diglat (the name of the Tigris among the natives).[108]

[249] The town of Sulin 蘇藺 is located in the south of Bagdad. "Sulin" 蘇藺 [sa-lien] can be seen as a transcription of Seleucia.[109] Others argue that it is a transcription of Sūrastān.[110]

[250] "The former land of Tiaozhi": The Syrian area, where Seleucia was located, was once "Tiaozhi", the territory under the control of the Seleucid Dynasty.

[251] Kusahe 庫薩和 is the king of Sassanian Persia, Khusrau I (r. 531-579).

[252] The penalties like having the beard trimmed, etc., are based on the "Yiyu zhuan" of *Zhoushu*.

[253] "The men marry their own older or younger sisters": This refers to the next-of-kin marriage advocated by Zoroastrianism.

[254] "They leave the corpse on a mountain": This refers to the funeral custom typical of the Zoroastrians, i.e., the so-called celestial burial or sky burial.

[255] "Golden lion throne": For the "golden lion throne", the "Xi Rong zhuan" of *Jiu Tangshu* reads "lion couch". At least on the reverse of the coins issued during the reign of Ardashīr I (r. 224-240), the image of the the throne had legs in the shape of those of a lion.[111]

[256] "Large birds' eggs" 大鳥卵: First seen in the "Dayuan liezhuan" of *Shiji*.

[257] "*Poli*" 頗黎 (glass) is already seen in the "Yiyu zhuan" of *Zhoushu*.

[258] "*Shoupo*" 獸魄 (amber) should be the "*hupo*" 虎魄 in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu*; the change was to observe a taboo of a Tang emperor's name.

[259] "*Huluojie*" 呼洛羯 is *borax* according to one opinion. "*Huluojie*" is perhaps the transcription of *furak* in Middle Persian.[112]

[260] The meaning of "*lüteng*" 呂騰 is unknown.

[261] "*Huoqi*" 火齊 (mica) is already seen in the "Yiyu zhuan" of *Zhoushu*.

[262] "*Jingang*" 金剛 (diamond) is already seen in the "Yiyu zhuan" of *Zhoushu*.

[263] "*Toushi*" 鍮石 (zinc ore) is already seen in the "Yiyu zhuan" of *Zhoushu*.

[264] "*Bintie*" 鑌鐵 (steel) is already seen in the "Yiyu zhuan" of *Zhoushu*.

[265] "*Tadeng*" 毾㲪 is first seen in the "Xiyu zhuan" of the *Hou-Han shu*.

[266] "*Huna*" 護那 (*guna*) is a kind of fabric. "*Huna*" 護那, according to one view, may be taken as the transcription of *γuna* or *guna* in Iranian.[113]

[267] "*Yuenuo*" 越諾 (*varn. akā*) refers to brocade. According to one view, it is etymologically evolved from *varnax* in Persian.[114]

[268] "*Zhicheng*" 織成 (gold threaded weave) is first seen in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hou-Han shu*.

[269] "*Xunlu*" 薰陸 (frankincense) should be the same as the "*xunlu*" 熏陸 in the "Xi Rong zhuan" 西戎傳 of *Weilüe*.

[270] "*Yujin*" 鬱金 (saffron) is first seen in the "Xi Rong zhuan" of *Weilüe*.

[271] "*Suhe*" 蘇合 (storax) is first seen in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hou-Han shu*.

[272] "*Qingmu*" 青木 (costus) is already seen in the "Yiyu zhuan" of *Zhoushu*.

[273] "*Bibo*" 畢撥 (pippal; pippalī) is the same as "*bibo*" 蓽撥, already seen in the "Yiyu zhuan" of *Zhoushu*.

[274] "*Shimi*" 石蜜 (crystallized sugar) is first seen in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hou-Han shu*.

[275] The meaning of "*banmi*" 半蜜 (half honey) is unknown.

[276] "*Qiannian zao*" 千年棗 (date palms) is already seen in the "Yiyu zhuan" of *Zhoushu*.

[277] "Fuzi" 附子 is monkshood.[115]

[278] "*Helile*" 訶黎勒 (myrobalan) is a kind of fruit tree (*Terminalia chebulla*). "Helile" 訶梨勒 is a transcription of *harītakī* in Sanskrit and *halīlain* in Persian.

[279] "*Wushizi*" 無食子 (oak galls) is already seen in the "Yiyu zhuan" of *Zhoushu*.

[280] Its relationship with the Tujue: In the sixth century, the Tujue and Bosi formed an alliance and destroyed Yida. Immediately after Yida's destruction, the Tujue took control of the north of Central Asia, and bordered Bosi along the Amu Darya. For trading and other reasons, the two states soon found themselves in conflict with each other. The Tujue forces quickly moved to the south along the Amu Darya and occupied the land, reaching as far as Jibin 罽賓 and settling in all the territories that used to belong to Yida. According to the records of Menander (10, 3), in 568 the Tujue first sent an envoy to Byzantium to plot against Bosi, attempting to open a direct trade route with the west.[116] The statement that "Bosi often sent envoys to present tribute" refers to the events during the reign of Khan Tongyehu. This is why there is the following assessment in the "Tujue zhuan (xia)" of *Jiu Tangshu*: "Khan Tongyehu was brave and calculating, good at fighting and conquest. He thus annexed Tiele to the north, resisted Bosi in the west, reached Jibin to the south, and all these territories submitted to him. With 100,000 men able to bear arms, he became the hegemon over the Western Regions and possessed the land that formerly belonged to Wusun 烏孫. He moved the royal court to Qianquan 千泉 to the north of the state of Shi 石 . He made Jielifa 頡利發 (Iltäbär) the king of all the states in the Western Regions, and sent one Tutun 吐屯 to assist in the administration over these states while in charge of taxation. The flourishing of the Western Rong 戎 was unprecedented".[117]

[281] "The sea" here refers to the Mediterranean.

[282] "Several hundred *li*" (Distance 17.1): The distance from the seat of the king's government of Bosi to the eastern shore of the Mediterranean.

[283] "Over 4,000 *li*" (Distance 17.2): The distance between the seat of the king's government of Bosi and that of Mu 穆.

[284] "*Fulin*" 拂林 refers to Eastern Rome. "*Fulin*" 拂林, according to one view, is the transcription of Fūrūmi (meaning, the Roman territories), the corruption of Rūmi in Iranian.[118]

[285] "4,500 *li*" (Distance 17.3): The distance between the seat of the king's government of Bosi and that of Fulin.

[286] "11,700 *li*" (Distance 17.4): The distance from the seat of the king's government of Bosi via that of Mu to Gua Province, i.e., the aggregate of 4,000 *li*, the distance between the seat of the king's government of Bosi and that of Mu, and 7,700 *li*, the distance between the seat of the king's government of Mu and Gua Province.

煬帝遣雲騎尉李昱使通波斯[287]，尋遣使隨昱貢方物。[288]

Emperor Yang sent the Commandant of Cloud-Swift Cavalry, Li Yu 李昱, on a mission to Bosi.[287] Soon after it sent an envoy following [Li] Yu to present its local products.[288]

[287] "Emperor Yang sent the Commandant of Cloud-Swift Cavalry, Li Yu, on a mission to Bosi": According to one opinion, Li Yu went along with Wei and Du who are mentioned above. They took different routes halfway, with Wei Jie and others making their way south to India, and Li Yu making his way west to Bosi.[119] It is my opinion that Li Yu first arrived in the state of An 安 in the company of Du Xingman, and then went all the way to Bosi by himself.[120]

[288] "Soon after it sent an envoy following [Li] Yu to present its local products": This is not recorded in the basic annals.

漕國，在葱嶺之北，[289]漢時 賓國也。[290]其王姓昭武，字順達，康國王之宗族。[291]都城方四里。勝兵者萬餘人。國法嚴整，殺人及賊盜皆死。其俗淫祠。葱嶺山有順天神[292]者，儀制極華，金銀鍱爲屋，以銀爲地，祠者日有千餘人。祠前有一魚脊骨，其孔中通，馬騎出入。[293]國王戴金魚頭冠[294]，坐金馬座。土多稻、粟、豆、麥；饒象，馬、封牛，金，銀，鑌鐵，氍氀，朱砂，青黛[295]安息、青木等香，石蜜，半蜜，黑鹽，阿魏[296]，没藥[297]，白附子[298]。北去帆延[299]七百里[300]，東去刦國[301]六百里[302]，東北去瓜州六千六百里[303]。大業中，遣使貢方物。[304]

The state of Cao 漕: It is located to the north of the Cong Mountains[289], and is the state

of Jibin 賓 of Han times.[290] Its king, who is a clansman of the king of the state of Kang[291], is surnamed Zhaowu and styles himself Shunda 順達. Its capital is four *li* square. There are over 10,000 persons able to bear arms. Its laws are severe; both murderers and robbers are executed. It is their custom to worship [gods] indiscriminately. In the Cong Mountains there is a heavenly god by the name of Shun 順 [292] whose ceremonial and trappings are extravagant. His dwellings are made of gold and silver plates, with a silver floor. There are over 1,000 persons who come to offer sacrifices to the god every day. In front of his temple is a fish skeleton, the orifice of which is open and large enough for a horse and rider to pass through.[293] The king wears a golden fish-head crown[294] and sits on a golden horse throne. In the land there is an abundance of rice, millet, beans, and wheat, as well as elephants, horses, humped cattle, gold, silver, steel, *qushu* 氍毹, vermilion, indigo[295], benzoin, costus and other aromatics, crystallized [296] sugar, half honey, dark salt, *axwai*, myrrh[297], and white monkshood[298]. It is several hundred *li* from the sea to the west, 700 *li* [300] from Fanyan 帆延 [299] to the north, 600 *li* [302] from the state of Jie 劫 [301] to the east, and 6,600 *li* [303] from Gua Province to the northeast. During the Daye reign-period, it sent an envoy to present its local products.[304]

[289] "It is located to the north of the Cong Mountains": The "Xi Rong (si)" 西戎四 in the section of the "Bianfang (ba)" 邊防八 of *Tongdian* 通典 records: "By Sui times, it was called the state of Cao 漕, located southwest of the Cong Mountains". The "Xiyu zhuan (shang)" of *Xin Tangshu* states: "Jibin 罽賓 is the state of Cao of Sui times, located south of the Cong Mountains". The record in the former is accurate. The "Cong Mountains" here refers to the Hindūkush Mountains.

[290] Jibin of Han times was situated in the middle and lower reaches of the River Kabul,[121] so the Sui people called it Jiabishi 迦畢試 (located on the upper reaches of the River Kabul), which is inaccurate, resulting from the fact that the people then were not clear about the location of Jibin in Han times.

[291] "Its king, who is a clansman of the king of the state of Kang, is surnamed Zhaowu": This misunderstanding is caused by the confusion of the state of Cao 漕 with the state of Cao 曹.

[292] "*Shun tian shen*" 順天神 should be the Chunatian 𥢶那天 (Dēva Śunā), one of the Dēvas in Brahmanism, in the section on the state of Caojucha 漕矩咤 in *Da Tang Xiyu ji* 大唐西域記 (ch. 12). "*Shun*" 順 and "*Chuna*" 𥢶那 are variations in the transcription of the same name, i.e., Śunā.

[293] *Da Tang Xiyu ji* (ch. 1), in the section on the state of Jiabishi 迦畢試, contains the following

passage: "Each year the peak increases in height several hundred *chi*, till it approaches the height of Mount Śunaśilā, in the state of Caojucha (Jāguḍa); then when it thus faces it, it suddenly falls down again. I have heard this story in neighboring countries. When first the heavenly spirit Śuna came from far to this mountain desiring to rest, the spirit of the mountain, affrighted, shook the surrounding valleys. The heavenly spirit said, 'Because you have no wish to entertain me, therefore this tumult and confusion; if you had but entertained me for a little while, I should have conferred on you great riches and treasure; but now I go to the state of Caojucha to the mountain Śunaśilā, and I will visit it every year. On these occasions, when the king and his ministers offer me their tribute, then you shall stand face to face with me'. Therefore Mount Aruṇa having increased to the height suddenly falls down again at the top". (Samuel Beal, trans., *Si-yu-ki: Buddhist Records of the Western World*, Pt. I, p. 62; with modifications.) *Da Tang Xiyu ji* (ch. 12), in the section on the state of Caojucha 漕矩咤, records: "This Dēva spirit formerly came from Mount Arun. a in Kapiśa, and took up his abode here in the Mount Śunaśilā. He is severe or good, causing misfortune or exercising violence. Those who evoke him with faith obtain their wishes; those who despise him reap misfortune. Therefore people both far off and near show for him deep reverence; high and low alike are filled with religious awe of him. The princes, nobles, and people of this as well as of foreign countries assemble every year at a season of rejoicing which is not fixed, and offer gold and silver and precious objects of rare value, with sheep, and horses, and domestic animals; all which they present in simple and confiding trust, so that though the earth is covered with silver and gold, and the sheep and horses fill the valleys, yet no one would dare to covet them: they consider them as things set apart for the sacred purposes. The heretics, by subduing their minds and mortifying their flesh, get from the spirits of heaven sacred formulae. By the use of these they are frequently able to control diseases and recover the sick". (Beal, trans., Pt. II, pp. 284-285.) This is an example of the belief in the Dēva.

[294] "The king wears a golden fish-head crown": For the "golden fish-head crown", the "Xiyu zhuan" in *Beishi* and the "Xi Rong (si)" in the "Bianfang (ba)" section of *Tongdian* read the "golden ox-head crown 金牛頭冠". Some scholars believe that in light of the coins issued by the state of Cao 漕, the version stating "fish-head" is incorrect.[122]

[295] "*Qingdai*" 青黛 is "*dianqing*" 靛青 ("indigo"), used as a cosmetic by women. The "Xi Rong (si)" 西戎四 section in the "Bianfang (ba)" 邊防八 of *Tongdian* 通典 records: "Women do not use face powders, only applying indigo-blue to their eyes".[123]

[296] "*Awei*" 阿魏 (*axwai*) is a kind of resin. "*Awei*" 阿魏, according to one view, is the transcription of *aṅkwa* in Tocharian.[124]

[297] "*Moyao*" 没藥 (myrrh): A kind of resin, used by the ancient Egyptians to preserve the body. "*Mo*" 没 , according to one view, is the transcription of *murr* in Semitic languages.[125]

[298] "*Bai fuzi*" 白附子 (white monkshood) is first seen in the "Xi Rong zhuan" of *Weilüe*.

[299] Fanyan 帆延 is generally believed to be Bamian.

[300] "700 *li*" (18.1): The distance between the seat of the king's government of the state of Cao 漕 and Fanyan.

[301] Some believe that the state of Jie 刦 was located in Mastūj.[126] According to the "Xi Rong (wu)" 西戎五 in the "Bianfang (jiu)" 邊防九 section of *Tongdian* 通典, "The state of Jie 劫 was known in Sui times, situated in the Cong Mountains. It adjoins the state of Shemi 賒彌 [between present-day Chitral and Mastuj] to the west and south, and extends to Yida in the northwest. It is 12,000 *li* from Chang'an. It has 10,000 households. With a hot climate, it produces rice, wheat, millet, bean, sheep, and horses. It also produces *luosha* 洛沙 and indigo. Their marriage customs are the same as those of the Tujue. After death the bodies are abandoned in the mountains". The record should be roughly similar to that on the state of Jie 刦 in this memoir.

[302] "600 *li*" (Distance 18.2): The distance between the seat of the king's government of the state of Cao 漕 and that of the state of Jie 刦.

[303] "6,600 *li*" (Distance 18.3): The distance between the seat of the king's government of the state of Cao and Gua Province; the particular route is unknown.

[304] This is not mentioned in the basic annals.

…………[305]

[305] The section on the state of Fu 附 will not be commented on, since it does not belong the the "Western Regions".

史臣曰[306]：自古開遠夷，通絕域，必因宏放之主，皆起好事之臣。張騫鑿空[307]於前，班超投筆[308]於後，或結之以重寶，或懾之以利劍，投軀萬死之地，以要一旦之功，皆由主尚來遠之名，臣殉輕生之節。是知上之所好，下必有甚者也。煬帝規摹宏侈，掩吞秦、漢，裴矩方進《西域圖記》[309]以蕩其心，故萬乘親出玉門關，[310]置伊吾[311]、且末[312]［郡］，而關右暨於流沙，騷然無聊生矣。若使北狄無虞，東夷告捷，[313]必將修輪臺之戍，築烏壘之城，[314]求大秦之明珠，[315]致條支之鳥卵，[316]往來轉輸，將何以堪其敝哉！古者哲王[317]之制，方五千里，

務安諸夏，不事要荒。豈威不能加，德不能被？蓋不以四夷勞中國，不以無用害有用也。是以秦戍五嶺，[318] 漢事三邊，[319] 或道殣相望，或戶口減半。隋室恃其強盛，亦狼狽於青海。[320] 此皆一人失其道，故億兆罹其毒。若深思即叙之義 [321]，固辭都護之請，[322] 返其千里之馬，[323] 不求白狼之貢，[324] 則七戎九夷，候風重譯，雖無遼東之捷，[325] 豈及江都之禍乎！[326]

The official historian comments:[306] From of old, the opening up [of the lands] of distant barbarians and the communication with isolated regions have necessarily been due to the vision of sovereigns who have promoted ambitious ministers. Zhang Qian 張騫 pioneered the way[307] in front, while Ban Chao 班超 cast away his pen[308] behind. Either we bound [foreign states to the Middle Kingdom] using valuable treasures or we made them submit in fear of sharp swords. Those who threw themselves into places where there were ten thousand [different] deaths [awaiting them] did so for the momentary glory of the dynasty, and this was all due to the emphasis placed by the Sovereign upon the dynasty's achievement of far-reaching fame: the ministers perished, considering it meritorious to think little of their own lives, and this was from knowing that what the one above thought good, those below must embrace with even more enthusiasm. Emperor Yang's 煬 enterprise was so grandiose that it eclipsed both Qin 秦 and Han. No sooner had Pei Ju presented his *Xiyu tuji* (Maps and Records on the Western Regions)[309] to stir the imagination than he set off to personally lead ten thousand chariots from the Yumen 玉門 Barrier[310] and establish Yiwu 伊吾 [311] and Qiemo 且末 [312] [prefectures]. From the Barrier west as far as the Flowing Sands the people had become disaffected and were deprived of livelihood. If there were no worries about the Northern Di 狄, and the battle against the Eastern Yi 夷 were won[313], [the emperor] would repair garrisons at Luntai 輪臺, build the walls at Wulei 烏壘 [314], seek luminous pearls from Da Qin 大秦[315], and solicit birds' eggs from Tiaozhi 條支[316], having them transported to and fro through many hands. How could the hardship [from so much effort] be borne? In ancient times, under the system of the sage emperors[317], the sphere of activity was limited to an area of 5,000 *li* square, and they brought tranquility to the Xia 夏 people (Chinese) while permitting themselves no desire for territorial aggrandizement: yet how could their authority not increase, and their virtue not spread? We should not trouble ourselves over the various barbarians, nor let the useful be

damaged by the useless. Thus, when Qin garrisoned the five mountain ranges[318], and when Han became preoccupied with the three frontiers[319], people died on the roads from starvation, one after another, and the population was reduced by half, [and when] the house of Sui relied upon its strength it also found itself helpless at the Qing 青 Sea [Kokonor].[320] These were all cases where only one man went astray, but hundreds of millions fell victim to the consequences. If we think deeply about the truth that "the Western Rong were then reduced to order"[321], resolutely refuse requests to send a Protector-General[322], return their thoroughbred horses[323], and do not seek the tribute of white wolves[324]; then the seven Rong and nine Yi will all find out how the wind blows [and come to the court] with [the help of] a series of interpreters. [In this way,] although the victory at Liaodong 遼東 would not have been gained[325], the disaster at Jiangdu 江都 would not have befallen.[326]

[306] "The official historian comments": The words beginning with "Wei Zheng comments…" 魏徵論曰 in the "Xi Rong (wu)" 西戎五 in the "Bianfang (jiu)" 邊防九 of *Tongdian* are almost identical; hence we can conclude that the "official historian" is none other than Wei Zheng.

[307] "Zhang Qian pioneered the way" 張騫鑿空 : The "Dayuan liezhuan" of *Shiji* records: "About a year later the deputy envoys whom he had sent to make contact with states such as Daxia 大夏 all came to court, in many cases with people from those places, and for the first time the states of the northwest then came into communication with Han. It was [Zhang] Qian who had pioneered the way, and all those who subsequently went there as envoys mentioned the name of the Marquis of Bowang 博望 as a pledge of good faith among the outer states, who then trusted them". (Hulsewé and Loewe, *China in Central Asia*, pp. 218-219; with modifications.) *Shiji jijie* 史記集解 quotes Su Lin 蘇林 : "*Zao* 鑿 means to open up, and *kong* 空 means to pioneer. This is to say that Zhang Qian had pioneered the way to the Western Regions".

[308] "Ban Chao cast away his pen": According to the "Ban Chao zhuan" 班超傳 in *Hou-Han shu*, "In the fifth year of the Yongping reign-period (62 CE), [Ban Chao's] elder brother [Ban] Gu 固 was appointed Gentleman Scribe (*Jiaoshulang* 校書郎). Ban Chao came to Luoyang with his mother. His family being poor, he was often employed by officials to copy documents, in order to support his mother. The job was time-consuming and arduous, and he often cast his writting brush [to the floor], sighing, 'Even without other ambitions and means to realize them, a man should emulate Fu Jiezi 傅介子 and Zhang Qian to accomplish something in other lands, so as to be ennobled. How could he

remain a copyist, amidst brushes and inkstones, for long?'"

[309] The *Xiyu tuji*: It is listed in the "Jingji zhi (er)" 經籍志二 of *Suishu*: "*Sui Yiyu tu* 隋西域圖, three *juan* 卷 (chapters), by Pei Ju". It was completed in the second year of the Daye reign-period. In addition to texts there are maps, illustrations, and portraits (on geography and customs). The book is no longer extant, but the preface is included in the "Pei Ju zhuan" of *Suishu*. Some fragments can be found in *Tongdian*, *Taiping huanyu ji* 太平寰宇記, *Yuhai* 玉海, and *Shiji zhengyi* 史記正義, among others.[127] It is generally believed that *Xiyu tuji* was one of the most important sources for this memoir,[128] but there is no indisputable evidence.[129]

[310] "… he set off to personally lead ten thousand chariots from the Yumen Barrier": In the fifth year of the Daye reign-period, Emperor Yang was personally involved in the expedition against the Tuyuhun, commanding the army himself. On the return journey, he received the envoys from the various states in the Western Regions by Mount Yanzhi 燕支. The emperor only reached as far as Zhangye 張掖 ; he did not venture beyond the Yumen Barrier.[130]

[311] The seat of Yiwu 伊吾 prefecture was in present-day Hami 哈密, Xinjiang 新疆. The "Xi Rong (san)" 西戎三 in the "Bianfang (qi)" 邊防七 setion of *Tongdian* records that Yiwu "pledged allegiance to the Central Plains towards the end of Sui, and the prefecture of Yiwu was founded". It is also recorded in the fragment of *Shazhou Yizhou dizhi* 沙州伊州地志 that "in the sixth year of the Daye reign-period of Sui, the land east of the town was bought and the prefecture of Yiwu was established. Following the chaos of Sui it reverted to the rule of the Hu". According to the section on "Xizhou" 西州 in the "Longyou dao (xia)" 隴右道下 of *Yuanhe junxian zhi* 元和郡縣圖志 (ch. 40), "Sui obtained the area in the sixth year of the Daye reign-period (610) and established Yiwu prefecture there".[131] According to the "Yangdi ji (shang)" of *Suishu*, on the day *renyin* 壬寅 in the fourth month of the fifth year of the Daye reign-period (609), Yiwu "sent an envoy to the court to pay respects". On the day *renzi* 壬子 in the sixth month of the same year the Tutunshe of Yiwu again came to the Sui court, and "offered an area of several thousand *li* square to the emperor". On the day *bingchen* 丙辰 , the emperor "entertained the king of Gaochang and the Tutunshe [of Yiwu] with a banquet in the Hall". The so-called presentation of land was only a symbolic act, hence the battle to pacify Yiwu directed by Xue Shixiong 薛世雄. According to the "Xue Shixiong zhuan" 薛世雄傳 of *Suishu*, in the sixth year of the Daye reign-period, "[Xue] Shixiong was appointed the Senior General commanding the troops along the road to Yumen, and he was to join forces with Khan Qimin 啓民 (r. 599-611) of the Tujue to attack Yiwu. [Xue's] army arrived at Yumen [Barrier], but Khan Qimin broke his promise and his forces did not come. [Xue] Shixiong's army crossed the desert alone. [The

ruler at] Yiwu first thought that the Sui army would be unable to reach it and did not prepare for defense. When he heard that the [Xue] Shixiong's army had crossed the desert, he, greatly frightened, offered to surrender and went to the campsite of [Xue's] army to present oxen and wine. Thereupon [Xue] Shixiong built a walled town to the east of the town of Yiwu of Han times, and called it New Yiwu. He then made his way back, leaving Grand Master of Imperial Entertainments with the Silver Seal and Blue Ribbon, Wang Wei 王威, to garrison it with over 1,000 armored troops". The establishment of Yiwu Prefecture should have occurred after this battle. In short, Yiwu pledged allegiance to Sui in the sixth month of the fifth year of the Daye reign-period, and Sui established Yiwu prefecture in the sixth year of the Daye reign-period. According to the "Shihuo zhi" 食貨志 of *Suishu*, "in the ninth year, [the emperor] ordered to levy taxes on the rich in Guanzhong 關中 area, making them contribute donkeys in proportion to their property, to be used for the transportation of grains to Yiwu, Heyuan 河源, and Qiemo 且末 [prefectures]. One consignment could be as many as hundreds of donkeys, each worth over 10,000". This shows the burden of the new prefectures upon Sui.[132]

[312] Qiemo prefecture: According to the "Tuyuhun zhuan" 吐谷渾傳 of *Suishu*, after Emperor Yang's pacification of Tuyuhun, "The entire land west of the town of Linqiang 臨羌 of Xiping 西平, east of Qiemo, south of Qilian, and north of the Snow Mountain 雪山, belonged to Sui". According to the "Dili zhi (shang)" 地理志上 in *Suishu*, "Another four prefectures were established.... [The entire territory of Sui] stretched 9,300 *li* from east to west, and 4,815 *li* from north to south, reaching the sea in the east and south, Qiemo in the west, and Wuyuan 五原 in the north at the height of Sui's prosperity". "The seat of Qiemo Prefecture was the ancient town of Qiemo [southwest of present-day Qiemo County]. There was the Qiemo River [Cherchen Darya] and the Sapi 薩毗 Marsh [near Tüzbulak]. It consists of two counties". The prefectures of Shanshan, Qiemo, and Yiwu, among others, are no more than garrisons. The Sui Dynasty did not last long, and it did not have the time to build.

[313] "The battle against the Eastern Yi": Emperor Yang's three expeditions against Gaogouli 高句麗 in the eighth, ninth, and eleventh years of the Daye reign-period (which all ended in failure).

[314] The repair of the garrisons at Luntai and the building of the walls at Wulei: For details, see the "Xiyu zhuan (xia)" of *Hanshu*.

[315] "Luminous pearls from Da Qin": First seen in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hou-Han shu*: "The soil produces lots of gold, silver and rare jewels, including: the jewel which shines at night, the full-moon pearl...". In the age described in *Hou-Han shu*, Da Qin refers to the Roman Empire.

[316] "Birds' eggs from Tiaozhi": "Tiaozhi" 條支 is first seen in the "Dayuan liezhuan" of *Shiji*

史 記 , where "there are birds' eggs as [large as water] jars". In the age described in the "Dayuan liezhuan" of *Shiji*, Tiaozhi refers to the Syrian kingdom under the Seleucids.

[317] "The sage emperors" 哲王: *Classic of Poetry*, "Xia wu" 下武: "Successors tread in the steps [of their predecessors] in our Zhou. / For generations there had been wise kings 世有哲王 ".[133] (James Legge's translation.)

[318] "Qin garrisoned the five mountain ranges": According to the "Qin shihuang benji" 秦始皇本紀 of *Shiji*, in the thirty-third year, the emperor "sent exiles to garrison the borders". *Shiji jijie* 史記集解 quotes Xu Guang 徐廣: "500,000 men garrisoned the five mountain ranges". *Shiji zhengyi* 史記正義 quotes *Guangzhou ji* 廣州記: "The five mountain ranges are Dayu 大庾, Shi'an 始安, Linhe 臨賀 , Jieyang 揭楊, and Guiyang 桂陽". It also quotes *Yudi zhi* 輿地志: "The first is Tailing 臺嶺, also known as Saishang 塞上, presently known as Dayu; the second is Qitian 騎田 ; the third is Dupang 都龐 ; the fourth is Mengzhu 萌諸; the fifth is Yueling 越嶺".

[319] "Han became preoccupied with the three frontiers": The "Lüshu" 律書 of *Shiji* states: "When Emperor Gaozu 高祖 became the ruler under Heaven, three frontiers rebelled". The three frontiers refer to Chaoxian 朝鮮 to the east, Nanyue 南越 to the south, and the Xiongnu 匈奴 to the north. After Emperor Wu 武 ascended the throne, he began the expeditions against the Xiongnu in the second year of the Yuanshuo 元朔 reign-period (127 BCE) and against Nanyue in the sixth year of the Yuanding 元鼎 reign-period (111 BCE), and in the third year of the Yuanfeng 元封 reign-period (108 BCE) pacified Chaoxian.

[320] "Sui … found itself helpless at the Qing Sea [Kokonor]": It refers to the expedition against the Tuyuhun in the fifth year of the Daye reign-period (609) led personally by Emperor Yang.

[321] "If we think deeply about the truth that 'the Western Rong were then reduced to order'": "Yu gong" 禹貢 in *Shangshu* 尚書 (Book of Documents) states: "The Western Rong were then reduced to order". The Yan 顏 Commentary on the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hanshu* notes: "*Xu* 序 is the same as *ci* 次 ".

[322] "… resolutely refuse requests to send a Protector-General": It occurred in the reign of Emperor Guangwu 光武 of the Eastern Han; see the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Hou-Han shu.*

[323] "… return their thoroughbred horses": According to the biography of Jia Juanzhi 賈捐之 in *Hanshu*, "To the reign of Emperor Xiaowen 孝文 … At that time the emperor was presented a horse that could travel a thousand *li* a day. He issued an edict concerning this: 'With the ceremonial flags with figures of the *luan* 鸞 bird ahead and the accompanying carriages behind, I can cover 50 *li* a day when everything is fine, and 30 *li* when travelling with armed personnel. If I ride a horse that travels a thousand *li* a day, where should I go ahead, all by myself?' He had the horse returned, with the travel

expenses paid for the one who brought the present, saying in the edict, 'I will not receive this present, hoping that people everywhere will no longer be thinking of bringing presents like this'. At that time, travel for pleasure was abandoned, the presentation of rare goods was stopped, and there were fewer [entertainers] who sang the songs of Zheng 鄭 and Wei 衞. Other times might be characterized by the many ostentatious women in the inner palaces, leading to the seclusion of the virtuous, and by the people of dubious character in power, leading to the silence of the officials who otherwise would have stood up—but not in the times of Emperor Wen. This is why he received the posthumous title of Xiaowen 孝文 and the temple name of Taizong 太宗".

[324] "The tribute of white wolves": The "Zhouyu (shang)" 周語上 of *Guoyu* 國語 records: "King [Mu 穆] did not listen [to the remonstration] and launched an expedition. He returned with four white wolves and four white deer. Since then people in remote and isolated regions no longer came [to the court]". The Wei 韋 Commentary: "White wolves and deer were the tribute paid by the Quanrong 犬戎 . King Mu reproached the Quanrong with improper means, exposing his army to the elements, harming his credibility and prestige. So the [chiefs and lords] in remote and isolated areas no longer came to court".

[325] "The victory at Liaodong" refers to the expedition against Gaogouli during the Daye reign-period.

[326] "Disaster at Jiangdu" refers to the mutiny at Jiangdu 江都 (present-day Yangzhou 揚州 , Jiangsu 江蘇 Province), in which Emperor Yang was killed. See the "Yangdi benji (xia)" 煬帝本紀下 of *Suishu*.

NOTES

1 Yu Taishan 余太山, *Liang Han Wei Jin Nanbeichao yu Xiyu guanxi shi yanjiu* 兩漢魏晉南北朝與西域關係史研究 (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 1995), pp. 258-270.

2 Yu Taishan, *Liang Han Wei Jin Nanbeichao yu Xiyu guanxi shi yanjiu,* pp. 233-257.

3 Yu Taishan, *Liang Han Wei Jin Nanbeichao zhengshi Xiyu zhuan yanjiu* 兩漢魏晉南北朝正史西域傳研究 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2003), pp. 495-507.

4 Nagasawa Kazutoshi 長澤和俊, "Isetsu-Tokōman no seishi" 韋節・杜行満の西使 (On Wei Jie and Du Xingman's mission to the Western Regions), *Shiruku rōdoshi kenkyū シルク・ロード史研究* (Historical studies of the Silk Road) (Tokyo: Kokusho kankokai, 1979), pp. 481-488.

5 Kitamura Takashi 北村高, "*Zuisyo* Seiikiden ni tsuite – sono seiritsu to jyakkan no mondai" 隋書西域傳について——その成立と若干の問題 (On the "Memoir of the Western Regions" of *Suishu* – Some problems concerning its textual formation), *Ryūkoku shidan* 龍谷史壇 78 (1980): 31-45.

6 Kuwayama Shōshin 桑山正進, *Kāpishī-Gandāra shi kenkyū* カーピシー=ガンダーラ史研究 (A study on the history of KāpiśīGandhāra) (Kyōto daigaku Jinbun kagaku kenkyūjyo 京都大學人文科學研究所, 1990), pp. 172-173.

7 On the town of Rājagriha 王舍城, cf. Ji Xianlin 季羡林, et al., *Da Tang Xiyu ji jiaozhu* 大唐西域記校注 (Zhonghua shuju, 1985), pp. 743-744.

8 Nagasawa Kazutoshi, "Isetsu-Tokōman no seishi".

9 The *Yiwen leijü* 藝文類聚 (ch. 80) quotes *Baopuzi* 抱朴子 : "There are white rats: the largest weigh several *jin* 斤, whose furs are three *cun* 寸 thick; they live in the hollows of trees. Their fur can be woven into cloth. This is why there are three kinds of fire-washed cloth". *Chuxue ji* 初學記 (ch. 29) quotes *Fameng ji* 發蒙記 by Shu Zhe 束晢: "In the Western Regions there are cloths woven out of [the fur] of the fire rats; in the Eastern Sea there are trees that can not be burned to ashes".

10 Uchida Ginpū 内田吟風 , "Zui Haiku sen '*Seiikizuki*' ibun sankō" 隋裴矩撰西域圖記遺文纂考 (A note on the collected fragments of *Xiyu tuji* by Pei Ju of the Sui dynasty), in *Fujiwara Kōdō sensei koki kinen shigaku Bukkyōgaku ronshū* 藤原弘道先生古稀記念史學佛教學論集 (Kyoto: Naigai insatsu kabushiki kaisha, 1973), pp. 115-128.

11 Matsuda Hisao 松田壽男, *Kodai Tenzan no rekishi-chirigakuteki kenkyū* 古代天山の歴史地理學的研究 (Geo-historical studies on the ancient Tianshan region) (Tokyo: Waseda daigaku, 1970), pp. 455-456.

12 Shabolüe 沙鉢略, the Khan of the Tujue (r. 581-587).

13 "Dujin" 都斤 refers to Mount Hang'ai.

14 The Jin Mountains refers to the Altai Mountains.

15 Jieli 頡利, the Khan of the Tujue (r. 620-630).

16 "Seven towns": According to the "Dili zhi" 地理志 of *Jiu Tangshu* 舊唐書, "Sui began to build a town to the east of the site of the Yiwu Garrison of Han times to be Yiwu prefecture". By Tang times it became the seat of Yiwu County. "Rouyuan 柔遠 was established in the fourth year of the Zhenguan 貞觀 reign-period; the name was taken from the old town of Rouyuan to the east of the county. Nazhi 納職 County was established in the town built by the Hu of Shanshan in the fourth year of the Zhenguan reign-period". These constitute three towns. Line 51 in the Dunhuang document S.0367, "Shazhou Yizhou dizhi" 沙州伊州地志, mentions the town of "Little Yiwu" 小

伊吾; this should be the fourth town. The "Dilizhi" 地理志 of *Xin Tangshu* 新唐書 mentions three garrisons: Luohu 羅護, Chiting 赤亭, Dushan 獨山; they should have been established in existing towns.

17 The name of Xiyizhou 西伊州 (Xiyi Province) was changed to Yizhou 伊州 (Yi Province) in the sixth year of the Zhenguan 貞觀 reign-period (632); its seat was located near present-day Hami 哈密.

18 Bola 波臘, according to one view, should be located northwest of Tashkent; see Uchida Ginpū, "Zui Haiku sen '*Seiikizuki*' ibun sankō". "Bola" could probably be the "Bolan" 波覽 to the south of Xicao 西曹 in the "Xiyu zhuan (xia)" of *Xin Tangshu*.

19 Julüjian 俱慮建, according to one view, should be located in the lower reaches of the Kafirnigan River, the northern estuary of the Amu Darya. See Uchida Ginpū, "Zui Haiku sen '*Seiikizuki*' ibun sankō".

20 Cf. Yu Taishan, "*Suishu* 'Xiyu zhuan' de ruogan wenti" 隋書西域傳的若干問題, *Xinjiang shifan daxue xuebao* 新疆師範大學學報 2004.3: 50-54.

21 Yu Taishan, "Sui yu Xiyu zhuguo guanxi shukao" 隋與西域諸國關係述考, *Wenshi* 文史 69 (2004): 49-57.

22 See "Longyou dao (xia)" 隴右道下, *Yuanhe junxian tuzhi* 元和郡縣圖志, ch. 40 (Zhonghua shuju, 1983), p. 1031.

23 Cf. Yu Taishan, *Yeda shi yanjiu* 嚈噠史研究 (Qi-Lu shushe, 1986), p. 212.

24 Cf. Wang Binghua 王炳華, *Tulufan de gudai wenming* 吐魯番的古代文明 (Xinjiang renmin chubanshe, 1989), pp. 105-106; Hou Can 侯燦, "Tulufan xue yu Tulufan kaogu yanjiu gaishu" 吐魯番學與吐魯番考古研究概述, *Gaochang Loulan yanjiu lunji* 高昌樓蘭研究論集 (Urumqi: Xinjiang renmin chubanshe, 1990), p. 189.

25 Gao Mingshi 高明士, *Dong Ya jiaoyu quan xingcheng shi lun* 東亞教育圈形成史論 (Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2003), pp. 52-68.

26 Wang Su 王素, *Gaochang shigao, Jiaotong bian* 高昌史稿・交通編 (Wenwu chubanshe, 2000), pp. 26-57.

27 Cf. B. Laufer, *Sino-Iranica;* Lin Yunyin, trans., *Zhongguo Yilang bian*, p. 340; Zhang Hongzhao 章鴻釗, *Shiya, Baoshi shuo* 石雅・寶石說, the section on "shiyan" 石鹽 (Shanghai guji, 1993), pp. 187-189; and Sato Keishiro 佐藤圭四郎, "Hokugi jidai ni okeru tōzai kōshō" 北魏時代における東西交渉 (East-West relations during the Northern Wei period), in *Tōzai bunka kōryūshi* 東西文化交流史 (Yuzankaku, 1975), pp. 378-393.

28 See Rong Xinjiang 榮新江, "Xianjiao chuchuan Zhongguo niandai kao" 祆教初傳中國年代考, *Guoxue yanjiu* 國學研究 3 (1995): 335-353.

29 Matsuda Hisao, *Kodai Tenzan no rekishi-chirigakuteki kenkyū*, p. 212.

30 Matsuda Hisao, *Kodai Tenzan no rekishi-chirigakuteki kenkyū*, pp. 235-236.

31 Wang Zhongluo 王仲犖, *Dunhuang shishi dizhi canjuan kaoshi* 敦煌石室地志殘卷考釋 (Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1993), p. 210; Wang Qufei 王去非, "Guanyu Dahaidao" 關於大海道, *Xiang Da xiansheng jinian wenji* 向達先生紀念論文集 (Xinjiang renmin chubanshe, 1986), pp. 485-493.

32 Cf. Wu Yugui 吳玉貴, *Tujue Hanguo yu Sui-Tang guanxi shi yanjiu* 突厥汗國與隋唐關係史研究 (Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 1998), pp. 38-78.

33 Ōtani Shōshin 大谷勝真, "Kōsyō Kikushi ōtō kō" 高昌麴氏王統考 (On the royal line of the Qus of Gaochang), in *Keijyō Teikoku daigaku sōritsu jyūshūnen kinen ronbunshū: Shigakuhen* 京城帝國大學創立十周紀念論文集・史學篇, vol. 5 (Tokyo: Osakaya shoten, 1936), pp. 26-28.

34 Feng Chengjun 馮承鈞, "Gaochang shiji" 高昌事輯, *Xiyu Nanhai shidi kaozheng lunzhu huiji* 西域南海史地考證論著彙輯 (Zhonghua shuju Xianggang fenju, 1976), pp. 48-83, esp. p. 72.

35 On the number of missions to Sui by the Qus and their dates, see Wang Su 王素, "Qushi Gaochang 'Yihe zhengbian' bushuo" 麴氏高昌 '義和政變' 補說, *Dunhuang Tulufan yanjiu* 敦煌吐魯番研究 1 (1996): 177-194.

36 Gaochang's presentation of the suite of "Shengming yue" 聖明樂: The section of "Yiyue" 夷樂 in the "Zhangli (ba)" 掌禮八 of the *Cefu yuangui* 冊府元龜 (ch. 570) dates it to the sixth year [of the Kaihuang 開皇 reign-period] (586).

37 On the music of Gaochang, cf. Rao Zongyi 饒宗頤, "Muhuge kao—Jianlun Huoxianjiao ru Hua zhi zaoqi shiliao ji qi dui wenxue, yinyue, huihua zhi yingxiang" 穆護歌考——兼論火祆教入華之早期史料及其對文學音樂繪畫之影響, *Rao Zongyi shixue lunzhu xuan* 饒宗頤史學論著選 (Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1993), pp. 404-441.

38 The "Su Kui zhuan" 蘇夔傳 of *Suishu* 隋書: "That year, the King of Gaochang, Qu Boya 麴伯雅, came to pay his respects at the court, and the Emperor gave him the hand of a princess. [Su] Kui had a reputation for elegance, and was trusted with presiding over the wedding".

39 Ma Yong 馬雍, "Tujue yu Gaochang Qushi wangchao shi jianjiao kao" 突厥與高昌麴氏王朝始建交考, *Xiyu shidi wenwu congkao* 西域史地文物叢考 (Wenwu chubanshe, 1990), pp. 146-153, esp. p. 149.

40 Sekio Shirō 關尾史郎, " 'Giwa seihen' zenshi: Kōsyō kokuō Kikuhakuga no kaikaku wo chūshin toshite" 義和政變前史 —— 高昌國王麴伯雅の改革を中心として (On the history prior to

the "Yihe coup"—Centering on the reform of Qu Boya, the king of the Gaochang state), *Tōyōshi kenkyū* 東洋史研究 52.2 (1993): 153-174, esp. p. 166.

41 Meng Xianshi 孟憲實, Yao Chongxin 姚崇新, "Cong 'Yihe zhengbian' dao 'Yanshou gaizhi': Qushi Gaochang wanqi zhengzhi shi tanwei" 從義和政变到延壽改制：麴氏高昌晚期政治史探微, *Dunhuang Tulufan yanjiu* 敦煌吐魯番研究 2 (1997): 163-188, esp. 173.

42 Sekio Shirō, "'Giwa seihen' zenshi: Kōsyō kokuō Kikuhakuga no kaikaku wo chūshin toshite", esp. p. 157.

43 Wu Zhen 吴震, "Qushi Gaochang guo shi suoyin: Cong Zhang Xiong fufu muzhi tanqi" 麴氏高昌国史索隠——從张雄夫婦墓志谈起, *Wenwu* 文物 1981.1: 38-46.

44 W. B. Henning, "The Sogdian Texts of Paris", *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 11 (1943-46): 713-740, esp.736.

45 Yu Taishan, *Yeda shi yanjiu*, pp. 44-65.

46 E.g., Shiratori Kurakichi 白鳥庫吉, "Zokutokukoku kō" 粟特國考 (On the state of Sute), in *Shiratori Kurakichi zensyū*, vol. 7: *Seiikishi kenkyū* (ge) 白鳥庫吉全集・西域史研究下 (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1971), pp. 43-123, esp. pp. 70-71.

47 Yu Taishan, *Saizhong shi yanjiu* 塞種史研究 (Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 1992), pp. 53-56.

48 J. Marquart, *Die Chronologie der alttürkischen Inschriften* (Tübingen: 1898), pp. 70-71; Cen Zhongmian 岑仲勉, *Xi Tujue shiliao buque ji kaozheng* 西突厥史料補闕及考證 (Zhonghua shuju, 1958), pp. 130-138.

49 Shiratori Kurakichi, "Zokutokukoku kō", esp. pp. 72-73. He thinks that *bäg* is Turkic, which is not necessarily correct.

50 According to the "Xiyu zhuan" of the *Xin Tangshu* 新唐書, the state of Kang 康 "is situated south of the Nami 那密 River", indicating that the Sabao 薩寶 River is theNami River inthe subsequent text.

51 Yoshida Yutaka 吉田豐, "Sogudo go zatsuroku" ソグド語雜錄 (Various Sogdian fragments), *Oriento* オリエント 31.2 (1988): 165-176; Rong Xinjiang 榮新江, "Saobao yu Sabo: Beichao Sui Tang Hu ren juluo shouling wenti de zhenglun yu bianxi" 薩寶與薩薄：北朝隋唐胡人聚落首領問題的爭論與辨析, *Yilang xue zai Zhongguo lunwen ji* 伊朗學在中國論文集, 3 (Beijing daxue chubanshe, 2003): 128-143.

52 E. Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-Kiue Occidentaux* (St. Pétersbourg: 1903), p. 132, n. 5; Shiratori Kurakichi, "Zokutokukoku kō", esp. 77-78.

53 Ji Xianlin, et al., *Da Tang Xiyu ji jiaozhu*, p. 88.

54 Shiratori Kurakichi, "Zokutokukoku kō", esp. p. 72; Shiratori Kurakichi, "Ajia hokuzoku no benpaku ni tsuite" 亞細亞北族の辮髮に就いて (On the braid of the people in North Asia), *Shiratori Kurakichi zensyū*, vol. 5: *Saigai minzoku-shi kenkyū* (ge) 白鳥庫吉全集・塞外民族史研究下 (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1970), pp. 231-301.

55 Cai Hongsheng 蔡鴻生, *Tangdai jiuxing Hu yu Tujue wenhua* 唐代九姓胡與突厥文化 (Zhonghua shuju, 1998), p. 30.

56 Kuwayama Shōshin 桑山正進, ed., *Echō Ō go Tenjikugoku den kenkyū* 慧超往五天竺國傳研究 (A Study on Huichao's record of travels in five Indic regions) (Kyōto daigaku jinbun kagaku kenkyūjyo, 1992), pp. 163-166.

57 Fujita Toyohachi 藤田豐八, *Echō Ō go Tenjikukoku den zankan senshou* 慧超往五天竺國傳殘卷箋證 (A commentary on Huichao's record of travels in five Indic regions) (Beijing, 1910), p. 69; Mizutani Shinjyō 水谷真成, *Dai Tō Seiikiki* 大唐西域記 (Records of the Western regions of the Tang dynasty), in *Chūgoku koten bungaku taikei* 中國古典文學大系 22 (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1971), pp. 26-28.

58 Ji Xianlin, et al., *Da Tang Xiyu ji jiaozhu,* pp. 91-92.

59 Cf. Xu Xuya 許序雅, Tangdai sichou zhi lu yu zhong Ya lishi dili yanjiu 唐代絲綢之路與中亞歷史地理研究 (Xibei daxue chubanshe, 2000), pp. 95-98.

60 J. Marquart, *Die Chronologie der alttürkischen Inschriften*, p. 60; Ji Xianlin, et al., *Da Tang Xiyu ji jiaozhu*, pp. 92-93.

61 V. Minorsky, *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam 'the Regions of the World', A Persian Geography* (London: 1970), pp. 112; W. Barthold, *Turkestan, Down to the Mongol Invasion*, 4th ed., ed. C. E. Bosworth (London: 1977), p. 98; Ji Xianlin, et al., *Da Tang Xiyu ji jiaozhu,* pp. 93-94.

62 Shiratori Kurakichi, "Zokutokukoku kō", esp. pp. 98-99.

63 J. Marquart, *Die Chronologie der alttürkischen Inschriften*, p. 65; Shiratori Kurakichi, "Zokutokukoku kō", esp. pp. 95-96.

64 J. Marquart, *Ērānšahr* (Berlin: 1901), pp. 310-311; Édouard Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-kiue (Turcs) Occidentaux*; Feng Chengjun 馮承鈞, trans., *Xi Tujue shiliao* 西突厥史料 (Zhonghua shuju, 2004), p. 254.

65 Cai Hongsheng, *Tangdai jiuxing Hu yu Tujue wenhua*, pp. 8-10.

66 On the music of the state of Kang 康, cf. Gong Fangzhen 龔方震, "Sui-Tang gewu quming zhong suojian Sute yu" 隋唐歌舞曲名中所見粟特語, in Ye Yiliang 葉奕良, ed., *Yilang yu zai Zhongguo lunwen ji* 伊朗語在中國論文集, 2 (Beijing daxue chubanshe, 1998), pp. 25-28;

and Rao Zongyi 饒宗頤, "Muhuge kao—Jianlun Huoxianjiao ru Hua zhi zaoqi shiliao ji qi dui wenxue, yinyue, huihua zhi yingxiang".

67 B. Laufer, *Sino-Iranica;* Lin Yunyin, trans., *Zhongguo Yilang bian*, pp. 280-281.

68 The "Chaogong (si)" 朝貢四 in the "Waichen (yiliu)" 外臣一六 of *Cefu yuangui* 冊府元龜 (ch. 971) records the wedding between the princess of the state of Shi 石 and the Great Chief of the state of Kang 康: "In the twelfth month of the second year of the Tianbao reign-period (743), the king of the state of Shi sent his son-in-law, the Great Chief of the state of Kang, Randian 染顛, to present local products". This can be seen as an example. Cf. Cai Hongsheng, *Tangdai jiuxing Hu yu Tujue wenhua*, pp. 22-24.

69 Cai Hongsheng, *Tangdai jiuxing Hu yu Tujue wenhua*, p. 27.

70 See Tanabe Katsumi 田邊勝美, "Ankoku no kindaza to yūyoku sōhō rakuda" 安國の金駝座と有翼雙峯駱駝 (Golden camel throne and the winged *camelus bactrianus* in the state of An), *Oriento* オリエント 25.1 (1982): 50-72.

71 On the music of the state of An, cf. Rao Zongyi, "Muhuge kao—Jianlun Huoxianjiao ru Hua zhi zaoqi shiliao ji qi dui wenxue, yinyue, huihua zhi yingxiang".

72 Lin Wushu 林悟殊, *Bosi Baihuojiao yu gudai Zhongguo* 波斯拜火教與古代中國 (Taibei: Xinwenfeng chuban gongsi, 1995), p. 73.

73 On "five-colored salt" 五色鹽, see B. Laufer, *Sino-Iranica;* Lin Yunyin, trans., *Zhongguo Yilang bian*, p. 340. For "red salt" 紅鹽, see *Xin Wudai shi* 新五代史, ch. 74, appendix 3, the entry on the state of Yutian 于闐. For "blue salt" 青鹽 and "purple salt" 紫鹽, see the "Yinshi (ersan)" 飲食二三 of the *Taiping yulan* 太平御覽 (ch. 865), which quotes *Guangzhi* 廣志. For "black salt" 黑鹽, see the section on the state of Cao 曹 in this memoir. Cf. also Nagasawa Kazutoshi, "Isetsu-Tokōman no seishi".

74 On the state of Bi 畢, cf. Cai Hongsheng, *Tangdai jiuxing Hu yu Tujue wenhua*, pp. 74-80.

75 R. N. Frye, *The History of Bukhara* (Cambridge: 1954), p. 18.

76 Cf. Cai Hongsheng, *Tangdai jiuxing Hu yu Tujue wenhua*, p. 26.

77 Cf. Rong Xinjiang 榮新江, "Longjia kao" 龍家考, *Zhongya xuekan* 中亞學刊 4 (Beijing daxue chubanshe, 1995): 144-160.

78 Matsuda Hisao, *Kodai Tenzan no rekishi-chirigakuteki kenkyū*, pp. 277-278.

79 On the Bai family in Qiuci 龜茲, see Feng Chengjun, trans., *Xi Tujue shiliao,* pp. 158-175.

80 Matsuda Hisao, *Kodai Tenzan no rekishi-chirigakuteki kenkyū*, pp. 278-279.

81 Matsuda Hisao, *Kodai Tenzan no rekishi-chirigakuteki kenkyū*, p. 276.

82 B. Laufer, *Sino-Iranica;* Lin Yunyin, trans., *Zhongguo Yilang bian*, pp. 291-294; Schafer, *The Golden Peaches of Samarkand;* trans. by Wu Yugui 吳玉貴, *Tangdai wailai wenming* (Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 1995), pp. 360-362.

83 See Matsuda Hisao, *Kodai Tenzan no rekishi-chirigakuteki kenkyū*, pp. 248-291.

84 Cf. Yu Taishan, *Liang Han Wei Jin Nanbeichao zhengshi Xiyu zhuan yanjiu,* pp. 211-212.

85 Matsuda Hisao, *Kodai Tenzan no rekishi-chirigakuteki kenkyū*, pp. 286-290.

86 *Zhengtong Daozang* 正統道藏 (Taibei: Yiwen, 1977), 30: 23,824-23,825.

87 On "Pimo" 媲摩, cf. Ji Xianlin, et al., *Da Tang Xiyu ji jiaozhu*, pp. 1,028-1,029.

88 Fujita Toyohachi 藤田豐八, "Udeijyō to Isyunjyō" 扜泥城と伊循城 (The towns of Wuni and Yixun), in *Tōzai kōshōshi no kenkyū: Seiikihen* 東西交渉史の研究・西域篇 (Seibunkan, 1943), pp. 253-263.

89 Zhou Weizhou 周偉洲, "Supi yu Nüguo" 蘇毗與女國, *Dalu zazhi* 大陸雜誌 92.4 (1996): 1-11.

90 Cf. Yu Taishan, *Guzu xin kao* 古族新考 (Zhonghua shuju, 2000), pp. 111-124.

91 Matsuda Hisao, *Kodai Tenzan no rekishi-chirigakuteki kenkyū*, pp. 286-290.

92 Kuwayama Shōshin, *Kāpishī-Gandāra shi kenkyū*, pp. 399-411.

93 Kuwayama Shōshin, *Kāpishī- Gandāra shi kenkyū*, pp. 165-177, 297-308. The comments on the state of Cao 漕 often follow this book. Kuwayama Shōshin, ed., *Echō Ō go Tenjikugoku den kenkyū*, p. 117.

94 J. Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, p. 285.

95 Yu Taishan, "Yanda shi ruogan wenti de zai yanjiu" 嚈噠史若干問題的再研究 , Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan Lishi yanjiusuo xuekan 中國社會科學院歷史研究所學刊 1 (Beijing: Shehui kexue wenxian chubanshe, 2001), pp. 180-210.

96 Cf. Yu Taishan, *Yeda shi yanjiu*, pp. 103-113.

97 Cf. Yu Taishan, *Yeda shi yanjiu*, pp. 26-27， 155-156.

98 Ma Xiaohe 馬小鶴 , "Miguo Boxide cheng kao" 米國鉢息德城考, *Zhongya xuekan* 中亞學刊 2 (Zhonghua shuju, 1987): 65-75.

99 Kuwayama Shōshin, ed., *Echō Ō go Tenjikugoku den kenkyū,* pp. 165-166.

100 Yu Taishan, *Saizhong shi yanjiu,* pp. 98-101.

101 Kuwayama Shōshin, ed., *Echō Ō go Tenjikugoku den kenkyū*, p. 165.

102 Édouard Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-kiue (Turcs) Occidentaux*; Feng Chengjun, trans., *Xi Tujue shiliao,* p. 108.

103 W. Tomaschek, "Die Centralasiatische Studien I, Sogdiana", *Sitzungsberichte der Philosophisch-*

historischen Classe der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Bd. 87 (1877), pp. 85-86.

104 Yu Taishan, *Saizhong shi yanjiu,* pp. 98-108.

105 W. B. Henning, "A Sogdian God", *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, 28.2 (1965): 242-254.

106 Cai Hongsheng, *Tangdai jiuxing Hu yu Tujue wenhua*, pp. 11-14.

107 Yu Taishan, *Saizhong shi yanjiu,* pp. 98-108.

108 Uchida Ginpū 内田吟風 ,"*Gisyo* Seiikiden genbun kōshaku (chū)" 魏書西域傳原文考釋（中）(Studies on the Original Text of the "Memoir onthe Western Regions" inthe *Weishu*, B), *Tōyōshi kenkyū* 東洋史研究 30.2 (1971): 82-101, esp. p. 96.

109 Uchida Ginpū, "*Gisyo* Seiikiden genbun kōshaku (chū)".

110 Song Xian 宋峴, "Folishisatangna, Sulasatangna kaobian" 弗栗恃薩儻那, 蘇剌薩儻那考辨, *Yazhou wenming* 亞洲文明 3 (Anhui jiaoyu, 1995): 193-201.

111 See Tanabe Katsumi, "Teiō kiba boshishi nitōgari no seiritsu" 帝王騎馬牡獅子二頭狩文の成立 , *Tōyō bunka kenkyūjyomon kiyō* 東洋文化研究所紀要 (Bulletinof the Institute for Advanced Studies on Asia)120 (1993): 1-47 (figs. 11, 12).

112 B. Laufer, *Sino-Iranica;* Lin Yunyin, trans., *Zhongguo Yilang bian*, pp. 332-333.

113 B. Laufer, *Sino-Iranica;* Lin Yunyin, trans., *Zhongguo Yilang bian*, p. 325.

114 B. Laufer, *Sino-Iranica;* Lin Yunyin, trans., *Zhongguo Yilang bian*, pp. 323-325. Cf. also Cai Hongsheng, *Tangdai jiuxing Hu yu Tujue wenhua*, p. 65.

115 B. Laufer, in *Sino-Iranica,* Lin Yunyin, trans., *Zhongguo Yilang bian*, pp. 204-205, regards "fuzi" 附子 (Aconite) as *Aconitum fischeri Reich.*

116 R. C. Blockley, *The History of Menander the Guardsman, Introductory Essay, Text, Translation, and Historiographical Notes*, (Trowbridge, Wiltshire: Francis Cairns, 1985), pp. 117-121.

117 Cf. Uchida Ginpū, *Kitaajiashi kenkyū: Senpi Jūzen Tokketsu hen* 北アジア史研究・鮮卑柔然突厥篇 (Studies on the history of North Asia: Xianbei, Rouran and Tujue) (Kyoto: Dohosha, 1988), pp. 470-475.

118 Shiratori Kurakichi 白鳥庫吉, "Futsurin mondai no shinkaishaku" 拂菻問題の新解釋 (A new interpretation of the Fulin question), in *Shiratori Kurakichi zensyū*, vol. 7: *Seiikishi kenkyū* (ge), pp. 403-596, esp. pp. 433-438.

119 Kitamura Takashi 北村高, "Zuisyo maki hachijyūsan *Seiikisden* jyo, batsu yakuchū kō" 隋書巻八十三西域傳序・跋譯注稿 (Annotated translation of the introduction to the "Memoir on the Western Regions", *Suishu*, ch. 83), in Uchida Ginpū 内田吟風 , ed., *Chūgoku seishi seiikisden*

no yakuchū 中國正史西域傳の譯注 (An annotated translation of the Memoirs on the Western Regions in the Chinese official histories) (Kyoto: Kawakita, 1980), pp. 51-57.

120 Cf. Yu Taishan, "Sui yu Xiyu zhuguo guanxi shukao".

121 Shiratori Kurakichi, "Keihinkoku kō" 罽賓國考 (On the state of Jibin), *Shiratori Kurakichi zensyū*, vol. 6: *Seiikishi kenkyū* (jyō) 白鳥庫吉全集・西域史研究上 (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1970), pp. 295-359, esp. pp. 350-358.

122 See Kuwayama Shōshin, *Kāpishī-Gandāra shi kenkyū*, pp. 176-177. In the punctuated text of *Tongdian* issued by the Zhonghua shuju, "*niutou*" 牛頭 (ox-head) is erroneously changed into "*yutou*" 魚頭 (fish-head) on the basis of the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Suishu*.

123 Cai Hongsheng, *Tangdai jiuxing Hu yu Tujue wenhua*, p. 62.

124 B. Laufer, *Sino-Iranica;* Lin Yunyin, trans., *Zhongguo Yilang bian*, pp. 178-189; Schafer, *The Golden Peaches of Samarkand;* trans. by Wu Yugui, *Tangdai wailai wenming,* pp. 405-406.

125 Schafer, *The Golden Peaches of Samarkand;* trans. by Wu Yugui, *Tangdai wailai wenming,* pp. 363-364.

126 Shiratori Kurakichi, "Keihinkoku kō", esp. pp. 355-358.

127 Uchida Ginpū, "Zui Haiku sen '*Seiikizuki*' ibun sankō", pp. 115-128.

128 For example, Shiratori Kurakichi, "Daishinkoku oyobi Futsurinkoku ni tsukite "大秦國及び拂菻國に就きて (On the states of Da Qin and Fulin)", in *Shiratori Kurakichi zensyū*, vol. 7: *Seiikishi kenkyū* (ge), pp. 125-203, esp. p. 144.

129 Cf. Yu Taishan, "*Suishu* 'Xiyuzhuan' de ruogan wenti".

130 Cf. Satō Hisashi 佐藤長, "Toyokukon ni okeru shokonkyochi" 吐谷渾における諸根據地 (Base areas in the territory of the Tuyuhun), in *Chibetto rekishi chiri kenkyū* チベット歷史地理研究 (Geo-Historical Studies on Tibet) (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1978), pp. 194-267.

131 For relevant discussions, see Matsuda Hisao, *Kodai Tenzan no rekishi-chirigakuteki kenkyū*, pp. 452-459.

132 On Yiwu, cf. the "Li Daliang zhuan" 李大亮傳 of *Jiu Tangshu* 舊唐書 (ch. 62), which records Li Daliang's memorial: "As for the Sui Dynasty, it took Yiwu earlier, and it also ruled Shanshan concurrently. After it took control of Yiwu and Shanshan, it made tremendous efforts and incurred heavy costs: The inner resources were used on the outer, which were exhausted to no benefit". The "Dili zhi (san)" 地理志三 of *Jiu Tangshu*: "Sui's Yiwu Prefecture: Towards the end of Sui, it was inhabited by the various Hu in the Western Regions. In the fourth year of the Zhenguan 貞觀 reign-period, it submitted to the authority [of Tang]. On its land Xiyi Province 西伊州 was established".

The "Xiyu zhuan (xia)" of *Xin Tangshu* 新唐書: "The town of Yiwu was the seat of the Yihe 宜禾 Colonel of Han times, where merchants and the Hu mingled, with 1,000 men able to bear arms. It was subject to the Tiele. The people were belligerent and tough. The soil was fertile and benigh. Toward the end of Sui it submitted to the authority of [Sui], and Yiwu Prefecture was established. When chaos ensued, it then submitted to the Tujue. In the fourth year of the Zhenguan reign-period (630), the chief of the town came to the court to pay his respects. When Jieli 頡利 was defeated, [Yiwu] surrendered with seven towns. That area was made into Xiyi Province". We can see that Sui, after establishing Yiwu Prefecture, was exhausted by the heavy burden.

133 *Mao Shi zhushu* 毛詩註疏 (ch. 23).

一一 《南史·西域諸國傳》[1]要注

A CONCISE COMMENTARY ON CHAPTER 79 OF *NANSHI*, "THE MEMOIR ON VARIOUS STATES IN THE WESTERN REGIONS"*

玉門以西達于西海[2]，考之漢史，通爲西域，高昌迄于波斯，則其所也。[3]自晉、宋以還，雖有時而至，論其風土，甚未能詳。今略備西域諸國，編之于次云。

The areas from west of the Yumen 玉門 Barrier extend to the Western Sea[2]. According to the histories of the Han Dynasty, they all belong to the Western Regions, in which there are states from Gaochang 高昌 to Bosi 波斯.[3] Since the Jin 晉 and Song 宋 Dynasties, [the states] sent envoys to court from time to time, but it is impossible to offer a detailed account of their natural conditions and social customs. Now we roughly describe matters pertaining to the various states in the Western Regions and present them as follows:

[1] This memoir is mainly compiled from the "Xibei zhu Rong zhuan" 西北諸戎傳 in *Liangshu* 梁書, in some places condensed.[1] Here only the differences in the two texts are pointed out; no further comments are made.

[2] The Western Sea should be the Mediterranean.

[3] "The areas from west of the Yumen…": In light of the scope of this memoir, what is meant by "the Western Regions" here differs from its original meaning, because the "Western Sea" and the area west of Bosi are included in the "Western Regions".

高昌國，初[4]闞氏爲主，其後爲河西王沮渠茂虔弟無諱襲破之，其王闞爽奔于蠕蠕[5]。無諱據之稱王，一世而滅於魏[6]。其國人又推麴氏爲王，名嘉，魏[7]

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* The memoir is translated by Yu Taishan and edited by Victor H. Mair.

授爲車騎將軍、司空公、都督秦州諸軍事、秦州刺史、金城郡公[8]。在位二十四年卒，國謚曰昭武王。子子堅，子堅嗣位，[9]魏授使持節、驃騎大將軍、散騎常侍、都督瓜州刺史、西平郡公、開府儀同三司、[10]高昌王。

The state of Gaochang 高昌: Formerly[4], its ruler was from the Han 闞 family. Later, it was attacked and defeated by [Juqu] Wuhui [沮渠] 無諱, the younger brother of Juqu Maoqian 茂虔, the King of Hexi 河西, and its king Han Shuang 闞爽 fled to the Ruru 蠕蠕 [5] for shelter. [Juqu] Wuhui occupied it and proclaimed himself king but was destroyed after one generation by Wei 魏[6]. The countrymen then established a man of the Qu 麴 family, whose name was Jia 嘉, as king. The Wei[7] Dynasty conferred upon him the titles of General of Chariots and Cavalry, Duke of the Minister of Works, Commander-in-Chief of Military Operations of Qin 秦 Province, Governor of Qin Province, and Duke of Jincheng 金城 Prefecture[8]. [Qu Jia] was on the throne for twenty-four years, and was given the posthumous title of "King of Zhaowu" 昭武 ["illustrious military accomplishments"]. On his son Zijian 子堅 [9] was conferred the titles of Commissioner with Extraordinary Powers, Cavalry Supreme General, Cavalier Attendant-in-Ordinary, Commander-in-Chief and Governor of Gua 瓜 Province, Duke of Xiping 西平 Prefecture, Unequaled in Honor[10], and King of Gaochang 高昌, and he succeeded to the throne.

[4] "Formerly" (初): There is no such a character in the "Xibei zhu Rong zhuan" of *Liangshu*.

[5] For Ruru 蠕蠕, the "Xibei zhu Rong zhuan" of *Liangshu* reads Ruirui 芮芮 .

[6] "By Wei" (於魏): The two characters are added to the text in the "Xibei zhu Rong zhuan" of *Liangshu.*

[7] For Wei 魏 , the "Xibei zhu Rong zhuan" of *Liangshu* reads "Yuan Wei" 元魏.

[8] For the "Duke of Jincheng Prefecture" 金城郡公, the "Xibei zhu Rong zhuan" of *Liangshu* reads "Duke of Kaiguo ["Founder of the Dynasty"] of Jincheng Prefecture" 金城郡開國公.

[9] "His son Zijian … succeeded to the throne" 子子堅，子堅嗣位 (Literally, "His son was Zijian. Zijian succeeded the throne"): According to the collation notes in the punctuated edition, "Various editions read, 'His son was Jian. Jian succeeded to the throne'. Amended after *Liangshu*". From this we know that for the name of Jia's son, various editions read "Jian", the same as in the "Yiyu zhuan (xia) 異域傳下 " of *Zhoushu* 周書, the "Gaochang zhuan" 高昌傳 of *Suishu* 隋書, and the "Gaochang

zhuan" 高昌傳 of *Beishi* 北史.

[10] For "Commander-in-Chief and Governor and of Gua Province, Duke of Xiping Prefecture, Unequaled in Honor" 都督瓜州刺史, 西平郡公, 開府儀同三司, the "Xibei zhu Rong zhuan" of *Liangshu* reads, "Commander-in-Chief of Military Operations of Gua Province, Governor of Gua Province, Duke of Kaiguo [Founder of the Dynasty] of Hexi Prefecture, Unequaled in Honor" 都督瓜州諸軍事, 瓜州刺史, 河西郡開國公, 儀同三司.

其國蓋車師之故地，南接河南，東近敦煌[11]，西次龜茲，北隣敕勒。置四十六鎮，交河、田地、高寧、臨川、横截、柳婆、洿林、新興、由寧[12]、始昌、篤進、白力[13]等鎮。官有四鎮將軍，及置雜號將軍，長史，司馬，門下校郎，中兵校郎，通事舍人，通事令史，諮議，諫議[14]、校尉，主簿。國人言語與華[15]略同。有五經、歷代史、諸子集。面貌類高麗，辮髮垂之於背，著長身小袖袍、縵襠袴。女子頭髮辮而不垂，著錦纈纓珞環釧。昏姻有六禮。其地高燥，築土爲城，架木爲屋，土覆其上。寒暑與益州相似。備植九穀，人多噉麨[16]及牛羊肉。出良馬、蒲桃[17]酒、石鹽。多草木，有草實如繭，繭中絲如細纑，名曰白疊子，國人取織以爲布。布甚軟白，交市用焉。有朝烏者，旦旦集王殿前，爲行列，不畏人，日出然後散去。

The state of [Gaochang] is in the former land of Jushi 車師. It adjoins Henan 河南 in the south, connects to Dunhuang 敦煌[11] in the east, joins Qiuci 龜茲 in the west, and neighbors on Chile 敕勒 in the north. Forty-six defense commands have been established. Jiaohe 交河, Tiandi 田地 , Gaoning 高寧, Linchuan 臨川, Hengjie 横截, Liupo 柳婆, Wulin 洿林, Xinxing 新興, Youning 由寧[12], Shichang 始昌, Dujin 篤進, and Baili 白力[13] are the names of its sixteen defense commands. For officials, there are generals for four of its defense commands, and generals of varied titles, as well as a Chief Official, Major, Examiner for the Chancellery, Examiner for the Army of the Center, Interpreter-Clerk, Interpreter Secretary, Consultant, Remonstrator[14], Colonel, and Archivist. The spoken language somewhat resembles that of the Middle Kingdom[15]. They possess *The Five Classics*, the historical books of successive dynasties, and works by the exponents of the various schools of thought from the Spring and Autumn period onwards. The features of the people are generally the same as those of Gaoli 高驪. They braid their hair into a queue and let it hang down their backs. They

wear long robes with small sleeves and pants without vents in the seat. The women's hair is braided and does not hang down. They wear figured silk fabrics, tassels, rings, and bracelets. For weddings they practice the six ceremonies. The land is elevated and dry, and the town walls are built by piling up tamped earth. The houses are built by erecting timbers, which in turn are covered with earth. The climate is similar to that of Yizhou 益州. The nine grains are all planted. The staple diet consists of parched oat flour[16] and mutton meat. The land produces fine horses, wine made of grapes[17], and rock salt. There is an abundance of vegetation. One type of grass has a fruit that is just like a silkworm cocoon, and silk from the cocoon is like fine hempen thread. It is called *baidiezi* 白疊子 (white cotton). The countrymen pick it and weave it into cloth which is very soft and white, and used in trade. There are birds called "early crows", which gather in front of the king's palace every morning. They line up without fear of human beings, and do not disperse until the sun rises.

[11] For "Dunhuang" 敦煌, the "Xibei zhu Rong zhuan" of *Liangshu* reads "Dunhuang" 燉煌.

[12] "Youning" 由寧: The collation notes of the punctuated edition: "Various editions read 'Ningyou' 寧由; amended after *Liangshu*". "Youning" 由寧 should be the "Ningrong" 寧戎 in the documents unearthed in Turfan. Cf. the commentary on the "Xibei zhu Rong zhuan" of *Liangshu*.

[13] "Baili" 白力 should be the "Baiji" 白棘 in the "Gaochang zhuan" of *Beishi*. "*Li*" 力 was written as "*li*" 芀 in the documents unearthed in Turfan.[2]

[14] "Remonstrator" 諫議: There is no such a title in the "Xibei zhu Rong zhuan" of *Liangshu*.

[15] "*Hua*" 華 is written as "Zhongguo" 中國 in the "Xibei zhu Rong zhuan" of *Liangshu*.

[16] "*Mian*" 麪 is written as "*chao*" 麨 in the "Xibei zhu Rong zhuan" of *Liangshu*.

[17] For "*putao*" 蒲桃, the "Xibei zhu Rong zhuan" of *Liangshu* reads "*putao*" 蒲陶.

梁[18]大同中，子堅遣使獻鳴鹽枕、蒲桃、良馬、氍毹[19]等物。

During the Datong 大同 reign-period of the Liang 梁 Dynasty[18], [Qu] Zijian [麴] 子堅 sent envoys to present whistling salt pillows, grapes, fine horses, *qusou* 氍毹[19] (wool carpets), and other goods.

[18] There is no character Liang 梁 in the "Xibei zhu Rong zhuan" of *Liangshu*; it was added by

Lí Yanshou. This practice applies to the following text.

[19] *Qusou* 氍毰 reads *qushu* 氍毹 in the "Xibei zhu Rong zhuan" of *Liangshu*.

滑國者，車師之別種也。漢永建元年，八滑從班勇擊北虜有功，勇上八滑爲後部親漢侯。自魏、晉以來，不通中國。至梁天監十五年，其王厭帶夷栗陁始遣使獻方物。普通元年，遣使獻黄師子、白貂裘、波斯錦等物。七年，又奉表貢獻。

The state of Hua 滑: The people are divergent stock from the Jushi 車師 people. In the first year of the Yongjian 永建 reign-period of the Han Dynasty, Bahua 八滑 followed Ban Yong 班勇 to attack the northern savages and rendered great service. The Han made Bahua the Marquis of Further Jushi Who Is Allied with Han. From Wei 魏 to Jin 晉 times it did not communicate with the Middle Kingdom. In the fifteenth year of the Tianjian 天監 reign-period [516 CE], its king Yedaiyilituo 厭帶夷栗陁 first sent envoys to present its local products. In the first year of the Putong 普通 reign-period the king also sent envoys to present yellow lions, white marten coats, Persian brocade, and other gifts. In the seventh year [of the Putong reign-period] the king, presenting a memorial, also paid tribute.

魏之居代都，[20] 滑猶爲小國，屬蠕蠕。後稍強大，征其旁國波斯、渴盤陀[21]、罽賓、焉耆、龜茲、疏勒、姑墨、于闐、句般[22]等國，開地千餘里。土地溫暖，多山川，少樹木，[23] 有五穀。國人以麵及羊肉爲糧。其獸有師子、兩脚駱駝，野驢有角。人皆善騎射，著小袖長身袍，用金玉爲帶。女人被裘，頭上刻木爲角，長六尺，以金銀飾之。少女子，兄弟共妻。無城郭，氈屋爲居，東向開戶。其王坐金牀，隨太歲轉，與妻並坐接客。無文字，以木爲契。與旁國通，則使旁國胡爲胡書，羊皮爲紙。無職官。事天神、火神，每日則出戶祀神而後食。其跪一拜而止。葬以木爲槨。父母死，其子截一耳，葬訖卽吉。其言語待河南人譯然後通。

When Wei 魏 had its residence at Dai,[20] Hua 滑 was still a small state subject to the Ruru 蠕蠕. Later it gradually became stronger and invaded the states of Bosi 波斯, Kepantuo 渴盤陀[21], Jibin 罽賓, Yanqi 焉耆, Qiuci 龜茲, Shule 疏勒, Gumo 姑墨, Yutian 于闐, and Goupan 句般[22], among others, and opened up territories which

extended for over 1,000 *li*. The soil is temperate, there are many rivers and mountains but few trees[23], and the five grains are grown. The staple diet consists of parched oat flour and mutton meat. Beasts native to it are the lion, the two-footed camel, and the wild donkey with horns. The men all excel at shooting arrows from horseback; they wear a long robe with small sleeves and decorate their belts with gold and jade. The women wear fur cloaks and on their heads there is a piece of wood carved into a horn six *chi* 尺 long, which is decorated with gold and silver. There are few women, and older and younger brothers marry one wife. They are without walled cities, living in felt tents with a window open to the east. Their king sits on a golden couch, which is revolved following the planet Jupiter. The king and his wife sit shoulder to shoulder to receive visitors. They have no script, but use wooden slips as tallies. In communications with neighboring states, they make use of the Hu script of neighboring states in order to prepare documents in the Hu language, using parchment instead of paper. They are without officials. They worship the God of Heaven and the Fire God. Every day they go outside [of their tents] to sacrifice to the gods and then they take breakfast. They prostrate themselves only once. When there is a death the coffin is made of wood; when a parent dies, the child will cut off one of his ears. As soon as burial is over, things go on as usual. Their language is intelligible only through oral interpretation conducted by the people of Henan 河南.

[20] For "When Wei had its residence at Dai," the "Xibei zhu Rong zhuan" of *Liangshu* reads, "When the Yuan Wei had its residence at Sanggan" 元魏之居桑乾也.

[21] For "Kepantuo" 渴盤陀, the "Xibei zhu Rong zhuan" of *Liangshu* reads "Panpan" 盤盤. This is a significant variation.

[22] For "Gouban" 句般, the "Xibei zhu Rong zhuan" of *Liangshu* reads "Goupan" 句盤.

[23] For "there are many rivers and mountains, but few trees" 多山川，少樹木, the "Xibei zhu Rong zhuan" of *Liangshu* reads, "There are many rivers and trees" 多山川樹木.

呵跋檀、周古柯、胡密丹[24]等國，並滑旁小國也。凡滑旁之國，衣服容貌皆與滑同。普通元年，使使隨滑使來貢獻方物。[25]

Hebatan 呵跋檀, Zhouguke 周古柯, and Humidan 胡密丹[24] are all small states

near the state of Hua. For all states that are near Hua, their clothes and appearance are the same as those of Hua. In the first year of the Putong 普通 reign-period they sent envoys, following the envoys of Hua, to present their local products.[25]

[24] For "Humidan" 胡密丹, the "Xibei zhu Rong zhuan" of *Liangshu* reads "Humidan" 胡蜜丹.

[25] This section is a condensation of the records on Hebatan, Zhouguke, and Humidan in the "Xibei zhu Rong zhuan" of *Liangshu*.

白題國，王姓支名史稽毅，其先蓋匈奴之別種胡也。漢灌嬰與匈奴戰，斬白題騎一人是也。[26] 在滑國東。[27] 去滑六日行，西極波斯。土地出粟、麥、瓜果，食物略與滑同。普通三年，遣使獻方物。

The state of Baiti 白題: Its king is surnamed Zhi 支, and named Shijiyi 史稽毅. Its ancestors were probably descended from a divergent Hu stock of the Xiongnu. When he fought with the Xiongnu, Guan Ying 灌嬰 killed a cavalryman under a Baiti 白題 [general] in Han times, who was [a native of the state].[26] That state exists to the east of the state of Hua at a distance of a six-day-journey.[27] To the west it extends as far as Bosi 波斯. The land produces millet, wheat, watermelons, and other kinds of fruit. Their foods more or less resemble those of Hua. In the third year of the Putong reign-period, it sent envoys to present its local products.

[26] The two characters, 是也, are not found in the "Xibei zhu Rong zhuan" of *Liangshu.*

[27] 在滑國東 (The state exists to the east of the state of Hua): In the "Xibei zhu Rong zhuan" of *Liangshu*, there is a character 今 ("at present") in front of 在 .

龜茲者，西域之舊國也。自晉度江不通，[28] 至梁普通二年，王尼瑞摩珠那勝遣使奉表貢獻。[29]

[The state of] Qiuci 龜茲: It is an old state in the Western Regions. After the Jin 晉 Dynasty was relocated to the south of the [Yangzi] River, communications [with it] were cut off.[28] In the second year of the Putong reign-period [521 CE], the king of Qiuci, Niruimozhunasheng 尼瑞摩珠那勝, sent envoys to offer a memorial and present its

local products.[29]

[28] "After the Jin 晉 Dynasty was relocated to the south of the [Yangzi] River, communications [with it] were cut off" (自晉度江不通): These are the words of Li Yanshou. The "Xibei zhu Rong zhuan" of *Liangshu* reads, "During the Taikang reign-period of the Jin Dynasty it sent the prince to attend at court… From then on there were no communications [between Qiuci] and the Middle Kingdom".

[29] This section is a condensation of the account on Qiuci in the "Xibei zhu Rong zhuan" of *Liangshu*.

于闐者，西域之舊國[30]也。梁天監九年，始通江左，[31]遣使獻方物。十三年，又獻波羅婆步鄣。十八年，又獻瑠璃罌。大同七年，又獻外國刻玉佛。[32]

The state of Yutian 于闐: It is an old state of the Western Regions.[30] In the ninth year of the Tianjian 天監 reign-period it established communications with the dynasty south of the [Yangzi] River,[31] sending envoys to present its local products. In the thirteenth year [of the Tianjian reign-period] it presented a *prabha buzhang* 步鄣 [*buzhang* was a portable large silk screen sheltering court ladies from public view]. In the eighteenth year it presented glazed small-mouthed jars. In the seventh year of the Datong 大同 reign-period it also presented a jade Buddha carved abroad.[32]

[30] For "It is an old state of the Western Regions" 西域之舊國, the "Xibei zhu Rong zhuan" of *Liangshu* reads, "It is a state of the Western Regions" 西域之屬.

[31] "It established communications with the dynasty south of the [Yangzi] River" 始通江左 : The words, absent from the "Xibei zhu Rong zhuan" of *Liangshu*, were added by Li Yanshou, as in the subsequent text.

[32] This part is excerpted from that section on Yutian in the "Xibei zhu Rong zhuan" of *Liangshu*.

渴盤陁國，于闐西小國也。西鄰滑國，南接罽賓國，北連沙勒國。都[33]在山谷中。城周回十餘里，國有十二城。風俗與于闐相類。衣古貝布，著長身小袖袍，小口袴。地宜小麥，資以爲糧。多牛馬駱駝羊等。出好氈[34]。王姓葛沙氏。

梁中大同元年，始通江左，遣獻方物。

The state of Kepantuo 渴盤陁: It is a small state, which is located to the west of Yutian 于闐. To the west it is a neighbor of the state of Hua 滑, to the south it adjoins the state of Jibin 罽賓, and to the north it connects to the state of Shale 沙勒. The seat of the king's government[33] is in a valley. The [capital] town is over ten *li* in circumference, and there are twelve towns in the country. The customs are similar to those of Yutian. The people have clothes made of *gubei* [kapok] cloth, and wear a long robe with small sleeves and trousers with narrow openings. The soil is suitable for wheat, which is supplied as food. There is an abundance of cattle, horses, camels, sheep, and other animals. The country produces good felt.[34] Its king is surnamed Gesha 葛沙. In the first year of the Zhong Datong 中大同 reign-period it established communications with the dynasty south of the Yangzi River, sending envoys to present its local produce.

[33] For 都 (capital), the "Xibei zhu Rong zhuan" of *Liangshu* reads 所治 (the seat of the king's government).

[34] For "The country produces good felt" 出好氈, the "Xibei zhu Rong zhuan" of *Liangshu* reads, "The country produces good felt, gold, and jade" 出好氊、金、玉.

末國，漢世且末國也。勝兵萬餘戶。北與丁零，東與白題，西與波斯接。土人剪髮，著氈帽，小袖衣，爲衫則開頸而縫前。多牛羊騾驢。其王安末深盤，梁普通五年，始通江左，遣使來貢獻。

The state of Mo 末: It was originally the state of Qiemo 且末 in Han times. There are more than 10,000 households able to bear arms. It adjoins the Dingling 丁零 in the north, Baiti 白題 in the east, and Bosi 波斯 in the west. The natives all clip their hair and wear felt hats and short-sleeved clothes, simply making an opening for the neck and sewing up the front. There is an abundance of cattle, sheep, mules, and donkeys. Their king, Anmoshenpan 安末深盤, in the fifth year of the Putong 普通 reign-period, established communications with the dynasty south of the Yangzi River, sending envoys to present tribute.

波斯國，其先有波斯匿王者，子孫以王父字爲氏，因爲國號。國有城，周回

三十二里。城高四丈，皆有樓觀。城內屋宇數百千間，城外佛寺二三百所。西去城十五里有土山，山非過高，其勢連接甚遠，中有鷲鳥噉羊，土人極以爲患。國中有優鉢［羅］、曇花，鮮華可愛。出龍駒馬。鹹池生珊瑚樹，長一二尺。亦有武魄[35]、馬腦、真珠、玫瑰[36]等，國內不以爲珍。市買用金銀。昏姻法：下娉財訖[37]，女婿將數十人迎婦，婿著金線錦袍，師子錦袴，戴天冠，婦亦如之。婦兄弟便來捉手付度，夫婦之禮，於茲永畢。國東與滑國、西及南俱與（娑）［婆］羅門國、北與泛慄[38]國接。梁中大通二年，始通江左，遣使獻佛牙。

The state of Bosi 波斯: Of their ancestors there was a King of Bosini 波斯匿 (Prasenajit), whose descendants took the name of their father king as family name, and then the name turned into the title of their state. In the state there is a city that is 32 *li* in circumference. The city wall is four *zhang* high, and there are buildings everywhere upon it. There are several hundred to a thousand houses and temples inside the city, and there are two or three hundred Buddhist temples outside the city. Fifteen *li* west of the city there are mountains of earth. The mountains are not too high, but they stretch far into the distance. Among the mountains there are vultures that devour sheep, troubling the natives greatly. In the state there is a flower named *udumnara* (*Ficus glomerata*), which is lovely and brightly colored. The land produces spirited colts. In soda pools there are coral trees whose length is one or two *chi*. There are also amber[35], agate, true pearls and mica[36], which are not valued highly in the state. In the markets goods are paid for with gold and silver. The wedding law is as follows: having presented betrothal gifts[37], the son-in-law (i.e., the groom) leads men who can be numbered in the tens to the bride's home to bring her back to his house. The son-in-law wears a brocade robe embroidered with golden thread and brocade trousers with a lion design, as well as a heavenly hat, and his bride is similarly attired. The bride's brothers then come and grasp her by her wrist to hand her over to the son-in-law. At that point, the wedding is completed. The state adjoins the state of Hua 滑 in the east, the state of Brahman in the west and south, and the state of Fanli 泛栗[38] in the north. In the second year of the Zhong Datong 中大通 reign-period of the Liang, it established communications with the dynasty south of the Yangzi River, sending envoys to present a Buddha's tooth.

[35] For 武魄, the "Xibei zhu Rong zhuan" of *Liangshu* reads 琥珀. It is changed here in

observation of a taboo concerning a Tang emperor's name.

[36] For 玫瑰, the "Xibei zhu Rong zhuan" of *Liangshu* reads 玫琯.

[37] For 下娉財訖, the "Xibei zhu Rong zhuan" of *Liangshu* reads 下聘訖.

[38] For 泛慄, the "Xibei zhu Rong zhuan" of *Liangshu* reads 汎慄.

NOTES

1 Cf. Oda Yoshihisa 小田義久, "Nanshi maki shichijyūkyu Ibaku-ge Seiikiden yakuchū kō" 南史卷七十九夷貊下西域傳譯注稿 (An annotated translation of the *Nanshi*, ch. 79), in Uchida Ginpū 內田吟風, ed., *Chūgoku seishi Seiikisden no yakuchū* 中國正史西域傳の譯注 (An annotated translation of the Memoirs on the Western Regions in the Chinese official histories) (Kyoto: Kawakita, 1980), pp. 35-40.

2 Cf. Li Gefei 李格非, "Shi 'li', 'ji'" 釋 " 芀 ", " 棘 " (Notes on the words *li* and *ji*), Wuhan daxue Lishixi Wei Jin Nanbeichao Sui Tang shi yanjiushi 武漢大學歷史系魏晉南北朝隋唐史研究室, ed., *Wei Jin Nanbeichao Sui Tang shiliao* 魏晉南北朝隋唐史資料 5 (1983): 12-13.

一二 《北史·西域傳》[1] 要注

A CONCISE COMMENTARY ON CHAPTER 97 OF *BEISHI*, "THE MEMOIR ON THE WESTERN REGIONS" *

《夏書》稱"西戎卽序"，班固云："就而序之，非盛威武致其貢物也。"[2] 漢氏初開西域，有三十六國。其後，分立五十五王，置校尉、都護以撫之。王莽篡位，西域遂絕。至於後漢，班超所通者五十餘國，西至西海，東西萬里，皆來朝貢，復置都護、校尉以相統攝。其後或絕或通，漢朝以爲勞弊中國，其官時置時廢。暨魏晉之後，互相吞滅，不可復詳記焉。[3]

In the *Book of Documents* it is written, "The Western Rong 戎 were then reduced to order". Ban Gu 班固 states, "It was simply because of Yu's 禹 arrival that they were reduced to order. Had he not been [a man of] abundant power and prestige, he would not have had the means of inducing them to bring tribute". [2] When the Han Dynasty first opened up the routes to the Western Regions there were thirty-six states, which were subsequently divided into fifty-five principalities. Han established the Colonel and the Protector-General to pacify them. After Wang Mang 王莽 usurped the throne, [the relations with] the Western Regions were interrupted. Up to the Later Han Dynasty, there were fifty-five states that were opened up by Ban Chao 班超. The area in which these states were located west extends for 10,000 *li* from east to west as far as the Western Sea. These states all sent their envoys to present tribute. The imperial court also established the Protector-General and Colonel to exercise control over them. After this, the Western Regions' contacts [with Han] sometimes were cut off and sometimes opened up. The Han Dynasty considered that this was burdensome for the Middle Kingdom, with the officials concerned sometimes being deposed, and sometimes established. Since the Wei

* The memoir is translated by Yu Taishan and edited by Victor H. Mair.

魏 and Jin 晉 Dynasties were founded, the states [in the Western Regions] conquered and annexed each other, the details of which it is impossible to reconstruct.[3]

[1] The bulk of the "Xiyu zhuan" 西域傳 in *Beishi* 北史 is a selection from the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Weishu* 魏書, the "Yiyu zhuan (xia)" 異域傳下 of *Zhoushu* 周書, and the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Suishu* 隋書. As I have commented on these three memoirs treating the Western Regions, I will not comment further on them, with the exception of those sections found only in this memoir.

[2] The above is copied from the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Weishu*.[1]

[3] The above is copied from the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Suishu*. It is almost identical to the latter, with minor differences; for instance, for "The area …extends for 10,000 *li* from east to west as far as the Western Sea," the text in the *Suishu* reads, "The area …extends for 40,000 *li* from east to west as far as the Western Sea"; for "the details of which it is impossible to reconstruct" 不可復詳記矣, *Suishu* reads, "the details of which it is impossible to record" 不可詳焉.

道武初，經營中原，未暇及於四表。既而西戎之貢不至，有司奏依漢氏故事，請通西域，可以振威德於荒外，又可致奇貨於天府。帝曰："漢氏不保境安人，乃遠開西域，使海內虛耗，何利之有？今若通之，前弊復加百姓矣。"遂不從。歷明元世，竟不招納。[4]

At the beginning of his reign, Emperor Daowu 道武 had no time to attend to the four borders because of the management of the Central Plains. As a consequence, the Western Rong did not come to pay tribute. The officials appealed to [the throne] to open up communications with the Western Regions as was done in Han times. This would both show Wei's 魏 power and virtue to the wild and distant domains, and attract rare goods into the Heavenly repository. The Emperor replied, "The Han dynasty did not defend its borders and pacify the common people. Instead, it opened up the distant Western Regions, and the resources within the four seas were spent and wasted. How can there be any benefit? If we now open up [the West], the former mismanagement will once again oppress the common people". So he did not follow their advice. Finally, [Wei] did not seek and admit [the various states in the Western Regions] during the reign of Emperor Mingyuan 明元.[4]

[4] This section is copied from the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Weishu*. For "Daowu" 道武, the text of *Weishu* reads "Taizu" 太祖. The words 保境安人 (meaning "defend its borders and pacify the common people") were originally 保境安民; the character *min* 民 was changed in observation of a taboo concerning the name of a Tang emperor. The same applies to the text below.

太延中，魏德益以遠聞，西域龜兹、疏勒、烏孫、悦般、渴槃陁、鄯善、焉耆、車師、粟特諸國王始遣使來獻。太武以西域漢世雖通，有求則卑辭而來，無欲則驕慢王命，此其自知絕遠，大兵不可至故也。若報使往來，終無所益，欲不遣使。有司奏："九國不憚遐險，遠貢方物，當與其進，安可豫抑後來？"乃從之。於是始遣行人王恩生、許綱等西使，恩生出流沙，爲蠕蠕所執，竟不果達。又遣散騎侍郎董琬、高明等多賫錦帛，出鄯善，招撫九國，厚賜之。初，琬等受詔，便道之國，可往赴之。琬過九國，北行至烏孫國，其王得魏賜，拜受甚悦，謂琬等曰："傳聞破洛那、者舌皆思魏德，欲稱臣致貢，但患其路無由耳。今使君等既到此，可往二國，副其慕仰之誠。"琬於是自向破洛那，遣明使者舌。烏孫王爲發導譯，達二國，琬等宣詔慰賜之。已而琬、明東還，烏孫、破洛那之屬遣使與琬俱來貢獻者十有六國。自後相繼而來，不間于歲，國使亦數十輩矣。[5]

During the Taiyan 太延 reign-period [435-440 CE], the virtue of Wei 魏 became better known far and wide as time went on. The kings of the various states in the Western Regions, such as Qiuci 龜兹, Shule 疏勒, Wusun 烏孫, Yueban 悦般, Kepantuo 渴槃陁, Shanshan 鄯善, Yanqi 焉耆, Jushi 車師, and Sute 粟特, began sending envoys to present tribute. Emperor Taiwu 太武 considered that although the Han Dynasty had made contact with the Western Regions, if there was something which the states required now, they would come, speaking imploringly; if they desired nothing, their behavior was a display of arrogance in defiance of [our] royal order. This was because they knew themselves to be cut off from [Han] by a great distance, beyond the range of [Han's] huge army. If envoys were sent back and forth in reply, they would ultimately not gain any benefit. Therefore, Emperor Taiwu did not want to send envoys. The officials sent a memorial to [the throne] pointing out that the nine states, braving hardship and danger, had submitted their local products from distant places, and arguing that it was therefore proper to support them in their effort to move forward. "How could we curb their successors in advance?" they asked. The emperor agreed to their request.

Thereupon, he finally sent envoys, Wang Ensheng 王恩生, Xu Gang 許綱, and others, to go on a mission to the Western [Regions]. When they emerged from the Flowing Sands, Wang Ensheng and the others were unexpectedly captured by the Ruru 蠕蠕, and thus were unable to reach [the Western Regions]. The emperor also sent the Gentleman Cavalier Attendant Dong Wan 董琬, Gao Ming 高明 and others. Taking many brocaded silks with them, they came out from Shanshan to summon and appease the nine states and offer them substantial rewards. Initially, [Dong] Wan and the others accepted the imperial edict, which said that they should proceed to those states on passable roads. [Dong] Wan traveled through nine states, and then went north and reached the state of Wusun. The king was rewarded by the imperial court, did obeisance and accepted it, and was quite pleased. Then he said to [Dong] Wan, "I hear that both Poluona 破洛那 and Zheshe 者舌 longed for the virtue of Wei, and wanted to swear fealty and pay tribute, but were worried there was no way to reach Wei. Now that you have arrived here, it is proper to go to these two states to encourage them in their sincere admiration". Thereupon, [Dong] Wan went in person to Poluona, and sent [Gao] Ming to Zheshe. The king of Wusun provided them with guides and interpreters for the two states. [Dong] Wan and others read out the imperial edict meant to pacify and reward them. Later, when [Dong] Wan and [Gao] Ming returned eastwards, Wusun, Poluona, and the like sent envoys with [Dong] Wan to come to pay tribute, sixteen states in all. From then on, the envoys of the various states came in succession, without any annual breaks. National missions, which can be numbered in the tens, were also dispatched.[5]

[5] The above is copied from the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Weishu*. For "Taiwu" 太武, the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Weishu* reads "Shizu" 世祖. This also applies to the following text.

初，太武每遣使西域，常詔河西王沮渠牧犍，令護送。至姑臧，牧犍恒發使導路，出於流沙。後使者自西域還至武威，牧犍左右謂使者曰："我君承蠕蠕吳提妄說，云：'去歲魏天子自來伐我，士馬疫死，大敗而還，我擒其長弟樂平王丕。'我君大喜，宣言國中。又聞吳提遣使告西域諸國：'魏已削弱，今天下唯我爲強，若更有魏使，勿復恭奉。'西域諸國亦有貳［者］。"且牧犍事主，稍以慢墮。使還，具以狀聞，太武遂議討牧犍。涼州既平，鄯善國以爲脣亡齒寒，自然之道也。今武威爲魏所滅，次及我矣。若通其使人，知我國事，取亡必近，不如

絕之，可以支久。乃斷塞行路，西域貢獻，歷年不入，後平鄯善，行人復通。[6]

Originally, when Emperor Taiwu sent envoys to the Western Regions, he usually issued edicts ordering the King of Hexi 河西, Juqu Mujian 沮渠牧犍, to guide the envoys. When envoys arrived in Guzang 姑臧, [Juqu] Mujian usually sent his own envoys to lead the envoys of Wei across the Flowing Sands. Afterwards, when this envoy returned from the Western Regions and reached Wuwei 武威, the ministers of [Juqu] Mujian told him, "Our lord has believed the rumor spread by the ruler of the Rouran 柔然, Wuti 吳提, who said, 'Last year, the Son of Heaven of Wei came in person to attack me, was utterly defeated, and returned as his soldiers and horses died of the plague. I captured his younger brother, the King of Leping 樂平, Pi 丕'. Our lord was delighted by this and declared this to the state". He also heard that Wuti sent envoys to proclaim to the various states in the Western Regions, that "Wei had already been weakened, and now only I am powerful under the sun. If envoys of Wei come again, do not respect them and do not supply them with provisions". Some of the states in the Western Regions were thus were half-hearted in their loyalty, and [Juqu] Mujian gradually became indolent in his attendance on the princess. The envoy returned and reported all these facts. Emperor Shizu thereupon convened a council to discuss an expedition against Juqu Mujian. After Liang 涼 Province had been pacified, [the ruler of] the state of Shanshan considered that, if the lips were gone, it would be only natural that the teeth would be exposed to the cold. Now that Wuwei has been destroyed by Wei, the next in turn would be his own state. If we let their envoys come and learn the situation of our state, we will court our own ruin. It is better to cut them off and then we can protect our lives for a long time. Thereupon [Shanshan] cut off and blockaded the routes. The tributes of the Western Regions were not presented for some years. After Shanshan was pacified, the envoys could pass again.[6]

[6] The above is copied from the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Weishu*. The character "*zhe*" 者 is added after the current edition.

始，琬等使還京師，具言凡所經見及傳聞傍國，云：西域自漢武時五十餘國，後稍相并，至太延中爲十六國，分其地爲四域。自葱嶺以東、流沙以西爲一

域；葱嶺以西、海曲以東爲一域；者舌以南、月氏以北爲一域；兩海之間，水澤以南爲一域。內諸小渠長蓋以百數。其出西域本有二道，後更爲四：出自玉門，度流沙，西行二千里至鄯善爲一道；自玉門度流沙，北行二千二百里至車師爲一道；從莎車西行一百里至葱嶺，葱嶺西一千三百里至伽倍爲一道；自莎車西南五百里，葱嶺西南一千三百里至波路爲一道焉。自琬所不傳而更有朝貢者，紀其名，不能具國俗也。[7]

Formerly, when [Dong] Wan and others had returned to the capital after their mission, they mentioned all the neighboring states they had seen with their own eyes or those they had heard about, and said: "Since Emperor Wu 武 of the Han, there have been over fifty states in the Western Regions. Afterwards they gradually annexed each other. By the middle of the Taiyan reign-period, there were sixteen states in all. Their lands can be divided into four regions. East of the Cong 葱 Mountains and west of the Flowing Sands was one region, west of the Cong Mountains and east of the sea bend was another, south of Zheshe and north of Yuezhi 月氏 was the third, and between the two seas and south of the marsh was the fourth. In the four regions there were perhaps 100 petty chiefs. To go to the Western Regions there were originally two routes. Later they changed into four. From the Yumen 玉門 Barrier crossing the Flowing Sands going west 2,000 *li* to Shanshan is the first route. From the Yumen Barrier crossing the Flowing Sands and going north 2,200 *li* to Jushi is the second route. From Suoju 莎車 going west 100 *li* to the Cong Mountains, then west 1,300 *li* to Jiapei 伽倍 is the third route. Traveling from Suoju southwest for 500 *li* to the Cong Mountains, then southwest for 1,300 *li* to Bolu 波路, is the fourth route." As for those states that sent envoys to present tribute after [Dong] Wan, who did not report them, only their names are recorded, and an account of their customs cannot be given.[7]

[7] The above is copied from the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Weishu*. Following "an account of their customs cannot be given" 不能具國俗也, another sentence can be added after the current edition of *Weishu*: "we have compiled those matters which differ from the reports of the former envoys" 其與前使所異者錄之.

東西魏時，中國方擾，及於齊、周，不聞有事西域，故二代書並不立記錄。[8]

In Eastern and Western Wei times, the Middle Kingdom was thrown into confusion. Up to the reign of the Qi 齊 and Zhou 周 Dynasties, we have not heard of any efforts in the management of the Western Regions. Therefore, there are no records about them in the histories of those two dynasties.[8]

[8] The above text is by Li Yanshou.

隋開皇、仁壽之間，尚未云經略。[9]煬帝時，乃遣侍御史韋節、司隸從事杜行滿使於西藩諸國，至罽賓得瑪瑙盃，王舍城得佛經，史國得十舞女、師子皮、火鼠毛而還。帝復令聞喜公裴矩於武威、張掖間往來以引致之。其有君長者四十四國，矩因其使者入朝，啗以厚利，令其轉相諷諭。大業中，相率而來朝者四十餘國，帝因置西戎校尉以應接之。尋屬中國大亂，朝貢遂絕。然事亡失，書所存錄者二十國焉。[10]魏時所來者，在隋亦有不至，今總而編次，以備前書之“西域傳”云。至於道路遠近，物產風俗，詳諸前史，或有不同。斯皆錄其當時，蓋以備其遺闕爾。[11]

It was still was far from being a time of effective management between the Kaihuang 開皇 and Renshou 仁壽 reign-periods.[9] In the reign of Emperor Yang 煬 the Attendant Censor Wei Jie 韋節 and the Attendant Official of the Metropolitan Colonel Du Xingman 杜行滿 were sent as envoys to all the states of the western frontiers. They traveled to Jibin 罽賓 where they obtained a cup made of agate, the town of Rājagriha where they obtained Buddhist sutras, and the state of Shi 史 where they obtained ten dancing girls, a lion skin, and “fire-mouse” fur; then they returned. Subsequently the emperor ordered Pei Ju 裴矩, the Duke of Wenxi 聞喜, to the area around Wuwei 武威 and Zhangye 張掖 to deal [with the tribes there] in order to win them over. Those states that had their overlords or chiefs were forty-four in all. Taking advantage of their envoys' coming to the court, [Pei] Ju lured them with large profits in order to have them persuade each other [to submit]. During the Daye 大業 reign-period, one after another, the envoys of over thirty states came to the court. Therefore the emperor established a Colonel of the Western Regions to deal with their concerns. Following this, because the Middle Kingdom was thrown into confusion, the presentation of tribute broke off. Because most of the accounts have been lost, those that are recorded here pertain to

only twenty states.[10] Some of those states that sent envoys to present tribute in Wei times did not come in Sui times. Now we compile them all together to supplement the "Memoirs on the Western Regions" in the former histories. For the routes far and near, products and customs, some different records would be found if we studied carefully the former histories. This is because each wrote down the cases of the moment in order to make good omissions and shortcomings.[11]

[9] The first twelve characters are by Li Yanshou.

[10] From "In the reign of Emperor Yang" to "only twenty states": This part is copied from the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Suishu*. The text is the same as in the current edition of *Suishu*.

[11] From "Some of those states" to "in order to make good omissions and shortcomings": This part was compiled by Li Yanshou.

鄯善國，都扜泥城，[12]古樓蘭國也。[13]去代七千六百里，[14]所都城方一里。[15]地多沙鹵，少水草，北即白龍堆路。[16]至太延初，始遣其弟素延耆入侍。及太武平涼州，沮渠牧犍弟無諱走保敦煌。無諱後謀渡流沙，遣其弟安周擊鄯善，王比龍恐懼欲降。會魏使者自天竺、罽賓還，俱會鄯善，勸比龍拒之，遂與連戰，安周不能剋，退保東城。後比龍懼，率衆西奔且末，其世子乃應安周。[17]

The state of Shanshan 鄯善: Its capital is located in the town of Hanni 扜泥.[12] It is the state of Loulan 樓蘭 of antiquity.[13] It is 7,600 *li* from Dai 代.[14] The town which is the seat of its king's government is one *li* square.[15] The land abounds in sand and salt, with little water or vegetation. To the north is the White Dragon Mounds Road.[16] It did not come to pay tribute until the beginning of the Taiyan reign-period [435 CE]. In the fourth year of the Taiyan reign-period [the king] sent his younger brother, Suyanqi 素延耆, to attend at the court. When Emperor Taiwu pacified Liang Province, Wuhui 無諱, the younger brother of Juqu Mujian 沮渠牧犍, fled to Dunhuang 敦煌 to seek protection. Afterwards Wuhui planned to cross the Flowing Sands, and sent his younger brother Anzhou 安周 to attack Shanshan. The king [of Shanshan], Bilong 比龍, was afraid and wanted to surrender. It happened that Wei's envoys were then just returning from Tianzhu 天竺 and Jibin 罽賓, and they all met in Shanshan, and advised Bilong to resist him. Bilong thus fought with him continuously. [Juqu] Anzhou was unable to

overcome him, and retreated to defend the eastern town. Afterwards, Bilong was afraid and, leading his followers, fled westwards to Qiemo 且末. His prince thus responded to [Juqu] Anzhou.[17]

[12] The above is copied from the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Weishu*. The character "du" 都 was originally "zhi" 治, which was changed by Li Yanshou in observation of a taboo concerning a Tang emperor's name. For "the town of Hanni 扜泥 ", the current edition of the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Weishu* reads "the town of Wuni 扜泥 ".

[13] "The state of Loulan of antiquity": This is copied from the "Yiyu zhuan (xia)" 異域傳下 of *Zhoushu* 周書.

[14] The distance from Dai is copied from the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Weishu*.

[15] "The town which is the seat of its king's government is one *li* square": This is from the "Yiyu zhuan (xia)" of *Zhoushu*. One of the characteristics of *Zhoushu* is its attention to the size of the capitals of the various states.

[16] "The land abounds in sand and salt, with little water or vegetation. To the north is the White Dragon Mounds Road": This is from the "Yiyu zhuan (xia)" of *Zhoushu*.

[17] The section starting with "It did not come to pay tribute" to the end of this section is copied from the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Weishu*.

[其後，魏遣使使西域，道經其國，][18] 鄯善人頗剽劫之，令不得通。太武詔散騎常侍、成周公萬度歸乘傳發涼州兵討之，度歸到敦煌，留輜重，以輕騎五千渡流沙，至其境。時鄯善人衆布野，度歸勑吏卒不得有所侵掠，邊守感之，皆望旗稽服。其王真達面縛出降，度歸釋其縛，留軍屯守，與真達詣京都。太武大悅，厚待之。是歲，拜交趾公韓拔爲假節、征西將軍、領護西戎校尉、鄯善王以鎮之，賦役其人，比之郡縣。[19]

[After this, when the Wei sent envoys to the Western Regions by way of that state][18], the people of Shanshan robbed them of much and would not let them pass. Emperor Shizu issued an edict ordering the Gentleman Cavalier Attendant and Duke of Chengzhou 成周, Wan Dugui 萬度歸, to ride a [four-horse] post-carriage to call up the troops of Liang Province to attack it [Shanshan]. [Wan] Dugui arrived in Dunhuang, and then, leaving the impedimenta behind him, at the head of 5,000 light-horsemen he

crossed the Flowing Sands and reached its border. The common people of Shanshan were all over the open country and [Wan] Dugui ordered the soldiers not to trespass and rob them. The officers of the border were moved, and all bowed their heads to the ground and submitted before his banners. The king, Zhenda 真達, appeared with his hands tied behind his back and surrendered. [Wan] Dugui untied his hands, and left the troops stationed there to defend it, then returned and arrived in the capital with Zhenda. Emperor Shizu was delighted and treated him kindly and generously. In this year, [Emperor Shizu] conferred on Han Ba 韓拔 the titles Commissioner with a Warrant, General of Conquering the West, Concurrent Colonel Protecting the Western Rong 戎, and King of Shanshan, to defend Shanshan, levy its taxes, and work its people, as if it were a prefecture or county.[19]

[18] Here eleven characters, 其後（魏）遣使使西域道出其國, have been added, in conformity to the text in the "Xi Rong (xia)" 西戎下 of the "Si Yi (san)" 四夷三 section in *Tongzhi* 通志 (ch. 196).[2] The eleven characters should be a part of the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Beishi*, which was lost. The character "Wei" 魏 was added by Li Yanshou.

[19] The above was copied from the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Weishu*.

且末國，都且末城，在鄯善西，去代八千三百二十里。真君三年，鄯善王比龍避沮渠安周之難，率國人之半奔且末，後役屬鄯善。[20]且末西北方流沙數百里，夏日有熱風，爲行旅之患。風之所至，唯老駝預知之，卽嗔而聚立，埋其口鼻於沙中，人每以爲候，亦卽將氈擁蔽鼻口。其風迅駃，斯須過盡，若不防者，必至危斃。[21]

The state of Qiemo 且末: Its capital is located in the town of Qiemo to the west of Shanshan, and it is 8,320 *li* from Dai. In the third year of the [Taiping] Zhenjun reign-period, the king of Shanshan, Bilong, leading half of his people, fled to Qiemo to avoid the danger [posed by Juqu Anzhou]. Afterwards, this state was subject to Shanshan.[20] Northwest [of Qiemo] the Flowing Sands extend for several hundred *li*. On summer days there is a hot wind which is disastrous for travelers. Only the old camels know that the wind is about to strike: then, crying out and huddling together, they stand burying their mouths and noses in the sand. Whenever this happens, the men recognize it as a

sign, and take felt and press it over their noses and mouths to cover them. This wind is swift, but after a while it is completely calm. Still, those who do not take precautions are sure to come to grief and perish.[21]

[20] The above is copied from the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Weishu*. There are no independent sections on Qiemo in either the "Yiyu zhuan (xia)" of *Zhoushu* or the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Suishu*.

[21] The above is copied from the "Yiyu zhuan (xia)" of *Zhoushu*.

大統八年，其兄鄯善米率衆內附。[22]

In the eighth year of the Datong 大統 reign-period [542 CE], leading his people, the elder brother of the king [of Shanshan 鄯善], Shanshanmi 鄯善米, submitted to the imperial court.[22]

[22] This is copied from the "Yiyu zhuan (xia)" of *Zhoushu*.

于闐國，在且末西北，[23] 葱嶺之北二百餘里。[24] 東去鄯善千五百里，南去女國三千里，去朱俱波千里，北去龜兹千四百里，[25] 去代九千八百里。其地方亘千里，連山相次。[26] 所都城方八九里，部內有大城五，小城數十。[27] 于闐城東三十里有首拔河，中出玉石。土宜五穀幷桑、麻，山多美玉，有好馬、駝、騾。[28] 其刑法，殺人者死，餘罪各隨輕重懲罰之。自外風俗物産與龜兹略同。俗重佛法，寺塔、僧尼甚衆，王尤信尚，每設齋日，必親自灑掃饋食焉。[29] 城南五十里有贊摩寺，卽昔羅漢比丘盧旃爲其王造覆盆浮圖之所，石上有辟支佛跣處，雙跡猶存。[30] 于闐西五百里有比摩寺，云是老子化胡成佛之所。俗無禮義，多盜賊淫縱。[31] 自高昌以西諸國人等，深目高鼻，唯此一國，貌不甚胡，頗類華夏。[32] 城東二十里有大水北流，號樹枝水，卽黄河也，一名計式水。城西十五里亦有大水，名達利水，與樹枝水會，俱北流。[33]

The state of Yutian 于闐: It is located to the northwest of Qiemo[23], over 200 *li* north of the Cong 葱 Mountains.[24] It is 1,500 *li* from Shanshan 鄯善 to the east, 3,000 *li* from the state of Women to the south, 1,000 *li* from Zhujubo 朱俱波 to the west, 1,400 *li* from Qiuci to the north,[25] and 9,800 *li* from Dai. The country extends for 1,000 *li*, and

the chains of mountains (nearby) are continuous.[26] The town which is the seat of its king's government is eight or nine *li* square. Within its tribal lands there are five large towns and smaller ones which can be numbered in the tens.[27] There is the Shouba 首拔 River to the east of the town of Yutian which produces jadestone. The soil is suitable for the five grains, mulberry, and hemp. There is much fine jade in the mountains. There are excellent horses, camels, and donkeys.[28] Under its penal laws, a murderer is executed, and other criminals are punished according to the degree of their offences. Otherwise, its customs and products are similar to those of Qiuci. It is the custom to esteem the law of the Buddha, and there are great numbers of temples, *stūpas*, monks and nuns. The king is an especially devoted believer, and each time he establishes a day of fasting, he always personally performs the sprinkling of water, the ceremonial sweeping, and the offering of food.[29] Fifty *li* south of the [main] town is the Zanmo 贊摩 Temple, which is the spot where long ago an *arhat*, the *bhikṣu* Vairocana, constructed an "inverted alms bowl" *stūpa* for the king. On top of the stone, the two footprints of the Pratyekabuddha are still to be found.[30] West of Yutian at a distance of 500 *li* is the temple of Bimo 比摩 which is locally reputed to be the place where Lao Zi 老子 converted the Hu and became the Buddha. There is neither propriety nor righteousness, but many robbers and promiscuous deeds.[31] From Gaochang 高昌 west, the inhabitants of the various states mostly have deep-set eyes and high noses. Only in this one state are the people not so much like the Hu 胡 but resemble instead the Chinese.[32] Twenty *li* east of the town there is a great stream, which flows north and is called the Shuzhi 樹枝 River: this is the Yellow River, also known as the Jishi 計式 River. Fifteen *li* west of the town there is also a great stream, named the Dali 達利 River; it flows north with the Shuzhi.[33]

[23] The above is copied from the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Weishu*.

[24] Eight characters (葱嶺之北二百餘里) are copied from the "Yiyu zhuan (xia)" of *Zhoushu*. The locations of various states in *Zhoushu* are given with reference to mountains and rivers, unlike in *Weishu*, where locations are specified with reference to neighboring states.

[25] The above is copied from the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Suishu*. Not only are the texts identical; the place names, such as the state of Women and Zhujubo, are first seen in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Suishu*.

[26] The above, from 去代九千八百里 to 連山相次, is copied from the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Weishu*.

[27] The above, from 所都城 to 小城數十, is copied from the "Yiyu zhuan (xia)" of *Zhoushu*.

Not only are the two texts identical; the account in *Zhoushu* is characterized by its description of the sizes of the capitals of the various states.

[28] The above, from 于闐城東 to 有好馬、駝、騾, is copied from the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Weishu*. The two characters, Yutian 于闐, are probably added by Li Yanshou, to coordinate with text from the "Yiyu zhuan (xia)" of *Zhoushu* added in the following.

[29] The above, from 其刑法 to 必親自灑掃饋食焉, might be copied from the "Yiyu zhuan" of *Zhoushu*, since the two texts are identical.

[30] The above, from 城南 to 雙跡猶存, might be copied from the "Yiyu zhuan (xia)" of *Zhoushu*, since the two texts are identical, except that in place of "*xian*" 跣 the text in *Zhoushu* reads "*fu*" 趺.

[31] The above, from 于闐西 to 多盜賊、淫縱, is copied from the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Suishu*, the texts being identical. Although the "Xi Rong (xia)" 西戎下 of the "Si Yi (san)" 四夷三 in *Tongzhi* 通志 (ch. 196) attributes this to the report of the envoy from the state of Yutian in the Wei Dynasty (nine characters after 俗無 are missing), we cannot take it as evidence that this section is copied from the "Xiyu zhuan" in *Weishu*.

[32] The above, from 自高昌 to 頗類華夏, might be copied from the "Yiyu zhuan" of *Zhoushu*. The account on the Western Regions in the "Yiyu zhuan (xia)" of *Zhoushu* starts with Gaochang; hence the expression, "From Gaochang west..."

[33] The above, from 城東二十里 to 俱北流, is copied from the "Yiyu zhuan (xia)" of *Zhoushu*. Not only are the two texts almost identical (in place of Jishi 計式, the "Yiyu zhuan (xia)" of *Zhoushu* has Jishu 計戍), but the Shuzhi 樹枝 River is the Shouba 首拔 River in the previous text ("Ba" 拔 is an error for "zhi" 枝). The repetition here is a result of an oversight on the part of Li Yanshou.

真君中，太武詔高涼王那擊吐谷渾慕利延，慕利延懼，驅其部落渡流沙。那進軍急追之，慕利延遂西入于闐，殺其王，死者甚衆。獻文末，蠕蠕寇于闐，于闐患之，遣使素目伽上表曰："西方諸國，今皆已屬蠕蠕，奴世奉大國，至今無異。今蠕蠕軍馬到城下，奴聚兵自固，故遣使奉獻，遙望救援。"帝詔公卿議之。公卿奏曰："于闐去京師幾萬里，蠕蠕之性，唯習野掠，不能攻城，若爲害，當時已旋矣。雖欲遣師，勢無所及。"帝以公卿議示其使者，亦以爲然。於是詔之曰："朕承天理物，欲令萬方各安其所，應勑諸軍以拯汝難。但去汝遐阻，政復遣援，不救當時之急，是以停師不行，汝宜知之。朕今練甲養卒，一二歲間，當躬率猛將，爲汝除患，汝其謹警候，以待大舉。"[34]

During the [Taiping] Zhenjun reign-period Emperor Taiwu issued an edict ordering Na 那, the King of Gaoliang 高涼, to attack Muliyan 慕利延, the Khan of the Tuyuhun 吐谷渾. Muliyan was afraid and drove his tribes across the Flowing Sands. Na advanced and pursued him. Muliyan thus went west and entered the state of Yutian, killing its king. There were very large numbers of dead. At the end of the reign of Xianwen 獻文, the Ruru 蠕蠕 invaded Yutian. Yutian became worried and sent an envoy, Sumujia 素目伽, to present a memorial, saying, "All the states in the West have already become subject to the Ruru, but your vassal has esteemed the Great State for generations and has not changed to this day. Now the cavalry of the Ruru have reached our town gates, and your vassal has called up soldiers to defend ourselves. Now we have sent our envoy to present tribute, and we eagerly look forward to rescue". The emperor ordered his senior ministers to discuss the matter. The senior ministers presented a memorial to the emperor which stated: "Yutian is a distance of several tens of thousands of *li* from the capital. The nature of the Ruru is that they are used to robbing in the wilderness and are unable to attack towns. Once they encounter resistance, they should retreat. Even if we wanted to dispatch troops, it certainly would be too late". The emperor showed the memorial of the senior ministers to the envoy, who also considered it correct. Thereupon an imperial edict was issued, which stated: "We put everything on earth in order according to God's will, and we wish that each place has a role to play. It is proper to order the various troops to rescue you from disaster. However, because your state is at a remote distance, even if the reinforcements were sent, it would be difficult to help you in your most pressing need. Thus our troops have stopped and do not advance. You should know this. Now We will drill and build up the army, and We will personally lead valiant generals within one or two years to rid you of the danger. Be vigilant and wait to wage warfare on a large scale."[34]

[34] The above section is copied from the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Weishu*. For "Xianwen" 獻文, the text in *Weishu* reads "Xianzu" 顯祖.

先是，朝廷遣使者韓羊皮使波斯，波斯王遣使獻馴象及珍物。經于闐，于闐（中于）王秋仁輒留之，假言慮有寇不達。羊皮言狀，帝怒，又遣羊皮奉詔責讓之，自後每使朝貢。[35]

Before this, the imperial court had sent its envoy, Han Yangpi 韓羊皮, on a mission to Bosi 波斯. The king of Bosi sent envoys to present a trained elephant and rare goods. When [the envoys] went through the state of Yutian, the king of Yutian, Qiuren 秋仁, always detained them. The king lied and said that this was from concern that they would not arrive on account of the bandits. When [Han] Yangpi reported the case, the emperor was enraged and sent [Han] Yangpi back to upbraid him. From then on it often sent envoys to present tribute. [35]

[35] The above section is copied from the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Weishu*.

周建德三年，其王遣使獻名馬。[36]

In the third year of the Jiande 建德 reign-period [574 CE] of the Zhou dynasty, its king sent an envoy to present its renowned horses. [36]

[36] The above is copied from the "Yiyu zhuan (xia)" of *Zhoushu*. The character "Zhou" 周 was added by Li Yanshou. This also applies to the text following.

隋大業中，頻使朝貢。其王姓王，字早示門。練錦帽，金鼠冠，妻戴金花。其王髮不令人見，俗言若見王髮，其年必儉云。[37]

During the Daye reign-period of the Sui dynasty, it frequently sent envoys to present tribute. Its king is surnamed Wang 王, and styles himself Zaoshimen 早示門. He wears an embroidered cap and golden rodent crown; and his wife decorates her hair with gilt flowers. The king does not let people see his hair; they maintain that if his hair should be seen the harvest will be poor.[37]

[37] The section above is copied from the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Suishu*. In 隋大業中, the character 隋 was added by Li Yanshou. This also applies to the text following. For "Zaoshimen" 早示門, *Suishu* reads Bei Shibilian 卑示閉練.

蒲山國，故皮山國也。居皮城，在于闐南，去代一萬二千里。其國西南三

里，有凍淩山。後役屬于闐。[38]

The state of Pushan 蒲山: It was formerly the state of Pishan 皮山. Its king resides in the town of Pi 皮 to the south of Yutian, and it is 12,000 *li* from Dai. To the south of the state there is Dongling 凍淩 Mountain. In later times the state was subject to Yutian.[38]

[38] This section is copied from the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Weishu*.

悉居半國，故西夜國也，一名子合。其王號子，治呼犍。在于闐西，去代萬二千九百七十里。太延初，遣使來獻，自後貢使不絕。[39]

The state of Xijuban 悉居半: It was formerly the state of Xiye 西夜, and it has another name, Zihe 子合. Its king bears the title "Zi" 子. The seat of the king's government is located in [the valley of] Hujian 呼犍 to the west of Yutian, and it is 12,970 *li* from Dai. At the beginning of the Taiyan reign-period [435 CE], it sent envoys to pay tribute. From then on it has presented tribute continually.[39]

[39] The section above is copied from the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Weishu*.

權於摩國，故烏秅國也。其王居烏秅城，在悉居半西南，去代一萬二千九百七十里。[40]

The state of Quanyumo 權於摩: It was formerly the state of Wucha 烏秅.Its king resides in the town of Wucha to the southwest and it is 12,970 *li* from Dai.[40]

[40] The section above is copied from the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Weishu*.

渠莎國，居故莎車城，在子合西北，去代一萬二千九百八十里。[41]

The state of Qusuo 渠莎: Its king resides in the former town of Suoju 莎車 to the northwest of Zihe and it is 12,980 *li* from Dai.[41]

[41] The section above is copied from the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Weishu*.

車師國，一名前部。其王居交河城。去代萬五十里，其地北接蠕蠕。本通使交易，太武初，始遣使朝獻，詔行人王恩生、許綱等出使。恩生等始度流沙，爲蠕蠕所執。恩生見蠕蠕吳提，持魏節不爲之屈。後太武切讓吳提，吳提懼，乃遣恩生等歸。許綱到敦煌病死，朝廷壯其節，賜謚曰貞。[42]

The state of Jushi 車師: It is also named the Tribe of Nearer [Jushi]. Its king resides in the town of Jiaohe 交河 and it is 10,050 *li* from Dai 代. To the north the country adjoins the territory of the Ruru. It originally made contact [with Wei] by means of envoys and trade. At the beginning of the reign of Emperor Taiwu, [the state of Jushi] first came to the court to pay its respects. An imperial edict [ordered] the Messengers, Wang Ensheng 王恩生, Xu Gang 許綱, and others, to go on the mission. [Wang] Ensheng and the others first crossed the Flowing Sands and were captured by the Ruru. [Wang] Ensheng met Wuti 吳提, the Khan of the Ruru, but retained the Wei emblems of authority and did not surrender to him. Afterwards, Emperor Taiwu severely reproached Wuti. Wuti was afraid and thus sent [Wang] Ensheng and the others back. Xu Gang died of illness when he arrived in Dunhuang. The Imperial Court admired his integrity and granted him the posthumous title, Zhen 貞 ["faithful"].[42]

[42] The section above is copied from the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Weishu*.

初，沮渠無諱兄弟之渡流沙也，鳩集遺人，破車師國。真君十一年，車師王車夷落遣使琢進、薛直上書曰："臣亡父僻處塞外，仰慕天子威德，遣使奉獻，不空於歲。天子降念，賜遺甚厚。及臣繼立，亦不闕常貢，天子垂矜，亦不異前世。敢緣至恩，輒陳私懇。臣國自無諱所攻擊，經今八歲，人民飢荒，無以存活。賊今攻臣甚急，臣不能自全，遂捨國東奔，三分免一，即日已到焉耆東界。思歸天闕，幸垂賑救。"於是下詔撫慰之，開焉耆倉給之。正平初，遣子入侍，自後每使朝貢不絕。[43]

Initially, the brothers of Juqu Wuhui had crossed the Flowing Sands and gathered together those who remained behind to destroy the state of Jushi. In the eleventh year of

the Taiping Zhenjun reign-period [450 CE] the king of Jushi, Ju Yiluo 車夷落, sent the envoys, Zhuo Jin 琢進 and Xue Zhi 薛直, to present a memorial, which stated: "The deceased father of your vassal, who lived far beyond the frontier, had admired the power and virtue of the Son of Heaven, and sent envoys to present a memorial and tribute year after year. The Son of Heaven thought very highly of him, and bestowed upon him rich rewards. Since your vassal has succeeded (him as king), regular tribute has never been deficient. The Son of Heaven has showed sympathy to me as to the former generations. [Your vassal] ventures to state his difficulties relying on the extreme kindness of Your Majesty toward him. Since your vassal's state suffered from the attacks of [Juqu] Wuhui, eight years have gone by, and the people cannot survive because of famine. Now the traitor intensifies his attacks on your vassal. Your vassal has held out by himself, but subsequently gave up his state and fled to the east. A third [of his people] were able to escape and reach the eastern border of Yanqi 焉耆 that very day. They wish to return to the Heavenly palace. It would be very fortunate if Your Majesty brought relief to us." Thereupon, the Emperor issued an edict to conciliate them and opened up the granaries of Yanqi to provide them with food. At the beginning of the Zhengping 正平 reign-period [451 CE], [Ju Yiluo] sent his son to attend at the court. From then on, he often sent envoys to present tribute.[43]

[43] The section above is from the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Weishu*.

高昌者，車師前王之故地，[44] 漢之前部地也。東西二百里，南北五百里，四面多大山。或云：昔漢武遣兵西討，師旅頓弊，其中尤困者因住焉。[45] 地勢高敞，人庶昌盛，因名高昌。亦云：其地有漢時高昌壘，故以爲國號。[46] 東去長安四千九百里。漢西域長史及戊己校尉並居於此。晉以其地爲高昌郡。張軌、呂光、沮渠蒙遜據河西，皆置太守以統之。[47] 去敦煌十三日行。[48]

The state of Gaochang 高昌: It is located in the former lands of the king of Nearer Jushi,[44] and was located in the land of the tribe of Nearer [Jushi] in Han times. Its territory extends 200 *li* from east to west, and 500 *li* from south to north. The state is surrounded by many large mountains on four sides. It is said that, formerly, Emperor Wu 武 of the Han Dynasty dispatched forces on a westward expedition. When his army

was wearied, those who were the most exhausted settled there.[45] Its terrain is high and open, and its people are prosperous; therefore it is named Gaochang 高昌 ("high and prosperous"). It is also said that in the land there was the fortress of Gaochang in Han times, and then the name became the title of the state.[46] It is 4,900 *li* from Chang'an to the east. The Chief Official of the Western Regions, as well as the *Wuji* 戊己 Colonel both had their seats of government here in Han times. During the Jin 晉 dynasty, this land became the Gaochang Prefecture. When Zhang Gui 張軌, Lü Guang 呂光, and Juqu Mengxun 沮渠蒙遜 occupied Hexi 河西, they all established an administrator to control the region.[47] From there one reaches Dunhuang 敦煌 after some thirteen days' journey.[48]

[44] This sentence is copied from the "Yiyu zhuan (xia)" of *Zhoushu*.

[45] The above, from 漢之前部地也 to 其中尤困者因住焉, is copied from the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Suishu*.

[46] The section from 地勢高敞 to 故以爲國號 might be copied from the "Gaochang zhuan" 高昌傳 in *Weishu*. The text states that the name of the state of Gaochang derives from the fortress of Gaochang, which is accurate.

[47] The above, from 東去長安四千九百里 to 皆置太守以統之, is copied from the "Yiyu zhuan (xia)" of *Zhoushu*.

[48] This sentence is from the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Suishu*.

國有八城，皆有華人。[49]地多石磧，氣候溫暖，[50]厥土良沃，穀麥一歲再熟，[51]宜蠶，多五果，又饒漆。有草名羊刺，其上生蜜，而味甚佳。引水溉田。[52]出赤鹽，其味甚美。復有白鹽，其形如玉，[53]高昌人取以爲枕，貢之中國。[54]多蒲桃酒。俗事天神，兼信佛法。國中羊、馬，牧在隱僻處以避寇，非貴人不知其處。北有赤石山，山北七十里有貪汗山，夏有積雪。此山北，鐵勒界也。[55]

There are eight towns in the state, in all of which dwell the Hua 華 people (Chinese).[49] This land abounds in rocks and boulders, but the climate is genially warm and the soil is fertile[50], so that the cereals ripen twice annually.[51] It is suitable for the silkworm, and there is an abundance of the five fruits, as well as the lac tree. They have a plant called "sheep thorn", the top of which produces honey, which has a fine taste. The

people channel water to irrigate the fields.[52] The land produces red salt, which has a wonderful taste, as well as white salt, which is shaped like jade[53] and is used to make pillows, which are presented to the Middle Kingdom.[54] There is an abundance of wine made from grapes. It is their custom to serve the "Heavenly God(s)", but they also concurrently believe in the law of the Buddha. In the state sheep and horses are herded in covert and secluded places in order to keep them away from robbers, and only their nobles know these places. To the north [of the state] is Chishi 赤石 Mountain; seventy *li* north of this mountain is Tanhan 貪汗 Mountain, which is covered with snow [even] in summer. North of this mountain is the Tiele 鐵勒 frontier.[55]

[49] The above, 國有八城，皆有華人, is not seen in either the "Yiyu zhuan (xia)" of *Zhoushu* or the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Suishu*. Moreover, the term "Huaren" 華人 is not seen in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Weishu*. Thus, it could have been added by Li Yanshou. However, with reference to the statement in the subsequent text, "In Zhou times, there were sixteen towns in the state, and afterwards the towns are eighteen in Sui times", the "eight towns" here may have been copied from the account on Gaochang in *Weishu*.

[50] The above, 地多石磧，氣候溫暖, is copied from the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Suishu*.

[51] The above, 厥土良沃，穀麥一歲再熟, might have been copied from the account on Gaochang in *Weishu*.

[52] The section from 宜蠶 to 引水溉田 is copied from the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Suishu*, with the exception of 饒漆 and 引水溉田, which might have been copied from the account on Gaochang in *Weishu*.

[53] The section from 出赤鹽 to 其形如玉 is copied from the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Suishu*.

[54] "White salt, which is shaped like jade and is used to make pillows, which are presented to the Middle Kingdom": This might have been added by Li Yanshou on the basis of the presentation of pillows made of salt by Qu Jia in the account on Gaochang in *Weishu*.

[55] The section from 多蒲桃酒 to 鐵勒界也 might have been copied from the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Suishu*.

太武時有闞爽者，自爲高昌太守。太延中，遣散騎侍郎王恩生等使高昌，[56]爲蠕蠕所執。真君中，爽爲沮渠無諱所襲，奪據之。無諱死，弟安周代立。[57]和平元年，爲蠕蠕所幷，蠕蠕以闞伯周爲高昌王。[58]其稱王自此始也。[59]

In the reign of Emperor Taiwu there was a man named Han Shuang 闞爽 who established himself as the administrator. During the Taiyan 太延 reign-period, the emperor sent the Gentleman Cavalier Attendant Wang Ensheng 王恩生 and others on a mission to Gaochang,[56] but they were captured by the Ruru 蠕蠕. During the [Taiping] Zhenjun [太平] 真君 reign-period, [Han] Shuang was unexpectedly attacked by [Juqu] Wuhui [沮渠] 無諱, who occupied Gaochang. When [Juqu] Wuhui died, his younger brother [Juqu] Anzhou [沮渠] 安周 succeeded him.[57] In the first year of the Heping 和平 reign-period Gaochang was annexed by the Ruru. The Ruru established Han Bozhou 闞伯周 as the king of Gaochang.[58] This event inaugurated the title of the king of Gaochang.[59]

[56] The missions of Wang Ensheng and others to Gaochang: Gaochang was under the control of the Ruru at that time, and had never paid tribute. Therefore, it seems unlikely that the destination of the first mission of the Northern Wei was Gaochang. Since Wang was commissioned after Yanqi 焉耆 and Jushi had presented tribute in the second month of the same year, their destination, it seems, should have been Yanqi and Jushi.

[57] "Xi Juan zhuan" 奚眷傳 of *Weishu* records: "Emperor Shizu occupied Guzang, and sent [Xi] Juan on a punitive expedition against Juqu Mujian's 沮渠牧犍 younger brother, [Juqu] Yide 宜得, who had proclaimed himself the Administrator of Zhangye 張掖. [Juqu] Yide fled to Jiuquan 酒泉. The Administrator of Jiuquan, [Juqu] Wuhui 無諱 , together with [Juqu] Yide, then fled to Gaochang. [Xi Juan thus] captured the two towns". "Juqu Mengxun zhuan" 沮渠蒙遜傳 in *Weishu* records: "Prior to this, the Administrator of Gaochang, Han Shuang 闞爽, was attacked by Tang Qi 唐契, the younger brother of Li Bao's 李寶 mother. Hearing that [Juqu] Wuhui had arrived at Shanshan, [Han Shuang] sent an envoy [to Juqu Wuhui], pretending to surrender; he wanted to have [Juqu] Wuhui and Tang Qi fight against each other. Leaving behind [Juqu] Anzhou to defend Shanshan, [Juqu] Wuhui made haste to Gaochang from the northeast of Yanqi. It happened that the Ruru 蠕蠕 had killed Tang Qi, and [Han] Shuang then refused to give in to [Juqu] Wuhui. Wei Xingnu 衛興奴, a general of [Juqu] Wuhui, beguiled [Han] Shuang and massacred the inhabitants of his town. With [Han] Shuang fleeing to the Ruru, [Juqu] Wuhui remained at Gaochang". "Prior to this" here refers to the time before Juqu Wuhui abandoned Dunhuang 敦煌 and fled to Shanshan in the fourth month of the third year of the Taiping Zhenjun 太平真君 reign-period (442 CE). According to the "Da Juqu Mengxun zhuan" 大且渠蒙遜傳 in *Songshu* 宋書: "Previously, Tang Qi had fled to Yiwu 伊吾 from Jinchang 晉昌. In

that year he attacked Gaochang. The lord of the town of Gaochang, Han Shuang, found himself in a dire situation, and sent urgent messages to the Juqus for help. In the eighth month, leaving behind his nephew, [Juqu] Fengzhou 豐周, to defend Shanshan, [Juqu] Wuhui, with his households, made haste [to Gaochang] in person. Prior to his arrival, the Ruirui 芮芮 had sent troops to the aid of Gaochang and killed Tang Qi, whose personal troops had fled to [Juqu] Wuhui. In the ninth month, [Juqu] Wuhui sent his general, Wei Liao 衛寮, to raid Gaochang at night. [Han] Shuang fled to the Ruirui, and [Juqu] Wuhui again occupied Gaochang". From this, we see that Juqu Wuhui departed from Shanshan in the eighth month of the third year of the Taiping Zhenjun reign-period (442 CE), and occupied Gaochang in the ninth month. *Songshu* states that Wuhui left behind Juqu Fengzhou to defend Shanshan, which is different from the record in *Weishu*, according to which the one left behind was Juqu Anzhou. However, the record of *Songshu* is correct because, according to the "Tang He zhuan" 唐和傳 of *Weishu*, after the death of Tang Qi, Tang He fled to the tribe of Nearer Jushi, and then captured the town of Hengjie 橫截, where Juqu Anzhou was stationed. From this, one can see that Juqu Wuhui went to Gaochang along with Juqu Anzhou, and the man who stayed to take care of Shanshan was Juqu Fengzhou.[3]

[58] According to "Songji" 宋紀 in *Zizhi tongjian* 資治通鑒 (ch. 129): In the first year of the Heping reign-period (460), "the Rouran 柔然 attacked Gaochang, killing Juqu Anzhou and destroying the Juqu family, and installed Han Bozhou 闞伯周 as the king of Gaochang". Thus the relationship between the remaining forces of the Juqu family and the Western Regions also came to an end. "The Ruru established Han Bozhou as the king of Gaochang. This event inaugurated the title of the king of Gaochang": The "Yiyu zhuan (xia)" in *Zhoushu* has a similar text; the possibility cannot be ruled out that this account followed the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Weishu*.

[59] This section is copied from the "Gaochang zhuan" of *Weishu*.

太和初，伯周死，子義成立。歲餘，爲從兄首歸所殺，自立爲高昌王。[60] 五年，高車王阿至羅殺首歸兄弟，以敦煌人張孟明爲王。[61] 後爲國人所殺，立馬儒爲王，以鞏顧禮、麴嘉爲左右長史。[62] 二十一年，遣司馬王體玄奉表朝貢，請師逆接，求舉國內徙。[63] 孝文納之，遣明威將軍韓安保率騎千餘赴之，割伊吾五百里，以儒居之。[64] 至羊榛水 [65]，儒遣嘉、禮率步騎一千五百迎安保。去高昌四百里而安保不至。禮等還高昌，安保亦還伊吾。安保遣使韓興安等十二人使高昌，儒復遣顧禮將其世子義舒迎安保。至白棘城 [66]，去高昌百六十里。而高昌舊人情戀本土，不願東遷，相與殺儒而立麴嘉爲王。[67]

At the beginning of the Taihe 太和 reign-period, [Han] Bozhou died, and his son Yicheng 義成 ascended the throne. More than a year later, Yicheng was killed by his elder male cousin Shougui 首歸, who established himself as the king of Gaochang.[60] In the fifth year [of the Taihe reign-period], the king of the Gaoche 高車, Afuzhiluo 阿伏至羅, killed Shougui's brothers and made a Dunhuang 敦煌 man named Zhang Mengming 張孟明 the king [of Gaochang].[61] Later [Zhang Mengming] was killed by the countrymen, and Ma Ru 馬儒 was established as king. [Ma Ru] conferred on Gong Guli 鞏顧禮 and Qu Jia 麴嘉 the titles Chief Official of the Left and Chief Official of the Right.[62] In the twenty-first year [of the Taihe] reign-period [497 CE], he sent Wang Tixuan 王體玄, the Major, with a memorial, to pay tribute, to request to be allowed to move their whole nation toward the center[63] and to supplicate the [Wei court] to send troops to meet them. Emperor Xiaowen 孝文 accepted their request and sent the Mingwei 明威 General, Han Anbao 韓安保, to lead over 1,000 cavalry to go to them and contemplated ceding 500 *li* of the land of Yiwu 伊吾 to have Ma Ru live there.[64] When [Han] Anbao reached the Yangzhen 羊榛 River[65], Ma Ru sent infantry and cavalry of 1,500 men to meet him, but [Han] Anbao still had not arrived by the time they had traveled 400 *li* from Gaochang. [Gong Gu]li and others returned to Gaochang, and [Han] Anbao also returned to Yiwu. [Han] Anbao sent twelve envoys, including Han Xing'an 韓興安 and others, to Gaochang. Ma Ru also sent [Gong] Guli with his prince, Yishu 義舒, to meet [Han] Anbao. They reached the town of Baiji 白棘[66], which was 160 *li* from Gaochang, but the former people of Gaochang were reluctant to leave their former lands to relocate to the east, and together they killed Ma Ru and established Qu Jia 麴嘉 as king.[67]

[60] It is beyond question that the Han 闞 regime was more reliant on the Rouran 柔然. Both Yicheng and Shougui used the reign title of "Yongkang" 永康, which was the reign title of Yucheng 予成, the Khan of the Ruru. The fragment unearthed in Turfan, dated the seventeenth year of the Yongkang 永康 reign-period (482 CE), can serve as evidence.[4]

[61] In the eleventh year of the Taihe 太和 reign-period (487 CE), the tribe of Fufuluo 副伏羅 of the Gaoche 高車, originally subject to the Ruru, migrated west from the north of the Gobi desert and occupied Dzungaria and the surrounding area. In the fifteenth year of the Taihe reign-period (491 CE), the tribe took control of Gaochang, killed Han Shougui, and established Zhang Mengming, who was

from Dunhuang, as king.[5] "Azhiluo" 阿至羅 is an abbreviation of "Afuzhiluo" 阿伏至羅, and the "fifth year" is an error for the "fifteenth year" (491 CE).

[62] In the twentieth year of the Taihe reign-period (496 CE), Zhang Mengming was killed by the natives of Gaochang, and Ma Ru was installed in his place as king.[6]

[63] According to the "Gaozu ji" 高祖紀 in *Weishu*, in the twelfth month of the twenty-first year of the Taihe reign-period (497), "the state of Gaochang sent an envoy to present tribute".

[64] The Northern Wei planned to cede 500 *li* of the land of Yiwu for Ma Ru to reside when he entreated to be allowed to move all his people towards the center. This shows that Yiwu was controlled by the Northern Wei at that time. If Yiwu could be retained, then the Northern Wei could cut off Ruru's route to the Western Regions in one direction and defend Dunhuang in the other. This is the reason why Emperor Gaozu 高祖 wanted to put the people of Gaochang who moved towards the center in the land of Yiwu. Yiwu was in the vicinity of present-day Hami 哈密.

[65] The Yangzhen 羊榛 River is located southeast of present-day Hami.[7]

[66] The town of Baiji was located in present-day Shanshan County, Xinjiang.

[67] This section is copied from the "Gaochang zhuan" of *Weishu*. For "Xiaowen" 孝文, the *Weishu* text reads Gaozu 高祖.

嘉字靈鳳，金城楡中[68]人。旣立[69]，又臣于蠕蠕那蓋[70]。顧禮與義舒隨安保至洛陽。及蠕蠕主伏圖[71]爲高車[72]所殺，嘉又臣高車。初，前部胡人悉爲高車所徙，入於焉耆，[焉耆]又爲嚈噠[73]所破滅，國人分散，衆不自立，請王於嘉。嘉遣第二子爲焉耆王以主之。[74]永平元年，嘉遣兄子私署左衛將軍、田地太守孝亮朝京師，仍求內徙，乞軍迎援。於是遣龍驤將軍孟威發涼州兵三千人迎之，至伊吾，失期而反。[75]於後十餘遣使獻珠像、白黑貂裘、名馬、鹽枕[76]等，款誠備至。唯賜優旨，卒不重迎。三年，嘉遣使朝貢，宣武又遣孟威使詔勞之。延昌中，以嘉爲持節、平西將軍、瓜州刺史、泰臨縣開國伯，私署王如故。熙平初，遣使朝獻。[77]詔曰："卿地隔關山，境接荒漠，頻請朝援，徙國內遷。雖來誠可嘉，卽於理未帖。何者？彼之甿庶，是漢、魏遺黎，自晉不綱，因難播越，成家立國，世積已久。惡徙重遷，人懷戀舊。今若動之，恐異同之變，爰在肘腋，不得便如來表也。"神龜元年冬，孝亮復表求援內徙，朝廷不許。[78]正光元年，明帝遣假員外將軍趙義等使於嘉。嘉朝貢不絕，又遣使奉表，自以邊遐，不習典誥。求借五經、諸史，并請國子助教劉燮以爲博士，明帝許之。[79]嘉死，贈鎮西將軍、涼州刺史。[80]

[Qu] Jia, who styled himself Lingfeng 靈鳳, came from Yuzhong 榆中 in Jincheng 金城.[68] After having been elevated to the throne[69], he also acknowledged allegiance to the Khan of the Ruru, Nagai 那蓋[70]. [Gong] Guli and Yishu, following Anbao, reached Luoyang 洛陽. When the master of the Ruru, Futu 伏圖[71], was killed by the Gaoche[72], [Qu] Jia also became a subject of the Gaoche. Originally the Hu 胡 people in the tribe of Nearer [Jushi] were all removed by the Gaoche to Yanqi 焉耆, which was also destroyed by the Yeda 嚈噠 (Hephthalites)[73], and its countrymen dispersed. The masses were unable to stand on their own, so they asked [Qu] Jia for a king; [Qu] Jia sent his second son to be king of Yanqi to rule them.[74] In the first year of the Yongping 永平 reign-period, [Qu] Jia sent the son of his elder brother, Xiaoliang 孝亮, on whom was conferred the titles General of the Guards of the Left in Private, and Administrator of Tiandi 田地, to pay his respects at court in the capital, and still begged leave to move inwards, supplicating the [Wei court] to send troops to meet and help him. Thereupon, [the Emperor] sent the General of the Dragon Cavalry, Meng Wei 孟威, to call up troops of 3,000 men of Liang 涼 Province to meet them. They reached Yiwu, but returned because they missed the appointed date.[75] After this, Qu Jia sent envoys more than ten times, presenting pearls, elephants, white and black ermine, fine horses, [whistling] salt pillows[76], and other things, paying high fealty to court, but [the emperor] gave them only the edict of preferential treatment, and did not send troops to meet them in the end. When, in the third year of the Yongping reign-period [510 CE], [Qu] Jia sent envoys to pay his respects at the court, Emperor Xuanwu 宣武 sent Meng Wei on a mission to read out the edict in recognition of their services. During the Yanchang 延昌 reign-period [512-515 CE], [the emperor] conferred on [Qu] Jia the titles of Commissioner with Special Powers, General Pacifying the West, Governor of Gua 瓜 Province, and Earl of Kaiguo 開國 [Founder of the Dynasty] of Tailin 泰臨 County. [Qu Jia] referred to himself as the King [of Gaochang] in private as before. At the beginning of the Xiping 熙平 reign-period [516 CE], [Qu Jia] sent envoys to the court.[77] An imperial edict was issued: "Your land is separated by mountains and passes, and the border is close to deserts, but you frequently begged leave to pay respects at the court and for us to send troops to help your whole nation to move towards the center. Although your sincerity in attaching yourself is worthy of praise, it is not fit and proper according to reason. Why? The people there are the survivors of the Han and

Wei dynasties. Since the Jin 晉 Dynasty has became lax about rules, they have been forced to leave home and wander about in suffering. They have married and established states there for generations, and therefore they are all weary of migrations and yearn for the past. Now, if you remove them, dissent would come from those closest to you. Therefore, it is not proper to act in accordance with the petition in your memorial." In the winter of the first year of the Shengui 神龜 reign-period [518 CE], Xiaoliang also presented a memorial begging for help to move inwards, but the imperial court did not allow it.[78] In the first year of the Zhengguang 正光 reign-period [522 CE], Emperor Ming 明 sent the Acting Supernumerary General, Zhao Yi 趙義, on a mission to [Qu] Jia. [Qu] Jia continuously presented tribute, and also sent envoys to present a memorial, saying there was no one among his people who studied ancient codes and records because they were on the remote borders. So they begged to borrow *The Five Classics* and various historical books, and wished to invite the tutor of the Imperial Academy, Liu Xie 劉爕 , to serve as Erudite. Emperor Ming granted the request.[79] When he died, [Qu] Jia was posthumously given the titles of General Governing the West and Governor of Liang Province.[80]

[68] "[Qu] Jia, who styled himself Lingfeng, came from Yuzhong in Jincheng": This is copied from the "Gaochang zhuan" of *Weishu*. The "Yiyu zhuan (xia)" of *Zhoushu* has a similar text, indicating that it could also have derived from the "Gaochang zhuan" of *Weishu*.

[69] It is generally believed that Qu Jia became king in 501.

[70] Nagai was the Khan of the Ruru, who reigned from 492 to 506. His title was Khan Houfuqifudaikuzhe 候其伏代庫者.

[71] Futu is the Khan of the Ruru, who reigned from 506 to 508. His title was Khan Tahan 他汗.

[72] Gaoche 高車 is first seen in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Weishu*.

[73] The Yeda 嚈噠 were a nomadic tribe, first seen in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Weishu*. Preceding the characters 又爲, Yanqi 焉耆 should be added in conformity to the text of the current edition of the "Gaochang zhuan" of *Weishu*.

[74] The exact date of the destruction of Yanqi by the Yeda cannot be ascertained. According to the "Shizong ji" 世宗紀 in *Weishu*, among the states that came to pay tribute in the third year of the Jingming reign-period (502) was the state of Wuji 烏稽. "Wuji" should be "Yanqi" 焉耆. The killing of Qiongqi 窮奇 and the establishment of Mietu 彌俄突 as the lord of Gaoche mentioned

above should have occurred in the first five or six years in the sixth century. With Yanqi destroyed, the various states to its west would undoubtedly be subject to the Yeda. There is a similar record in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Suishu*, which should be an abbreviated version of the "Gaochang zhuan" of *Weishu*.

[75] According to the "Shizong ji" in *Weishu*, "In this year [i.e., the first year of the Yongping 永平 reign-period, or 508 CE], the king of Gaochang, Qu Jia, sent the son of his elder brother, Xiaoliang 孝亮, who assumed the title of the General of the Guards of the Left without proper authorization, to submit a memorial to the court, begging that the state be allowed to relocate towards the center of the empire and asking the emperor to send troops to meet them". For "Yongping", the current edition of the "Gaochang zhuan" of *Weishu* reads "Xiping" 熙平, which is not accurate.

[76] The salt pillow was probably a plaster pillow.[8]

[77] According to the "Suzong ji" 肅宗紀 in *Weishu*, in the first year of the Xiping 熙平 reign-period (516), the state of Gaochang sent two missions to the Wei court, on the day *wuxu* 戊戌 in the fourth month and on the day *yiyou* 乙酉 in the seventh month. We do not know to which mission the edict was issued.

[78] According to the "Suzong ji" in *Weishu*, the event occurred in the fifth month of the first year of the Shengui 神龜 reign-period. Ma Ru was killed by "the old populace of Ganchang" because he wanted to move inwards with all his people. This fact seems to show that the group headed by Ma Ru (or "the new populace of Gaochang") wanted to rely on the Northern Wei so as to keep its grip on power and weaken the influence of "the old populace of Gaochang" by the migration of the whole state. After the murder of Ma Ru, "the old populace of Gaochang" supported and enthroned Qu Jia, who was originally Ma Ru's Chief Official of the Right, indicating that Qu Jia could be accepted by both Ma Ru's group and "the old populace of Gaochang". After his rise to power, Qu Jia, contrary to their wishes, submitted memorials to beg help in moving towards the center on a number of occasions, which shows that he depended very much on "the new populace", and believed, like Ma Ru, that the only way to keep his power was to place himself further under the protection of the Northern Wei. The Northern Wei was at first receptive to Gaochang's move, mainly because a facade of peace and stability could be maintained by the event. Later it issued an edict calling for caution when it gradually realized that the plan was irrational and, eventually, rejected it. The call for the entire population to move towards the center finally fell to oblivion as Qu's group consolidated its grip on power step by step.

[79] According to the "Suzong ji" 肅宗紀 in *Weishu*, on the day *jisi* 己巳 in the sixth month and on the day *yiwei* 乙未 in the eleventh month of the second year of the Zhengguang 正光 reign-period

(521), the state of Gaochang sent envoys to present tribute. We do not know on which occasion it "begged to borrow *The Five Classics*".

[80] This section is copied from the "Gaochang zhuan" of *Weishu*. For Emperor "Xuanwu" 宣武 and Emperor "Ming" 明, the text in *Weishu* reads "Shizong" 世宗 and "Suzong" 肅宗 respectively. This applies to the subsequent text.

子堅立。於後關中賊亂，使命遂絕。[81]普泰初，堅遣使朝貢，[82]除平西將軍、瓜州刺史，泰臨縣伯，王如故。又加衞將軍。至永熙中，特除儀同三司，進爲郡公。[83]後遂隔絕。[84]

His son, Jian 堅, succeeded him. Afterwards, there were rebellions in Guanzhong 關中 [central Shanxi 陝西 plain], and the missions were thus cut off.[81] At the beginning of the Putai 普泰 reign-period [531 CE], [Qu] Jian sent envoys to present tribute,[82] and was given the titles of the General Who Pacifies the West, Governor of Gua 瓜 Province, and Earl of Tailin 泰臨 County. As before, he was King [of Gaochang] and the title of General of the Guards was also conferred upon him. In the middle of the Yongxi 永熙 reign-period [532-534 CE], [Qu Jian] was especially given the title of Unequaled in Honor, and was promoted to Prefectural Duke.[83] After this, [both sides] were completely cut off.[84]

[81] The other instances of Gaochang presenting tribute to Wei according to the basic annals and the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Weishu* are as follows: On the day *jimao* 己卯 in the twelfth month of the twenty-first year of the Taihe 太和 reign-period (497), according to the "Gaozu ji (xia)"; in the first year of the Yongping 永平 reign-period (508); on the day *yiwei* 乙未 in the first month, in the sixth month, and on the day *wushen* 戊申 in the eighth month of the second year of the Yongping reign-period (509); on the day *bingwu* 丙午 in the second month of the third year of the Yongping reign-period (510); in the tenth month of the first year of the Yanchang 延昌 reign-period (512); on the day *bingyin* 丙寅 in the third month of the second year of the Yanchang 延昌 reign-period (513), according to the "Shizong ji" 世宗紀; on the day *gengshen* 庚申 in the ninth month of the fourth year of the Yanchang 延昌 reign-period (515); on the day *wuxu* 戊戌 in the fourth month, on the day *yiyou* 乙酉 in the seventh month of the first year of the Xiping 熙平 reign-period (516), in the fifth month and the in the winter of the fifth year of the Shengui 神龜 reign-period (518); on the day *jisi* 己巳 in the sixth month, and on the day *yiwei* 乙未 in the eleventh month of the Zhengguang 正光 reign-period (521), according

to the "Suzong ji" 肅宗紀; and, on the day *bingchen* 丙辰 in the ninth month of the first year of the Taichang 太昌 reign-period (532), according to the "Chudi ji" 出帝紀.

[82] "At the beginning of the Putai reign-period (531 CE), [Qu] Jian sent envoys to present tribute": This does not appear in the "Xiyu zhuan" or basic annals of *Weishu*. After Qu Jia's death, the successor was Qu Guang 光, not Qu Jian. Qu Jian ascended the throne in the first year of the Putai reign-period (531), so he sent envoys to present tribute to Wei.

[83] According to the "Chudi ji" in *Weishu*, in the second year of the Yongxi 永熙 reign-period (533), on the day *guiwei* 癸未 in the tenth month, the General of the Guards, Governor of Gua 瓜 Province, Earl of Kaiguo 開國 ["Founder of the Dynasty"] of the Tailin 泰臨 County, King of Gaochang, Qu Zijian, was invested with the title of Unequalled in Honor, and promoted to the rank of Prefectural King (*Junwang* 郡王; or king, second class)". Here "Prefectural King" should be an error for "Prefectural Duke (*Jungong* 郡公)". Qu Zijian's official titles and positions, according to the "Gaochang zhuan" in *Liangshu* 梁書, are the Commissioner with Extraordinary Powers, Cavalry Supreme General, Cavalier Attendant-in-Ordinary, Commander-in-Chief and Governor of Gua Province, Duke of Kaiguo [Founder of the Dynasty] of Hexi 河西 Prefecture, Unequaled in Honor, and King of Gaochang; according to the "Xiyu zhuguo zhuan" 西域諸國傳 of *Nanshi* 南史, the Commissioner with Extraordinary Powers, Cavalry Supreme General, Cavalier Attendant-in-Ordinary, Commander-in-Chief and Governor of Gua Province, Duke of Xiping 西平 Prefecture, Unequaled in Honor, and King of Gaochang.

[84] This section is copied from the "Gaochang zhuan" of *Weishu*.

至大統十四年，詔以其世子玄嘉爲王。恭帝二年，又以其田地公茂嗣位。武成元年，其王遣使獻方物。保定初，又遣使來貢。[85]

By the fourteenth year of the Datong 大統 reign-period, an edict was issued, establishing his prince Xuanjia 玄嘉 as king. In the second year of the reign of Emperor Gong 恭, the emperor also ordered Duke of Tiandi 田地, Mao 茂, to succeed the throne. In the first year of the reign of the Wucheng 武成 reign-period its king sent an envoy to present its local products. At the beginning of the Baoding 保定 reign-period, it also sent an envoy to present tribute.[85]

[85] This section is copied from the "Yiyu zhuan (xia)" of *Zhoushu*.

其國，周時，城有一十六。[86] 後至隋時，城有十八。其都城周回一千八百四十步，於坐室畫魯哀公問政於孔子之像。[87] 官有令尹一人，比中夏相國；次有公二人，皆王子也，一爲交河公，一爲田地公；次有左右衛；次有八長史，曰吏部、祠部、庫部、倉部、主客、禮部、戶部、兵部等長史也；次有五將軍，曰建武、威遠、陵江、殿中、伏波等將軍也；次有八司馬，長史之副也；次有侍郎、校郎、主簿、從事，階位相次，分掌諸事。次有省事，專掌導引。其大事決之於王，小事則世子及二公隨狀斷決。評章錄記，事訖卽除，籍書之外，無久掌文案。官人雖有列位，並無曹府，唯每早集於牙門，評議衆事。諸城各有戶曹、水曹、田曹。城遣司馬、侍郎相監檢校，名爲［城］令。[88] 服飾，丈夫從胡法，[89] 婦人裙襦，頭上作髻。其風俗政令，與華夏略同。[90] 兵器有弓、箭、刀、楯、甲、矟。文字亦同華夏，兼用胡書。有《毛詩》、《論語》、《孝經》，置學官弟子，以相教授。雖習讀之，而皆爲胡語。賦稅則計田輸銀錢，無者輸麻布。其刑法、風俗、昏姻、喪葬與華夏小異而大同。[91] 自敦煌向其國，多沙磧，茫然無有蹊徑，欲往者，尋其人畜骸骨而去。路中或聞歌哭聲，行人尋之，多致亡失，蓋魑魅魍魎也。故商客往來，多取伊吾路。[92]

In Zhou 周 times, there were sixteen towns in the state,[86] and later in Sui 隋 times the towns numbered eighteen. His capital measures 1,840 paces in circumference. In his parlor is a painting of Duke Ai 哀 of Lu 魯 inquiring about government from Confucius.[87] For officials, there is one Prime Minister, who is comparable to the Chancellor of State in China. Next there are two Dukes, both of whom are sons of the king. One is the Duke of Jiaohe 交河, the other the Duke of Tiandi 田地. Below them there are the Protectors of the Left and Right. Next there are eight Chief Officials, namely, the Chief Official of the Board of Personnel, of the Board of Sacrifice, of the Board of the Treasury, of the Board of Granaries, of the Board of Entertainment for Guests, of the Board of Rites, of the Board of the Populace, and of the Board of War. Below them there are Generals [entitled] "Jianwu" 建武 (Establisher of Martial Spirit), "Weiyuan" 威遠 (Terror of the Remote), "Lingjiang" 陵江 (Subjugator of Rivers), "Dianzhong" 殿中 (Palace Chamberlain), and "Fubo" 伏波 (Pacifier of the Billows). Then there are eight Majors, who are assistants to the Senior Officials. Below them there are the Gentleman in Attendance, Examiner (Editor), Archivist, and Attendant Official. Their ranks are in the sequence named, and they divide their duties between them. Next there are Ushers,

who merely act as guides. Its great matters are decided by the king. In small matters, the heir apparent and the two dukes make the decisions, according to the circumstances. As far as statute records and archives are concerned, once a matter is settled, no permanent control is kept over the dossiers, except in the case of the census registers. Although the functionaries hold positions of rank, they do not have official residences in which to transact business, but simply gather each dawn at the palace gate to deliberate upon multifarious matters. Each of the towns has an Office of Population, an Office of Irrigation, and an Office of Cultivated Land, and to every town are dispatched a Major and a Gentleman in Attendance, who examine them in turn and censor their activities. These are named the Municipal Supervisors.[88] In their raiment and adornment, the men conform to the Hu style,[89] the women wear skirts and short jackets. Their customs and government decrees are similar to those of Huaxia 華夏 (China).[90] For military equipment, they have bows and arrows, swords, shields and armor, and halberds. For written characters, although they do have the same script as is used in Huaxia 華夏 (China), they simultaneously use Hu script. They possess the *Odes of Mao*, *The Analects*, and the *Classic of Filial Piety*, and have established Educational Functionaries with disciples to provide for the study of and instruction in these, but although they learn to read the texts, they still translate them all into the Hu 胡 language. The military and civil administrative taxes are reckoned for remission in silver coins. Those without silver coins remit hempen fabric. Their penal laws, folk customs, wedlock, and funerals differ in some slight respects from those in Huaxia (China), but in the main they are identical.[91] There is an abundance of sand and rocks blown from Dunhuang 燉煌 to that state; one looks around, feeling at a loss, and there is no way to be seen. Those who wish to cross it must follow [the trail formed by] the skeletons of men and animals. On this road one sometimes hears the sounds of singing or crying, but travelers who search for the source end up lost. These are the doings of goblins and demons; therefore the traveling merchants who come and go all take the Yiwu 伊吾 road.[92]

[86] The above is copied from the "Yiyu zhuan (xia)" of *Zhoushu*.

[87] The above is copied from the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Suishu*.

[88] The section from "For officials, there is one Prime Minister" to "These are named the Municipal Supervisors" is copied from the "Yiyu zhuan (xia)" of *Zhoushu*. The current edition of

the "Yiyu zhuan (xia)" of *Zhoushu* replaces "*Xiaolang*" 校郎 with "*Jiaoshu lang*" 校書郎, which is incorrect.[9] For 名爲令, the character "*cheng*" 城 can be added in conformity to the text of the "Yiyu zhuan (xia)" of *Zhoushu*.

[89] "In their raiment and adornment, the men conform to the Hu style": This is from the "Yiyu zhuan (xia)" of *Zhoushu*.

[90] "The women wear skirts and short jackets" and the sentence after this are from the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Suishu*.

[91] The part from "For military equipment" to "but in the main they are identical" is from the "Yiyu zhuan (xia)" of *Zhoushu*.

[92] The above is from the "Yiyu zhuan (xia)" of *Zhoushu* and the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Suishu*.

開皇十年，突厥破其四城，有二千人來歸中國。[93]

In the tenth year of the Kaihuang 開皇 reign-period, the Tujue 突厥 (Türks) captured its four towns and there were 2,000 people who came to submit to the authority of the Middle Kingdom.[93]

[93] This section is copied from the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Suishu*.

堅死，子伯雅立。其大母本突厥可汗女，其父死，突厥令依其俗。伯雅不從者久之。突厥逼之，不得已而從。煬帝卽位，引致諸蕃。大業四年，遣使貢獻，帝待其使甚厚。明年，伯雅來朝，因從擊高麗。還，尚宗室女華容公主。八年冬，歸蕃，下令國中曰："先者，以國處邊荒境，被髮左衽。今大隋統御，宇宙平一。孤旣沐浴和風，庶均大化。其庶人以上，皆宜解辮削衽。"帝聞而善之，下詔曰："光祿大夫、弁國公、高昌王伯雅，本自諸華，世祚西壤，昔因多難，翦爲胡服。自我皇隋，平一宇宙，伯雅踰沙忘阻，奉貢來庭，削衽曳裾，變夷從夏，可賜衣冠，仍班製造之式。"然伯雅先臣鐵勒，恒遣重臣在高昌國，有商胡往來者則稅之，送于鐵勒。雖有此令取悅中華，然竟畏鐵勒，不敢改也。自是歲令貢方物。[94]

When [Qu] Jian [麴] 堅 died, his son Boya 伯雅 ascended the throne. His grandmother was originally a daughter of the Khan of the Tujue 突厥 (Türk). When

his father died, the Tujue ordered that he obey their customs; Boya did not do so for a long time. The Tujue exerted pressure on him [so that] he had no choice but to comply. After he succeeded to the throne, Emperor Yang 煬 brought various foreigners to the court. In the fourth year of the Daye 大業 reign-period, it sent an envoy to present tribute. The emperor treated the envoy kindly and generously. In the next year, Boya came to the court and, taking the opportunity, he followed [emperor] to take part in the attack on Gaoli 高麗. When he returned, he was rewarded with the hand of princess of Huarong 華容. In the winter of the eighth year he went home, and issued orders to his countryman, saying, "Previous to this, because our state was located on the barren borders, the people wore their hair unbound and had the lapels of their coats buttoned on the left side. Now, the Great Sui Dynasty exercises imperial authority uniformly throughout the world, and the people of the lands under its control far and near all are of one heart. I am bathed in the harmonious breeze, and have become thoroughly cultivated. Thus it is suitable that the common people and the élite all untie their queues and remove their lapels". The emperor heard of this and approved it, and issued an edict, saying, "Boya, the Counselor of the Palace, Duke of Bianguo 弁國, and King of Gaochang 高昌, originally came from Hua 華 (China), but has successively held posts in the Western Regions. Formerly, he was reduced to barbarian status by many disasters, and he destroyed [his Chinese] coronet, cutting it into crude attire because of his harsh fortune. Since our Great Sui Dynasty has brought the whole world under its domination, Boya crossed the Flowing Sands, forgetting dangers and difficulties, and came to the court to present tribute. He has now removed his lapels in exchange for the trailing skirts [of a Chinese gown]. He has transformed the barbarian into the Xia 夏. It is suitable to grant him accoutrements of hats and clothes, allowing him to employ sumptuary norms in their manufacture". However, Boya had earlier acknowledged allegiance to the Tiele 鐵勒, and the Tiele often sent ministers to the state of Gaochang. When the Hu 胡 merchants came and went, he collected taxes from them and sent the revenues to the Tiele. Although he had issued the directive quoted above to please Zhonghua 中華 (China), he did not dare to change the customs in the end because he was threatened by the force of the Tiele. From then on he ordered envoys to present local products as tribute.[94]

[94] The above section is from the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Suishu*, with some alterations.

且彌國，都天山東于大谷，在車師北，去代一萬五百七十里。本役屬車師。[95]

The state of Qiemi 且彌: Its capital is located in the valley of Yuda 于大 to the east of the Tianshan Mountains and it is 10,570 *li* from Dai 代. Originally it was subject to Jushi.[95]

[95] This section is from the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Weishu*.

焉耆國，在車師南，都員渠城，[96] 白山南七十里，漢時舊國也。[97] 去代一萬二百里。[98] 其王姓龍，名鳩尸畢那，即前涼張軌所討龍熙之胤。[99] 所都城方二里，國內凡有九城。國小人貧，無綱紀法令。兵有弓、刀、甲、稍。婚姻略同華夏。死亡者皆焚而後葬，其服制滿七日則除之。丈夫並翦髮以爲首飾。文字與婆羅門同。俗事天神，並崇信佛法也。尤重二月八日、四月八日。是日也，其國咸依釋教，齋戒行道焉。氣候寒，土田良沃，穀有稻、粟、菽、麥，畜有駝、馬。養蠶不以爲絲，唯充綿纊。俗尚蒲桃酒，兼愛音樂。南去海十餘里，有魚鹽蒲葦之饒。[100] 東去高昌九百里，西去龜茲九百里，皆沙磧；東南去瓜州二千二百里。[101]

The state of Yanqi 焉耆: It is located to the south of Jushi. Its capital is in the town of Yuanqu 員渠,[96] which is over 70 *li* to the south of the White Mountains. An old state of Han times,[97] it is 10,200 *li* from Dai.[98] Its king is surnamed Long 龍, named Jiushibina 鳩尸畢那, and is a descendant of Long Xi 龍熙, against whom Zhang Gui 張軌 of the Former Liang 涼 Dynasty had sent a punitive force.[99] The town which is its capital is two *li* square. Within the state there are a total of nine towns. The country is small and its people are destitute. They do not have the principles of government, or laws and regulations. For arms they have bows, swords, armor, and halberds. Marriage practices are similar to those in Huaxia 華夏 (China). All the deceased are cremated and then buried. They wear mourning for seven full days, after which they take it off. The adult men all clip their hair to form a head decoration. Their script is similar to that of the Brahmans. It is their custom to serve the "Heavenly God(s)", but they also

revere and believe in the law of the Buddha. They especially celebrate these days: the eighth day of the second month, and the eighth day of the fourth month. All the country abstains and does penance according to the teachings of Buddha, and follows His Way. The climate is cold, and the soil is good and fertile. For cereals, they have rice, millet, pulse and wheat. For animals, they have camels, horses, cows, and sheep. They raise silkworms but do not make silk, merely using [the silk fiber] for padding. It is their custom to relish grape wine, and also to love music. To the south one reaches the sea at a distance of over 10 *li*. There is an abundance of fish, salt and rushes.[100] It is 900 *li* from Gaochang 高昌 to the east, and 900 *li* from Qiuci 龜兹 to the west, with nothing but sand and rocks [along the way]. It is 2,200 *li* from Gua Province to the southeast.[101]

[96] The above is from the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Weishu*.

[97] The above is probably from the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Suishu*. First, there is a similar text in *Suishu*. Although the "Yiyu zhuan (xia)" of *Zhoushu* also states that "the state of Yanqi is over 70 *li* to the south of the White Mountains," there is no such a phrase as "an old state of Han times". Referring to a particular state as "an old state of Han times" or "such-and-such state of Han times" is one of the characteristics of the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Suishu*.

[98] "It is 10,200 *li* from Dai": This is from the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Weishu*.

[99] From "Its king is surnamed Long" to "Former Liang 涼 Dynasty had sent a punitive force": This is from the "Yiyu zhuan (xia)" of *Zhoushu*. Only five characters, 名鳩尸畢那 (meaning "named Jiushibina"), have been added by Li Yanshou.

[100] From "The town which is capital is two *li* square" to "There is an abundance of fish, salt and rushes": This is from the "Yiyu zhuan (xia)" of *Zhoushu*.

[101] The above is from the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Suishu*. Gaochang and Gua Province are used as points of reference when giving directions.

恃地多險，頗剽劫中國使。太武怒之，詔成周公萬度歸討之，約齎輕糧，取食路次。度歸入焉耆東界，擊其邊守左迴、尉犁二城，拔之。進軍圍員渠。鳩尸畢那以四五萬人出城，守險以距。度歸募壯勇，短兵直往衝，鳩尸畢那衆大潰，盡虜之，單騎走入山中。度歸進屠其城，四鄙諸戎皆降服。焉耆爲國，斗絕一隅，不亂日久，獲其珍奇異翫、殊方譎詭難識之物，橐駝、馬、牛、雜畜巨萬。時太武幸陰山北宮，度歸破焉耆露板至，帝省訖，賜司徒崔浩書曰："萬度歸以

五千騎，經萬餘里，拔焉耆三城，獲其珍奇異物及諸委積不可勝數。自古帝王雖云即序西戎，有如指注，不能控引也。朕今手把而有之，如何？”浩上書稱美。遂命度歸鎮撫其人。初，鳩尸畢那走山中，猶覬城不拔，得還其國。既見盡爲度歸所剋，乃奔龜兹，龜兹以其壻，厚待之。[102]

Relying on the dangerous terrain, its people robbed extensively from the envoys of the Middle Kingdom. Emperor Shizu was angered and issued an edict ordering the Duke of Chengzhou, Wan Dugui, to attack it. With light packs and a small amount of grain, and procuring food on the way, [Wan] Dugui entered the eastern border of Yanqi. He attacked the two towns of Zuohui 左回 and Weili 尉犂, which defended its border, and occupied them. Then he marched against the town of Yuanqu. [Its king], Jiushibina 鳩尸畢那, leading four or five thousand men, came out from the town and was entrenched in a strategic place to resist the attack. [Wan] Dugui mustered brave, strong warriors with short weapons to charge straight at them. Jiushibina's troops were routed and all were captured. He rode off all by himself, fleeing into the mountains, while [Wan] Dugui went on to butcher his town. [Thereupon], the various barbarians of all four quarters surrendered. The state of Yanqi, being isolated in a remote corner, had long been free of turmoil. Consequently, [Wan Dugui] gained possession of its rare objects and exotic curios, its cleverly crafted but hitherto unrecognized objects from distant places, and myriads of camels, horses, oxen, and miscellaneous other animals. The memorial reporting [Wan] Dugui's defeat of Yanqi arrived when Emperor Shizu was staying at the Northern Palace in the Yin 陰 Mountains. After Emperor Shizu had read it, he gave the Minister of Education, Cui Hao 崔浩, a letter, which said, "[Wan] Dugui, leading five thousand cavalry and crossing more than 10,000 *li*, occupied three towns of Yanqi, and obtained their rare treasures and exotic things, as well as their reserve grain, which was boundless. Monarchs of earlier generations claimed to have reduced the Western Rong 戎 to order, but were unable to exert control over them, despite their intentions. Now We, holding them in hand, have taken possession of it. What do you think?" Cui Hao sent a written message to the emperor expressing admiration for the achievement. Thereupon, [Emperor Shizu] ordered [Wan] Dugui to pacify its people. Originally, Jiushibeina, when he fled into the mountains, still hoped that the town would not be occupied and he could return home. After he saw that all the towns were occupied by

[Wan] Dugui, he fled to Qiuci 龜兹. [The king of] Qiuci gave him special treatment as he was his son-in-law.[102]

[102] This section is from the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Weishu*. For "Jiushibina" 鳩尸畢那, the current edition of *Weishu* reads "Jiushibeina" 鳩尸卑那.

周保定四年，其王遣使獻名馬。[103]

In the fourth year of the Baoding 保定 reign-period [564 CE] of the Zhou Dynasty, its king sent an envoy to present its renowned horses.[103]

[103] The section above is from the "Yiyu zhuan (xia)" of *Zhoushu*. "Zhou Dynasty" was added.

隋大業中，其王龍突騎支遣使貢方物。其時，其國勝兵千餘人而已。[104]

During the Daye reign-period of the Sui dynasty, its king Long Tuqizhi 龍突騎支 sent an envoy to present local products as tribute. At that time, there were only over a thousand persons able to bear arms.[104]

[104] The above section is adapted from the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Suishu*.

龜兹國，在尉犂西北，[105]白山之南一百七十里，都延城，漢時舊國也。[106]去代一萬二百八十里。[107]其王姓白，卽後涼呂光所立白震之後。[108]其王頭繫綵帶，垂之於後，坐金師子床。[109]所居城方五六里。其刑法，殺人者死，劫賊則斷其一臂，幷刖一足。賦稅，準地徵租，無田者則稅銀［錢］。風俗、婚姻、喪葬、物産與焉耆略同，唯氣候少溫爲異。又出細氈、饒銅、鐵、鉛、麖皮、氍毹、鐃沙、鹽綠、雌黃、胡粉、安息香、良馬、犎牛等。東有輪臺，卽漢貳師將軍李廣利所屠者。其南三百里有大河東流，號計戍水，卽黃河也。[110]東去焉耆九百里，南去于闐一千四百里，西去疏勒一千五百里，北去突厥牙六百餘里，東南去瓜州三千一百里。[111]

The state of Qiuci 龜兹: It is located to the northwest of Weili 尉犂,[105] 170 *li* to

the south of the White Mountains. Its capital is Yancheng 延城. It is an old state of Han times.[106] It is 10,280 *li* from Dai.[107] Its king is surnamed Bai 白; he is a descendant of Bai Zhen 白震, who was established by Lü Guang 呂光 of the Later Liang 涼 Dynasty.[108] The king ties his hair with a colored ribbon and lets it hang down his back. He sits on a golden lion throne.[109] The town, where the king resides, is five or six *li* square. In its penal laws, a murderer is executed, and a robber has one arm and one leg cut off. For military and civil administrative taxes, they measure the land in order to assess the levies. Those who hold no fields remit in silver coins. Marriage, funerals, customs and products are roughly similar to those in Yanqi, but one difference is the climate, which here is somewhat warmer. It also produces delicate felt, copper, iron, lead, deerskin rugs, *qushu* 氍毹 (wool carpets), nušādir (sal ammoniac), "salty green", orpiment, and exotic cosmetics, benzoin, fine horses, and humped cattle. To the east there is Luntai 輪臺, [whose people] were massacred by Li Guangli 李廣利, the Ershi 貳師 General, of the Han Dynasty. Three hundred *li* to the south there is a great stream, which flows east and is called the Jishu 計戍 River; this is the Yellow River.[110] It is 900 *li* from Yanqi to the east, 1,400 *li* from Yutian 于闐 to the south, 1,500 *li* from Shule 疏勒 to the west, over 600 *li* from the "tusk tent" (*yazhang*) of the Tujue (Türks) to the north, and 3,100 *li* from Gua Province 瓜州 to the southeast.[111]

[105] The above is from the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Weishu*.

[106] The text from "170 *li* to the south of the White Mountains" to "an old state of Han times" might well be from the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Suishu*. "Its capital is Yancheng": This would have been copied from the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Weishu*. Neither the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Weishu* nor the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Suishu* records the name of Qiuci's capital.

[107] "It is 10,280 *li* from Dai": This is copied from the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Weishu*.

[108] The text from "Its king is surnamed Bai" to "Lü Guang of the Later Liang Dynasty" is from the "Yiyu zhuan (xia)" of *Zhoushu*. First, the two texts are identical; second, the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Weishu* does not record the king's surname and name; third, there is a record on Bo Chun 帛純, king of Qiuci, in the "Lü Guang zhuan" 呂光傳 of *Weishu*.

[109] "The king ties his hair with a colored ribbon and lets it hang down his back. He sits on a golden lion throne": This is copied from the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Suishu*. On the one hand, the two texts are identical; on the other, statements like the king tying his hair with a colored ribbon are records on

"costumes and products" (text from the "Pei Ju zhuan" 裴矩傳 in *Suishu*), a characteristic of the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Suishu*.

[110] The text from "The town, where the king resides, is five or six *li* square" to "this is the Yellow River" is copied from the "Yiyu zhuan (xia)" of *Zhoushu*. First, the two texts are exactly the same; second, the "Jishu 計戍 River" reads "Shouba 首拔 River" in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Weishu* ("*ba*" 拔 is an error for "*zhi*" 枝). *Qian* 錢 should be added following *yin* 銀 in conformity to the text in the current edition of the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Weishu*; cf. the record on Gaochang in the same memoir: 賦稅則計田輸銀錢 (taxes are reckoned for remission in silver coins).

[111] This part is copied from the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Suishu*: first, the two texts are identical; second, the "tusk tent" of the Tujue and Gua Province are used as geographical reference points.

其東關城戍，寇竊非一。太武詔萬度歸率騎一千以擊之，龜茲遣烏羯目提等領兵三千距戰，度歸擊走之，斬二百餘級，大獲駝馬而還。俗性多淫，置女市，收男子錢以入官。土多孔雀，羣飛山谷間，人取而食之，孳乳如雞鶩，其王家恒有千餘隻云。其國西北大山中有如膏者流出成川，行數里入地，狀如 餬，甚臭，服之髮齒已落者能令更生，癘人服之皆愈。自後每使朝貢。[112]

It frequently raids and robs the towns and garrisons to its east. Emperor Shizu's edict ordered Wan Dugui to lead 1,000 cavalry to attack it. Qiuci sent Wujiemuti 烏羯目提 and others to lead 3,000 troops to resist him. [Wan] Dugui defeated them, beheaded over two hundred men, and captured many camels and horses, then returned. The customs are as follows: The people are mostly lascivious, and establish women markets [brothels] to collect men's money to hand over to the government. In this land are many peacocks, which fly together among the mountain valleys. The people capture and raise them for food. The peacocks multiply like chickens and ducks. The royal family usually has over 1,000 peacocks. To the northwest of the state there are large mountains from which an oily mineral flows and forms rivers that run for several *li* before reentering the ground. It is like clarified butter, and is very rancid. If people consume it, their hair and teeth will grow back. All patients who take it become well. From then on the state often sent envoys to present tribute.[112]

[112] This section is completely copied from the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Weishu*. For 其東關城戍, the

current edition reads 其東闕城戍.

周保定元年，其王遣使來獻。[113]

In the first year of the Baoding 保定 reign-period [561 CE] of the Zhou dynasty, its king sent an envoy to present tribute.[113]

[113] The above section is copied from the "Yiyu zhuan (xia)" of *Zhoushu*.

隋大業中，其王白蘇尼㮵遣使朝，貢方物。是時，其國勝兵可數千人。[114]

During the Daye 大業 reign-period of the Sui dynasty, its king Bai Sunidie 白蘇尼㮵 sent an envoy to present local products. At that time there were several thousand persons able to bear arms.[114]

[114] The above section is adapted from the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Suishu*. For "Sunidie" 蘇尼㮵, the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Suishu* reads "Sunidie" 蘇尼咥.

姑默國，居南城，在龜兹西，去代一萬五百里。役屬龜兹。[115]

The state of Gumo 姑默: [Its king] resides in the town of Nan 南. [The state] is located to the west of Qiuci and it is 10,500 *li* from Dai. It is subject to Qiuci.[115]

[115] The above section is adapted from the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Weishu*. For "Gumo" 姑默, the current edition of *Weishu* reads "Gumo" 姑墨, as in the following text.

溫宿國，居溫宿城，在姑默西北，去代一萬五百五十里。役屬龜兹。[116]

The state of Wensu 溫宿: Its king resides in the town of Wensu to the northwest of Gumo, and it is 10,550 *li* from Dai. It is subject to Qiuci.[116]

[116] The above section is copied from the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Weishu*.

尉頭國，居尉頭城，在溫宿北，去代一萬六百五十里。役屬龜茲。[117]

The state of Weitou 尉頭: Its king resides in the town of Weitou to the north of Wensu, and it is 10,650 *li* from Dai. It is subject to Qiuci.[117]

[117] The above section is from the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Weishu*.

烏孫國，居赤谷城，在龜茲西北，去代一萬八十里。其國數爲蠕蠕所侵，西徙葱嶺山中，無城郭，隨畜牧逐水草。[118]

The state of Wusun 烏孫: Its king resides in the town of Chigu 赤谷 to the northwest of Qiuci, and it is 10,800 *li* from Dai. The state was invaded several times by the Ruru 蠕蠕, so they migrated west into the Cong Mountains, without walled cities. In company with their flocks and herds the inhabitants go in search of water and pasture.[118]

[118] The above section is adapted from the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Weishu*.

太延三年，遣使者董琬等使其國，後每使朝貢。[119]

In the third year of the Taiyan reign-period [Wei] sent the envoys Dong Wan 董琬 and others to visit their state. From then on it often sent envoys to present tribute.[119]

[119] The above section is adapted from the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Weishu*.

疏勒國，在姑默西，[120] 白山南百餘里，漢時舊國也。[121] 去代一萬一千二百五十里。[122] 文成末，其王遣使送釋迦牟尼佛袈裟一，長二丈餘。帝以審是佛衣，應有靈異，遂燒之以驗虛實，置於猛火之上，經日不然，觀者莫不悚駭，心形俱肅。[123] 其王戴金師子冠。土多稻、粟、麻、麥、銅、鐵、錫、雌黃，每歲常供送於突厥。其都城方五里，國內有大城十二，小城數十。人手足皆六指，産子非六指者卽不育。勝兵者二千人。南有黃河，西帶葱嶺，東去龜茲千五百里，西去鏺汗國千里，南去朱俱波八九百里，東北至突厥牙千餘里，東南去瓜州四千六百里。[124]

The state of Shule 疏勒: It is located to the west of Gumo.[120] [Its capital] is at a distance of over 100 *li* to the south of the White Mountains. It is an old state of Han times.[121] It is 11,250 *li* from Dai.[122] At the end of the reign of Emperor Wencheng 文成, its king sent envoys to present as tribute a cassock of Śakyamuni over two *zhang* 丈 long. The emperor believed that the clothing of the Buddha must be numinous and extraordinary, so he had it burned to determine whether this were true or false. The cassock was placed on a raging fire, but it did not burn for a whole day. All those who witnessed this were awestruck and registered profound respect with their whole being.[123] The king wears a golden lion crown. In the land there is an abundance of rice, millet, hemp, wheat, copper, iron, tin, and orpiment. It often presents its [local products] to the Tujue (Türks) every year. Its capital is five *li* square. In the state there are twelve large towns and small towns which can be numbered in the tens. The inhabitants all have six digits on both hands and feet; when a child is born without six fingers and toes, it is abandoned. There are 2,000 persons able to bear arms. There is the Yellow River in the south, and it connects with the Cong 葱 Mountains in the west. It is 1,500 *li* from Qiuci to the east, 1,000 *li* from Pohan 鏺汗 to the west, 800 or 900 *li* from Zhujubo 朱俱波 to the south, more than 1,000 *li* from the "tusk tent" of the Tujue to the northeast, and 4,600 *li* from Gua Province to the southeast.[124]

[120] The above is adapted from the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Weishu*.

[121] The above might well be adapted from the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Suishu*.

[122] The above is from the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Weishu*.

[123] The text above is adapted from the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Weishu*. *Hou-Wei shu* 後魏書, as quoted in the "Xi Rong (er)" 西戎二 of the "Si Yi (yisi)" 四夷一四 in *Taiping yulan* 太平御覽 (ch. 793), records: "At the end of the reign of Emperor Gaozong 高宗, its king sent envoys to present a cassock of Śakyamuni over two *zhang* long and over one *zhang* wide. Emperor Gaozong believed that the clothing of the Buddha must be numinous and extraordinary, so he had it burned to determine whether it was genuine. The cassock was placed on a raging fire, but it did not burn for a whole day. All those who witnessed this were awestruck. From then on the state often sent envoys to present tribute".

[124] The text from "The king wears a gold lion crown" is adapted from the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Suishu*: first, the two texts are identical, although the word order is different; second, it is one of the characteristics of *Suishu* to emphasize the attire and products of the state discussed; third, paying

tribute to the Tujue occurred in the Sui Dynasty; fourth, the use of the "tusk tent" of the Tujue and Gua Province as geographical reference points is first seen in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Suishu*; and fifth, "Pohan," "Zhujubo," among others, are names used in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Suishu*.

悦般國，在烏孫西北，去代一萬九百三十里。其先，匈奴北單于之部落也。爲漢車騎將軍竇憲所逐，北單于度金微山，西走康居，其羸弱不能去者住龜茲北。地方數千里，衆可二十餘萬。涼州人猶謂之單于王。其風俗言語與高車同，而其人清潔於胡。俗翦髮齊眉，以 餬塗之，昱昱然光澤，日三澡漱，然後飲食。其國南界有火山，山傍石皆燋鎔，流地數十里乃凝堅，人取以爲藥，卽石流黃也。[125]

The state of Yueban 悦般: It is located to the northwest of Wusun, and it is 10,930 *li* from Dai. Its forebears were a horde of the Northern *Chanyu* of the Xiongnu. Pursued by the Han General of Chariots and Cavalry, Dou Xian 竇憲, the Northern *Chanyu* crossed the Jinwei 金微 Mountains and went west into Kangju 康居. Those who were too exhausted and weak to attempt this journey remained north of Qiuci where there was a swath of territory stretching for several thousand *li*. Their population is over 200,000. The people of Liang 涼 Province also call [the Yueban ruler] the *Chanyu* King. Their customs and speech resemble those of Gaoche but the people are cleaner than the Hu. It is their custom to clip their hair evenly with their eyebrows and smear clarified butter over it to make it bright and lustrous. They bathe three times a day and drink and eat afterwards. On the southern boundary of their country is a volcano beside which all the stones are burnt and molten, and flow for several tens of *li* before they solidify. People [then] gather it for medicine; it is crude sulphur.[125]

[125] This section is adapted from the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Weishu*.

與蠕蠕結好，其王常將數千人入蠕蠕國，欲與大檀相見。入其界百餘里，見其部人不浣衣，不絆髮，不洗手，婦人口舐器物，王謂其從臣曰："汝曹誑我，將我入此狗國中！"乃馳還。大檀遣騎追之不及，自是相仇讎，數相征討。[126]

They established friendly relations with the Ruru. Their king, leading several

thousand men, entered the country of the Ruru and wished to meet Datan 大檀. After he had passed more than 100 *li* beyond the border, he saw that the tribal people did not wash their clothes, tie up their hair, or wash their hands. Their women licked the utensils clean with their tongue. The king said to his attendants, "You deceived me into entering a country of dogs!" Thereupon he galloped back. Datan dispatched cavalry to run after him but it was too late. From then on they became enemies, and attacked each other.[126]

[126] The above section is from the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Weishu*.

真君九年，遣使朝獻。并送幻人，稱能割人喉脈令斷，擊人頭令骨陷，皆血出或數升或盈斗，以草藥内其口中，令嚼咽之，須臾血止，養瘡一月復常，又無痕瘢。世疑其虚，乃取死罪囚試之，皆驗。云中國諸名山皆有此草，乃使人受其術而厚遇之。又言其國有大術者，蠕蠕來抄掠，術人能作霖雨、盲風、大雪及行潦，蠕蠕凍死漂亡者十二三。是歲再遣使朝貢，求與官軍東西齊契討蠕蠕。太武嘉其意，命中外諸軍戒嚴，以淮南王佗爲前鋒，襲蠕蠕。仍詔有司，以其鼓舞之節施於樂府。自後每使朝貢。[127]

In the ninth year of the [Taiping] Zhenjun reign-period [448 CE], [Yueban] sent envoys to present tribute, at the same time sending a magician who claimed he could cut a man's jugular vein, have his head smashed in, have his bones crushed and let all his blood flow out—perhaps several *sheng* 升 or even a full *dou* 斗—and then place a certain herbal medicine in his mouth and have him chew and swallow it. After a short moment the bleeding would stop, and after his wounds healed for a month, he would be fully recovered without even a scar. Because he doubted that those claims were true, Emperor Shizu took some criminals who had been condemned to death and [had the magician] try [his arts on them] and the experiment succeeded. [The magician] said that all famous mountains in the Middle Kingdom have this herb, so the emperor sent people to learn this art and treated [the magician] liberally. [The envoys] also said, "There are great necromancers, and when the Ruru come to rob, the necromancers conjure continuous heavy rain, fierce winds, heavy snow, and great floods, and the Ruru people, in two or three cases out of ten, freeze to death or are carried away [by the floods]". In this year, [Yueban] once again sent envoys to pay tribute, and they begged

leave to attack the Ruru, cooperating with the government troops from east and west. Emperor Taiwu 太武 praised their suggestion and ordered the various troops inside and outside to enforce a curfew, and appointed the King of Huainan 淮南, Tuo 佗, to be the vanguard of a raid against the Ruru. An imperial edict was issued ordering the officials to add Yueban's inspiring rhythms to the folk songs and ballads collected by the official conservatory. From then on they often sent envoys to present tribute.[127]

[127] The above section is from the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Weishu*.

者至拔國，都者至拔城，在疏勒西，去代一萬一千六百二十里。其國東有潘賀那山，出美鐵及師子。[128]

The state of Zhezhiba 者至拔: Its capital is located at the town of Zhezhiba to the west of Shule, and it is 11,620 *li* from Dai. East of this state are the Panhena 潘賀那 Mountains, which produce fine iron and lions.[128]

[128] The above section is from the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Weishu*.

迷密國，都迷密城，在者至拔西，去代一萬二千一百里。正平元年，遣使獻一峯黑橐駝。其國東有山，名郁悉滿山，出金玉，亦多鐵。[129]

The state of Mimi 迷密: Its capital is located in the town of Mimi, and it is 12,600 *li* from Dai. In the first year of the Zhengping 正平 reign-period [451 CE], it sent envoys to present a black one-humped camel. East of the state there is a mountain called Yuximan 郁悉滿, which produces gold, jade, and also an abundance of iron.[129]

[129] The above section is from the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Weishu*.

悉萬斤國，都悉萬斤城，在迷密西，去代一萬二千七百二十里。其國南有山，名伽色那，山出師子。每使朝貢。[130]

The state of Xiwanjin 悉萬斤: Its capital is located in the town of Xiwanjin to the

west of Mimi, and it is 12,720 *li* from Dai. South of the state there is a mountain called Jiasena 伽色那, which produces lions. It often sent envoys to present tribute.[130]

[130] The above section is from the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Weishu*.

忸密國，都忸密城，在悉萬斤西，去代二萬二千八百二十八里。[131]

The state of Niumi 忸密: Its capital is located in the town of Niumi to the west of Xiwanjin, and it is 22,828 *li* from Dai.[131]

[131] The above section is from the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Weishu*.

破洛那國，故大宛國也。都貴山城，在疏勒西北，去代萬四千四百五十里。[132]

The state of Poluona 破洛那: It was formerly the state of Dayuan 大宛. Its capital is located in the town of Guishan 貴山 to the northwest of Shule, and it is 14,450 *li* from Dai.[132]

[132] The above section is from the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Weishu*.

太和三年，遣使獻汗血馬，自此每使朝貢。[133]

In the third year of the Taihe 太和 reign-period [479 CE], it sent envoys to present blood-sweating horses. From then on it often sent envoys to offer tribute.[133]

[133] The above section is from the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Weishu*.

粟特國，在葱嶺之西，古之奄蔡，一名溫那沙。居於大澤，在康居西北，去代一萬六千里。[134] 先是，匈奴殺其王而有其國，至王忽倪，已三世矣。其國商人先多詣涼土販貨，及魏克姑臧，悉見虜。文成初，粟特王遣使請贖之，詔聽焉。自後無使朝獻。[135]

The state of Sute 粟特: It is to the west of the Cong Mountains. It was called Yancai 奄蔡 in ancient times, and also had the name Wennasha 溫那沙. It is located on the Great Marsh to the northwest of Kangju, and it is 16,000 *li* from Dai.[134] The Xiongnu had previously killed its king and taken possession of the country. With King Huni 忽倪 we reach the third generation of their rulers. Formerly, most of the merchants [of the state of Sute] came to the land of Liang Province to sell goods, but when Guzang 姑臧 was occupied by Wei, all were captured. At the beginning of the reign of Emperor Wencheng 文成, the king of Sute sent envoys to request their redemption. An imperial edict complied with his request. From then on there were no envoys to pay tribute.[135]

[134] The text above is from the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Weishu*, but the statement that "it is to the west of the Cong Mountains" 在葱嶺之西 should be from the "Yiyu zhuan (xia)" of *Zhoushu*. Although the use of mountains and rivers as geographical references is a characteristic of the "Yiyu zhuan (xia)" of *Zhoushu*, the similar texts there should have been copied from the earlier *Weishu*.

[135] The text above is copied from the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Weishu*. "From then on there were no envoys to pay tribute" 自後無使朝獻 should be "From then on envoys were often sent to pay tribute" 自後每使朝獻. It is recorded in the basic annals of *Weishu* that, after the occupation of Guzang by the Northern Wei, Sute often sent envoys to pay tribute. The text in the "Xi Rong (xia)" 西戎下 of the "Si Yi (san)" 四夷三 of *Tongzhi* 通志 (ch. 196) records: "From then on envoys were often sent to pay tribute" 自後每使朝獻.

周保定四年，其王遣使貢方物。[136]

In the fourth year of the Baoding 保定 reign-period of Zhou dynasty, its king sent an envoy to present local products.[136]

[136] The above section is adapted from the "Yiyu zhuan (xia)" of *Zhoushu*.

波斯國，都宿利城，在忸密西，[137]古條支國也。[138]去代二萬四千二百二十八里。[139]城方十里，戶十餘萬，[140]河經其城中南流。土地平正，[141]出金、銀、鍮石、珊瑚、琥珀、車渠、馬腦、多大真珠、頗梨、瑠璃、水精、瑟瑟、金剛、火齊、鑌鐵、銅、錫、朱砂、水銀、綾、錦、疊、㲲、氍毹、毾 、赤麞皮，及薰

六、鬱金、蘇合、青木等香，胡椒、蓽撥、石蜜、千年棗、香附子、訶梨勒、無食子、鹽綠、雌黃等物。[142] 氣候暑熱，家自藏冰，地多沙磧，引水溉灌。其五穀及鳥獸等與中夏略同，唯無稻及黍、稷。[143] 土出名馬、大驢及駝，往往有一日能行七百里者。富室至有數千頭。[144] 又出白象、師子、大鳥卵。[145] 有鳥形如橐駝，有兩翼，飛而不能高，食草與肉，亦能噉火。[146]

The state of Bosi 波斯: Its capital is located at the town of Suli 宿利 to the west of Niumi 忸密.[137] This is the state of Tiaozhi 條支 of antiquity,[138] and it is 24,228 *li* from Dai.[139] Its [main] town is over 10 *li* square and has more than 100,000 households.[140] A river flows south passing through the town. The land is flat and regular,[141] producing gold, silver, zinc ore, coral, amber, *chequ* 車渠, and agate. It has an abundance of large pearls, *poli* 頗黎, *liuli* 瑠璃 (ceramic glazes), crystal, jadeite, coral, diamonds, mica, steel, bronze, tin, vermilion, mercury, damask brocade, *[bai] die* [白] 疊 ([white] cotton cloth), felt, *qushu* 氍毹, *tadeng* 毾㲪, red roebuck hide, as well as frankincense, saffron, storax, costus and other aromatics, black pepper, pippal (pippalī) [pepper], crystallized sugar, date palms, rhizome of nutgrass flatsedge, myrobalan, oak galls, "salty green", orpiment, and other products.[142] The climate is hot and sultry. Ice is stored in the houses. The land abounds in sand and rocks. The people channel water to irrigate the fields. Their five grains, birds, beasts, and other things are about the same as those in Zhong Xia 中夏 (China), except that they have no rice, millet or sorghum.[143] The land produces renowned horses, large donkeys, and camels, some of which can often run 700 *li* in a day; a rich household will have as many as several thousand head.[144] It also produces white elephants, lions, and ostrich eggs.[145] It has a large bird shaped like a camel with two wings, which can fly but not very high. It eats grass and meat and is also able to eat fire.[146]

[137] The above is adapted from the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Weishu*. For "Suli" 宿利, the "Yiyu zhuan (xia)" of *Zhoushu* reads "Suli" 蘇利, the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Suishu* reads "Sulin" 蘇藺. For the same place, different names are used. "Niumi" 忸密 is a unique transcription in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Weishu*.

[138] "This is the state of Tiaozhi of antiquity": This is copied from the "Yiyu zhuan (xia)" of *Zhoushu*.

[139] "It is 24,228 *li* from Dai": This is copied from the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Weishu*.

[140] "Its [main] town is over 10 *li* square and has more than 100,000 households": This is adapted from the "Yiyu zhuan (xia)" of *Zhoushu*, a characteristic of which is to describe the size of the capitals of different states.

[141] "A river flows south passing through the town. The land is flat and regular": This is not seen in the "Yiyu zhuan (xia)" of *Zhoushu* and the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Suishu*; it should be copied from the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Weishu*.

[142] The text from "producing gold" to "orpiment, and other products" may well be regarded as adapted from the "Yiyu zhuan (xia)" of *Zhoushu*. First, the items in the list and order are similar. "*Chequ*" 車渠 is not mentioned in the "Xiyu zhuan (xia)" of *Zhoushu*, but some passages might be missing in the current edition. Second, the items mentioned here are very different from those in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Suishu*, signifying that Li Yanshou here did not base this text on it.

[143] "The climate is hot and sultry…. they have no rice, millet or sorghum": This is adapted from the "Yiyu zhuan (xia)" of *Zhoushu*: First, the two texts are identical; second, it is a characteristic of the "Yiyu zhuan (xia)" of *Zhoushu* for the author to use "Zhong Xia" 中夏, "Zhu Xia" 諸夏, and "Hua Xia" 華夏 to contrast with the Western Regions, unlike the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Weishu*, in which "Zhongyuan" 中原 (Central Plains) is used in such contexts.

[144] "The land produces renowned horses… a rich household will have as many as several thousand head": This is adapted from the "Yiyu zhuan (xia)" of *Zhoushu*, except for "large donkeys" and "some of which can often run for 700 *li* a day". The "large donkey" from the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Suishu* is used to supplement the "Yiyu zhuan (xia)" of *Zhoushu*. "Some of which can often run 700 *li* in a day", erroneously inserted here, is copied from the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Weishu*; it should have been placed at the end of this section.

[145] "It also produces white elephants, lions, and ostrich eggs": This is from the "Yiyu zhuan (xia)" of *Zhoushu*.

[146] "It has a large bird shaped like a camel with two wings, which can fly but not very high. It eats grass and meat and is also able to eat fire": This is from the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Weishu*, but errors and omissions were committed in the process. According to the text in *Hou-Wei shu* 後魏書 quoted in the "Yuzu (yi)" 羽族一 of *Taiping yulan* 太平御覽 (ch. 914), "The state of Bosi has a large bird shaped like a camel with two wings, which can fly, but not very high. It eats grass and meat and is also able to eat fire. It gallops very fast, and can often run for 700 *li* a day". Thus, "*liangyi*" 兩翼 here is an error for "*yuyi*" 羽翼, and following "*huo*" 火 , four characters, 馳走甚疾 (meaning, "it gallops very

fast"), should be added. The nine characters in the above text, 往往有一日能行七百里者 (meaning, "some of which can often run 700 *li* in a day"), should be moved to after 馳走甚疾, according to *Taiping yulan*.

其王姓波氏，名斯。坐金羊牀，戴金花冠，衣錦袍、織成帔，飾以真珠寶物。其俗：丈夫翦髮，戴白皮帽，貫頭衫，兩箱近下開之，亦有巾帔，緣以織成；婦女服大衫，披大帔，其髮前爲髻，後披之，飾以金銀花，仍貫五色珠，絡之於膊。王於其國內別有小牙十餘所，猶中國之離宮也。每年四月出遊處之，十月仍還。王卽位以後，擇諸子內賢者，密書其名，封之於庫，諸子及大臣莫之知也。王死，衆乃共發書視之，其封內有名者，卽立以爲王，餘子出各就邊任，兄弟更不相見也。國人號王曰"醫囋"，妃曰"防步率"，王之諸子曰"殺野"。大官有摸胡壇，掌國內獄訟；泥忽汗，掌庫藏關禁；地卑，掌文書及衆務。次有遏羅訶地，掌王之內事；薛波勃，掌四方兵馬。其下皆有屬官，分統其事。兵有甲、矟、圓排、劍、弩、弓、箭，戰兼乘象，百人隨之。[147]

The king is surnamed Bo 波, and named Si 斯. He sits on a golden sheep couch, and wears on his head a gold flowered cap. He is clad in a brocade robe and a woven skirt, both decorated with pearls and precious objects. As for their customs, the adult men clip their hair and wear white leather hats, with shirts pinned across the top of the head and slit open near the bottom. They also have fabric robes fashioned with woven [brocade] hems. The women's apparel consists of a greatcoat and a voluminous shawl. Their hair is dressed in the front, but allowed to lie disheveled in the back. They adorn themselves with gold and silver flowers, and for ornaments string together five colored pearls and fasten them to the upper arm. The king, in his country, has in addition [to the capital] more than ten lesser headquarters. These are like the detached palaces in the Middle Kingdom. Each year in the fourth month he sets out to go and dwell in these. Then in the tenth month he returns. When the king ascends the throne, he selects the most sagacious of his sons, and secretly writing down his name, seals it in the archives. Neither his sons nor the great ministers know whose it is. When the king dies, [his sons and the great ministers] acting in concert take out the document and view it. He whose name has been sealed therein then becomes king. The rest of his sons all set out for duties on the frontiers. The brothers afterwards never see each other again. The

countrymen call the king *Yizan* 醫囋, and the queen *Fangbushuai* 防步率. The sons of the king are called *Shaye* 殺野. Among the high-ranking officials, there are the *Mohutan* 摸胡壇, who handles domestic litigation, the *Nihuhan* 泥忽汗, who handles the treasury and restrictions, and *Dibei* 地卑, who handles documents, as well as general duties. Next there are the *Eluohedi* 遏羅訶地, who handles the king's private affairs, and the *Xuebobo* 薛波勃, who is in charge of the infantry and cavalry of the four quarters. Below these are subsidiary functionaries, among whom tasks are divided. For military equipment they have armor, halberds, dense arrays of swords, crossbows, and bows and arrows. In combat they also mount elephants, each elephant being followed by 100 men.[147]

[147] The above section is adapted from the "Yiyu zhuan (xia)" of *Zhoushu*. First, the text here is more or less similar to that in *Zhoushu*, but different from the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Suishu*. Second, the inclusion of the details on the costumes, bureaucracy, legal system, religion, wedlock, and customs in the "Yiyu zhuan (xia)" of *Zhoushu* forms a contrast with the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Weishu*, which emphasizes political circumstances. Third, the emphasis on the names of the kings is not a characteristic of the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Weishu*. Particularly, details about the Kushano-Sasanians have found their way into the "Yiyu zhuan (xia)" of *Zhoushu*; "he [the king] sits on a golden sheep couch, and wears on his head a gold flowered cap," etc.: such refer to the clothing of the Kushano-Sasanian rulers. Such details correspond to the later statement that "[Bosi] is descended from a branch of the Da Yuezhi 大月氏" later.[10] "The king is surnamed Bo 波氏, and named Si 斯": The "Yiyu zhuan (xia)" of *Zhoushu* reads, "The king is surnamed Bosidi 波斯氏" [or Bosi 波斯氏]. The text here is somewhat different from the text in *Zhoushu*, which should be an erroneous alteration on the part of Li Yanshou.

其刑法：重罪懸諸竿上，射殺之；次則繫獄，新王立乃釋之；輕罪則劓、刖若髡，或翦半鬢，及繫牌於項，以爲恥辱；犯強盜，繫之終身；奸貴人妻者，男子流，婦人割其耳鼻。賦稅則準地輸銀錢。[148]俗事火神、天神。[149]文字與胡書異。[150]多以姊妹爲妻妾。[151]自餘婚合，亦不擇尊卑，諸夷之中最爲醜穢矣。百姓女年十歲以上有姿貌者，王收養之，有功勳人卽以分賜。死者多棄屍於山，一月着服。城外有人別居，唯知喪葬之事，號爲不淨人，若入城市，搖鈴自別。以六月爲歲首，尤重七月七日，十二月一日。其日，人庶以上各相命召，設會作

樂，以極歡娛。又每年正月二十日，各祭其先死者。[152]

Under its penal laws, [those guilty of] serious offenses are executed by suspending them from the top of a pole and firing arrows at them. [Those guilty of offenses] next [in degree of gravity] are confined in prisons. When a new king ascends the throne, these are amnestied. [Those guilty of] minor offenses have their noses cropped and their feet mutilated, or else they trim half of the beard and fix it to their neck, to shame them. Those who commit flagrant robbery are confined for life. In a case of adultery involving the wife of a noble, the [guilty] man is banished, and the woman has her ears and nose cropped. For the military and civil administrative taxes, they measure the land and assess taxes in silver coins.[148] It is their custom to serve the Fire God and the God of Heaven.[149] Their script is different from that of the Hu.[150] The people often take their sisters as their wives and concubines.[151] In marriage, they do not discriminate between noble and base, and are the lewdest of all the barbarians. Daughters of commoners aged ten or more who are possessed of beauty are collected and reared by the king. When there are persons who have rendered meritorious service, these women are distributed as gifts among them. When a man dies, his corpse is usually discarded in a mountainous place and mourning continues for one month. Outside the towns there are men who live apart from the common people and are exclusively engaged as undertakers; they are regarded as unclean people, and when they enter a town, they must ring a bell to distinguish themselves from the common people. The sixth month is taken to be the beginning of the year. They particularly celebrate the seventh day of the seventh month and the first day of the twelfth month. On these days everyone, from the lowest classes on up, issues invitations and holds parties at which music is performed and there is great rejoicing and hilarity. Also, on the twentieth day of the first month of each year, everyone holds services in honor of his departed ancestors.[152]

[148] The above is adapted from the "Yiyu zhuan (xia)" of *Zhoushu*.

[149] "It is their custom to serve the Fire God and the God of Heaven": This is copied from the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Weishu*. The "Yiyu zhuan (xia)" of *Zhoushu* reads, "It is their custom to serve the fire god of Zoroastrianism".

[150] "Their script is different from that of the Hu": This is adapted from the "Xiyu zhuan" of

Weishu.

[151] "The people often take their sisters as their wives and concubines": This is from the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Weishu*.

[152] The text from "In wedlock, they do not discriminate..." to "in honor of his departed ancestors" is adapted from the "Yiyu zhuan (xia)" of *Zhoushu*.

神龜中，其國遣使上書貢物，云："大國天子，天之所生，願日出處常爲漢中天子。波斯國王居和多千萬敬拜。"朝廷嘉納之。自此每使朝獻。[153]恭帝二年，其王又遣使獻方物。[154]

During the Shengui 神龜 reign-period [518-520 CE] the state [of Bosi] sent envoys to offer tribute and presented a memorial, which stated: "The Son of Heaven of the great nation, whom Heaven begat, may Your Majesty always be the Son of Heaven in the Han lands over which the sun rises! The king of Bosi, Juheduo 居和多 [Kavād I, 488-496 CE] salutes innumerable times in respect." The imperial court accepted this with praise. From then on it often sent envoys to present tribute.[153] In the second year of the reign of Emperor Gong 恭 [553 CE], its king sent envoys to present its local products.[154]

[153] The above is from the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Weishu*.

[154] The above is from the "Yiyu zhuan (xia)" of *Zhoushu*. In *Zhoushu*, "Emperor Gong" 恭帝 reads "Emperor Fei" 廢帝.

隋煬帝時，遣雲騎尉李昱使通波斯，尋使隨昱貢方物。[155]

Emperor Yang of Sui dynasty sent the Commandant of Cloud-Swift Cavalry, Li Yu 李昱, on mission to Bosi. Soon after it sent an envoy following [Li] Yu to present its local products.[155]

[155] The section above is copied from the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Suishu*.

伏盧尼國，都伏盧尼城，在波斯國北，去代二萬七千三百二十里。累石爲城。東有大河南流，中有鳥，其形似人，亦有如橐駝、馬者，皆有翼，常居水

中，出水便死。城北有云尼山，出銀、珊瑚、琥珀，多師子。[156]

The state of Fuluni 伏盧尼: Its capital is located in the town of Fuluni to the north of Bosi, and it is 27,320 *li* from Dai. The town walls are built by piling up stones. To the east there is a large river flowing south in which live birds whose shape is like that of a man, and also animals like horses or camels, all of them with wings, that always stay in the water; if they were to come out of the water they would die. North of the town are the Yunni 云尼 Mountains, which produce silver, coral, amber, and abound in lions.[156]

[156] The section above is copied from the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Weishu*.

色知顯國，都色知顯城，在悉萬斤西北，去代一萬二千九百四十里，土平，多五果。[157]

The state of Sezhixian 色知顯: Its capital is located in the town of Sezhixian to the northwest of Xiwanjin 悉萬斤, and it is 12,940 *li* from Dai. The terrain is flat and there is an abundance of the five fruits.[157]

[157] The section above is copied from the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Weishu*.

伽色尼國，都伽色尼城，在悉萬斤南，去代一萬二千九百里。土出赤鹽，多五果。[158]

The state of Jiaseni 伽色尼: Its capital is located in the town of Jiaseni to the south of Xiwanjin, and it is 12,900 *li* from Dai. The soil produces red salt and there is an abundance of the five fruits.[158]

[158] The section above is copied from the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Weishu*.

薄知國，都薄知城，在伽色尼國南，去代一萬三千三百二十里。多五果。[159]

The state of Bozhi 薄知: Its capital is located in the town of Bozhi to the south of

Jiaseni, and it is 13,320 *li* from Dai. There is an abundance of the five fruits.[159]

[159] The section above is copied from the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Weishu*.

牟知國，都牟知城，在忸密西南，去代二萬二千九百二十里。土平，禽獸草木類中國。[160]

The state of Muzhi 牟知: Its capital is located in the town of Muzhi to the southwest of Niumi 忸密, and it is 22,920 *li* from Dai. The terrain is flat. The birds and beasts, grass and trees [of this state] resemble those in the Middle Kingdom.[160]

[160] The section above is copied from the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Weishu*.

阿弗太汗國，都阿弗太汗城，在忸密西，去代二萬三千七百二十里。土平，多五果。[161]

The state of Afutaihan 阿弗太汗: Its capital is located in the town of Afutaihan to the west of Niumi, and it is 23,720 *li* from Dai. The terrain is flat and there is an abundance of the five fruits.[161]

[161] The section above is copied from the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Weishu*.

呼似密國，都呼似密城，在阿弗太汗西，去代二萬四千七百里。土平，出銀、琥珀，有師子，多五果。[162]

The state of Husimi 呼似密: Its capital is located in the town of Husimi to the west of Afutaihan, and it is 24,700 *li* from Dai. The terrain is flat and produces silver and amber. There are lions and an abundance of the five fruits.[162]

[162] The section above is copied from the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Weishu*.

諾色波羅國，都波羅城，在忸密南，去代二萬三千四百二十八里。土平，宜

稻、麥，多五果。[163]

The state of Nuoseboluo 諾色波羅: Its capital is located in the town of Boluo 波羅 to the south of Niumi, and it is 23,428 *li* from Dai. The terrain is flat and suitable for rice and wheat. There is an abundance of the five fruits.[163]

[163] The section above is copied from the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Weishu*.

早伽至國，都早伽至城，在忸密西，去代二萬三千七百二十八里。土平，少田殖，取稻、麥於隣國，有五果。[164]

The state of Zaojiazhi 早伽至: Its capital is located in the town of Zaojiazhi to the west of Niumi, and it is 23,728 *li* from Dai. The land is flat. Because there are few cultivated fields, they take rice and wheat from neighboring states. There are the five fruits.[164]

[164] The section above is copied from the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Weishu*.

伽不單國，都伽不單城，在悉萬斤西北，去代一萬二千七百八十里。土平，宜稻、麥，有五果。[165]

The state of Jiabudan 伽不單: Its capital is located in the town of Jiabudan to the northwest of Xiwanjin, and it is 12,780 *li* from Dai. The land is flat and suitable for rice and wheat. There are the five fruits.[165]

[165] The section above is copied from the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Weishu*.

者舌國，故康居國，在破洛那西北，去代一萬五千四百五十里。太延三年，遣使朝貢，不絕。[166]

The state of Zheshe 者舌: Formerly it was the state of Kangju 康居. It is located to the northwest of Poluona, and it is 15,450 *li* from Dai. In the third year of the Taiyan 太延 reign-period it sent an envoy to present tribute. From then on it unceasingly sent

envoys.[166]

[166] The section above is copied from the “Xiyu zhuan” of *Weishu*.

伽倍國，故休密翕侯，都和墨城，在莎車西，去代一萬三千里。人居山谷間。[167]

The state of Jiabei 伽倍: Formerly it was the *Xihou* 翕侯 of Xiumi 休密. Its capital is located in the town of Hemo 和墨 to the west of Suoju 莎車, and it is 13,000 *li* from Dai. The people live in valleys.[167]

[167] The section above is copied from the “Xiyu zhuan” of *Weishu*.

折薛莫孫國，故雙靡翕侯，都雙靡城，在伽倍西，去代一萬三千五百里。居山谷間。[168]

The state of Zhexuemosun 折薛莫孫: Formerly it was the *Xihou* 翕侯 of Shuangmi 雙靡. Its capital is located in the town of Shuangmi to the west of Jiabei, and it is 13,500 *li* from Dai. The people live in valleys.[168]

[168] The section above is copied from the “Xiyu zhuan” of *Weishu*.

鉗敦國，故貴霜翕侯，都護澡城，在折薛莫孫西，去代一萬三千五百六十里。居山谷間。[169]

The state of Qiandun 鉗敦: Formerly it was the *Xihou* of Guishuang 貴霜. Is capital is located in the town of Huzao 護澡 to the west of Zhexuemosun, and it is 13,560 *li* from Dai. The people live in valleys.[169]

[169] The section above is copied from the “Xiyu zhuan” of *Weishu*.

弗敵沙國，故肹頓翕侯，都薄茅城，在鉗敦西，去代一萬三千六百六十里。居山谷間。[170]

The state of Fudisha 弗敵沙: Formerly it was the *Xihou* of Bidun 肹頓. Its capital is located in the town of Bomao 薄茅 to the west of Qiandun, and it is 13,660 *li* from Dai. The people live in valleys.[170]

[170] The section above is copied from the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Weishu*.

閻浮謁國，故高附翕侯。都高附城，在弗敵沙南，去代一萬三千七百六十里。居山谷間。[171]

The state of Yanfuye 閻浮謁: Formerly it was the *Xihou* of Gaofu 高附. Its capital is located in the town of Gaofu to the south of Fudisha, and is 13,760 *li* from Dai. The people live in valleys.[171]

[171] The section above is copied from the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Weishu*.

大月氏國，都賸監氏城，在弗敵沙西，去代一萬四千五百里。北與蠕蠕接，數爲所侵，遂西徙都薄羅城，去弗敵沙二千一百里。其王寄多羅勇武，遂興師越大山，南侵北天竺，自乾陁羅以北五國盡役屬之。[172]

The state of the Da Yuezhi 大月氏 : Its capital is located in the town of Lujianshi 盧監氏 to the west of Fudisha, and it is 14,500 *li* from Dai. In the north it adjoins the [territory] of the Ruru 蠕蠕. They were often invaded by the Ruru, [so that] subsequently they moved their capital west to the town of Boluo 薄羅, which is 2,100 *li* from Fudisha. Its king Jiduoluo 寄多羅, who was brave and warlike, thereupon raised an army, crossed the great mountains and, going southwards, invaded Northern Tianzhu 天竺. The five states north of Qiantuoluo 乾陁羅 all became subject to him.[172]

[172] The section above is copied from the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Weishu*.

太武時，其國人商販京師，自云能鑄石爲五色瑠璃，於是採礦山中，於京師鑄之。旣成，光澤乃美於西方來者，乃詔爲行殿，容百餘人，光色映徹，觀者見之，莫不驚駭，以爲神明所作。自此國中瑠璃遂賤，人不復珍之。[173]

During the reign of Emperor Taiwu 太武 their merchants came to the national capital. They claimed they could cast rock into colored *liuli* 瑠璃. They thereupon mined [suitable quantities of the proper kinds of rock] from the mountains [and brought them] to the national capital where they cast them. After the [*liuli*] was made, its gloss was more beautiful than that imported from the West. Then [the emperor] ordered that an audience hall which could hold over one hundred men be built with the material. The glitter was dazzling and the spectators were awestruck, mistaking it for the aura of gods. After this *liuli* was considered common in the empire, and people no longer valued it.[173]

[173] The section above is copied from the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Weishu*.

安息國，在葱嶺西，都蔚搜城。北與康居，西與波斯相接，[174] 在大月氏西北，去代二萬一千五百里。[175]

The state of Anxi 安息: It is located to the west of the Cong 葱 Mountains. Its capital is located in the town of Weisou 蔚搜. It adjoins Kangju in the north and Bosi 波斯 in the west.[174] It is to the northwest of Da Yuezhi 大月氏 . It is 21,500 *li* from Dai to the east.[175]

[174] The above was copied from the "Yiyu zhuan (xia)" of *Zhoushu*. In the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Weishu*, there should also be a similar text (e.g., "The state of Anxi: Its capital is located at the town of Weisou") in conformity with its convention, evidenced by the text in the "Xi Rong (xia)" 西戎下 of the "Si Yi (san)" 四夷三 in *Tongzhi* 通志 (ch. 196): "In the time of the Later Wei, Anxi communicated with [China]. According to its envoy, its capital was located in the town of Weisou, and was 21,500 *li* from Dai".

[175] The section above was copied from the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Weishu*.

周天和二年，其王遣使朝獻。[176]

In the second year of the Tianhe 天和 reign-period [567 CE] of the Zhou dynasty, its king sent an envoy to present tribute.[176]

[176] The above is copied from the "Yiyu zhuan (xia)" of *Zhoushu*.

條支國，在安息西，去代二萬九千四百里。[177]

The state of Tiaozhi 條支: It is located to the west of Anxi, and is 29,400 *li* from Dai.[177]

[177] The section above is copied from the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Weishu*. The section on Tiaozhi cannot be found in the current edition of the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Weishu*. It was obviously deleted by the editor who copied the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Beishi* into that of *Weishu*. The current edition of *Weishu* uses the text of the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Beishi*; the editor of *Beishi*, while copying the text of the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Weishu*, had the statement that Bosi "is the state of Tiaozhi of antiquity" 古條支國也 deleted, without realizing that the statement is actually copied from the "Yiyu zhuan (xia)" of the *Zhoushu*.

大秦國，一名黎軒，都安都城。從條支西渡海曲一萬里，去代三萬九千四百里。其海滂出，猶渤海也，而東西與渤海相望，蓋自然之理。地方六千里，居兩海之間，其地平正，人居星布。其王都城分爲五城，各方五里，周六十里。王居中城。城置八臣以主四方，而王城亦置八臣，分主四城。若謀國事及四方有不決者，則四城之臣集議王所，王自聽之，然後施行。王三年一出觀風化，人有冤枉詣王訴訟者，當方之臣小則讓責，大則黜退，令其舉賢人以代之。其人端正長大，衣服、車旗擬儀中國，故外域謂之大秦。其土宜五穀、桑、麻，人務蠶、田。多璆琳、琅玕、神龜、白馬朱鬣、明珠、夜光璧。東南通交趾，又水道通益州永昌郡，多出異物。[178]

The state of Da Qin 大秦: It is also called Lixuan 黎軒. Its capital is located in the city of Andu 安都. From Tiaozhi one goes west across the sea, winding round 10,000 *li* [and reaches the city of Andu]. It is 39,400 *li* from Dai. The sea comes out on one side like Bohai 勃海 Gulf. This sea and Bohai face each other from [the] eastern and western [ends of the land mass, which] is a natural configuration. Its area extends for 6,000 *li*, and is situated between two seas. Its land is flat and regular, with the civilian residential housing scattered all over like stars in the sky. The capital city of the king is divided into five cities, each five *li* square; and 60 *li* in circumference. The king dwells in the central city. Each city has eight officials to rule over the four quarters [of the state];

but in the royal city there are also established eight high officials to rule over the four quarters [of the country]. The royal city has also established eight officials who divide up the rule of the four cities. If a discussion of affairs of state or of the four quarters [of the state] does not produce a decision, then the officials of the four cities meet at the king's residence to discuss [the matter]. Only after the king himself has heard the matter is any action taken. Every three years the king goes out to see how the people are behaving. If there is a complaint to the king about wrongdoing, the responsible official of the quarterly region is admonished if it is a small matter, but if it is a serious matter, he is degraded and dismissed, with an order to appoint a worthy man in his place. The people are regular-featured and tall, with clothes and chariots and banners resembling those of the Middle Kingdom, thus other states call it Da Qin 大秦 [Great Qin]. The soil is suitable for the five grains, mulberry, and hemp. The people work at sericulture and agriculture. There are lots of *qiulin* 璆琳 [a kind of jadestone], *langgan* 琅玕 [a kind of pearl-like stone], tortoise shell, white horses with red manes, full-moon pearls, and the jewel which shines at night. To the southeast it communicates with Jiaozhi 交趾, and there is also a sea route communicating with Yizhou 益州. That is why Yongchang 永昌 Prefecture produces many exotica [from Da Qin].[178]

[178] The section above is copied from the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Weishu*.

大秦西海水之西有河，河西南流。河西有南、北山，山西有赤水，西有白玉山。玉山西有西王母山，玉爲堂室云。從安息西界循海曲，亦至大秦，迴萬餘里。於彼國觀日月星辰，無異中國，而前史云，條支西行百里，日入處，失之遠矣。[179]

It is said that to the west of the water of the sea and west of Da Qin is a river, which flows southwest. To the west of the river are mountains running north-south. To the west of the mountains is the Red Water. To the west [of the Red Water] is the White Jade Mountain. To the west of the [White] Jade Mountain is the mountain of the Queen Mother of the West, where a hall is made of jade. From the western border of Anxi, following the sea bend, one also reaches Da Qin, going round 10,000 *li*. Looking at the sun, moon, stars and constellations from that state is no different than from the Middle

Kingdom, thus when former histories say that one goes 100 *li* from Tiaozhi west to reach the place where the sun sets, they are very much astray.[179]

[179] The section above is copied from the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Weishu*.

阿鉤羌國，在莎車西南，去代一萬三千里。國西有縣度山，其間四百里中，往往有棧道，下臨不測之深，人行以繩索相持而度，因以名之。土有五穀、諸果。市用錢爲貨。居止立宮室。有兵器。土出金珠。[180]

The state of Agou Qiang 阿鉤羌: It is located to the southwest of Suoju 莎車, and it is 13,000 *li* from Dai. There are the Suspended Crossing Mountains to the west of it, stretching out for 400 *li* with frequent plank ways overhanging unfathomable abysses, across which travelers must pull themselves on ropes. Thus it is named [Suspended Crossing]. The soil produces the five grains, and various sorts of fruit. In the markets goods are paid for with coins. [Its people] live a settled life in houses and possess weapons. The soil produces gold and pearls.[180]

[180] The section above is copied from the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Weishu*.

波路國，在阿鉤羌西北，去代一萬三千九百里。其地濕熱，有蜀馬。土平，物産國俗與阿鉤羌同類焉。[181]

The state of Bolu 波路: It is located to the northwest of Agou Qiang, and it is 13,900 *li* from Dai. The country is damp and hot, and there are horses from Shu 蜀. The soil is flat. The products and customs resemble those in the state of Agou Qiang.[181]

[181] The section above is copied from the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Weishu*.

小月氏國，都富樓沙城。其王本大月氏王寄多羅子也。寄多羅爲匈奴所逐西徙，後令其子守此城，因號小月氏焉。在波路西南，去代一萬六千六百里。先居西平、張掖之間，被服頗與羌同。其俗以金銀錢爲貨。隨畜牧移徙，亦類匈奴。其城東十里有佛塔，周三百五十步，高八十丈。自佛塔初建，計至武定八年，

八百四十二年，所謂百丈佛圖也。[182]

The state of the Xiao Yuezhi 小月氏: Its capital is located in the town of Fulousha 富樓沙. Its king was originally a son of the king of Da Yuezhi 大月氏, Jiduoluo 寄多羅. When Jiduoluo had moved west under pressure of the Xiongnu, he ordered his son to hold this town; hence they are called the Xiao Yuezhi. [Its capital] is located to the southwest of Bolu, and is 15,600 *li* from Dai. They formerly lived in the region between Xiping 西平 and Zhangye 張掖, and in their way of clothing they considerably resemble the Qiang. As to their customs, they have money made of gold and silver, and they move around following their herds of cattle – [in this respect] they also resemble the Xiongnu. At a distance of ten *li* east of the capital there is a Buddhist pagoda, the circumference of which measures 350 paces; its height is 800 *zhang* 丈. It has been calculated that from the time that the pagoda was founded until the eighth year of the Wuding 武定 reign-period [550 CE] 842 years have elapsed. It is called the "Hundred *Zhang* Pagoda".[182]

[182] The section above is copied from the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Weishu*.

罽賓國，都善見城，在波路西南，去代一萬四千二百里。居在四山中。其地東西八百里，南北三百里。地平，溫和。有苜蓿、雜草、奇木、檀、槐、梓、竹。種五穀，糞園田。地下濕，生稻。冬食生菜。其人工巧，雕文、刻鏤、織罽。有金銀銅錫以爲器物。市用錢。他畜與諸國同。每使朝獻。[183]

The state of Jibin 罽賓: Its capital is located in the town of Shanjian 善見 to the southwest of Bolu, and it is 14,200 *li* from Dai. The town is surrounded by mountains. The distance from east to west extends for more than 800 *li*, from south to north 300 *li*. The land is flat and the climate is temperate. There is lucerne, with a variety of vegetation and rare trees, sandalwood, oaks, catalpa, and bamboo. [The inhabitants] grow the five field crops, and they manure their orchards and arable land. The land is low and damp, producing rice; fresh vegetables are eaten in winter. The inhabitants are skillful at decorative work, engraving, the art of inlay, and weaving woolens. There is gold, silver, copper, and tin with which they make utensils. They have markets, in which

coins are used. The other stock animals are the same as those of the various other states. [From then on] it often sent envoys to present tribute.[183]

[183] The section above is copied from the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Weishu*.

吐呼羅國，去代一萬二千里。東至范陽國，西至悉萬斤國，中間相去二千里；南至連山，不知名；北至波斯國，中間相去一萬里。薄提城周匝六十里。城南有西流大水，名漢樓河。土宜五穀，有好馬、駝、騾。其王曾遣使朝貢。[184]

The state of Tuhuluo 吐呼羅: It is 12,000 *li* from Dai. To the east one reaches the state of Fanyang 范陽, to the west one reaches the state of Xiwanjin, and between them the distance is 2,000 *li*. To the south is a chain of mountains, the name of which is not known. To the north is the state of Bosi at a distance of 10,000 *li*. The state contains the town of Boti 薄提, which is 60 *li* in circumference. To the south of the town there is a large river, which flows west, named the Hanlou 漢樓 River. The soil is suitable for the five grains, and there are fine horses, camels and mules. The king sent an envoy to present tribute.[184]

[184] The section above is copied from the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Weishu*.

副貨國，去代一萬七千里。東至阿富使且國，西至沒誰國，中間相去一千里；南有連山，不知名；北至奇沙國，相去一千五百里。國中有副貨城，周匝七十里。宜五穀、蒲桃，唯有馬、駝、騾。國王有黃金殿，殿下金駝七頭，各高三尺。其王遣使朝貢。[185]

The state of Fuhuo 副貨: It is 17,000 *li* from Dai. To the east one reaches the state of Afushiqie 阿副使且, to the west one reaches the state of Meisui 没雖, and between them the distance is 1,000 *li*. To the south is a chain of mountains, the name of which is not known. To the north is the state of Qisha 奇沙 at a distance of 1,500 *li*. There is a city of Fuhuo in the state, which is 70 *li* in circumference. The country is suitable for the five grains and grapes, but has only horses, camels, and mules. The king has a palace of gold below which are seven gold camels, each one three feet high. The king sent an

envoy to present tribute.[185]

[185] The section above is copied from the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Weishu*.

南天竺國，去代三萬一千五百里。有伏醜城，周匝十里，城中出摩尼珠、珊瑚。城東三百里有拔賴城，城中出黃金、白真檀、石蜜、蒲桃。土宜五穀。[186]

The state of Southern Tianzhu 天竺: It is 31,500 *li* from Dai. In the state there is a town called Fuchou 伏醜, which is 10 *li* in circumference. The town produces Maṇi pearls and corals. To the east is the town of Balai 拔賴 at a distance of 300 *li*, in which there are gold, silver, red sandalwood, crystal sugar, and grapes. The soil is suitable for the five grains. [186]

[186] The section above is copied from the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Weishu*.

宣武時，其國王婆羅化遣使獻駿馬、金、銀，自此每使朝貢。[187]

During the reign of Emperor Xuanwu 宣武, the king Poluohua 婆羅化 sent envoys to present a fine horse, gold, and silver. From then on it often sent envoys to present tribute.[187]

[187] The section above is copied from the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Weishu*.

疊伏羅國，去代三萬一千里。國中有勿悉城。城北有鹽奇水，西流。有白象，并有阿末黎木，皮中織作布。土宜五穀。[188]

The state of Diefuluo 疊伏羅: It is 31,000 *li* from Dai. There is a town of Wuxi 勿悉 in the state. To the north of the town there is a Yanqi 鹽奇 River, which flows west. There are white elephants, and *amoli* 阿末黎 (*Emblica myrobalan*). [People] weave cloth from tree bark. The soil is suitable for the five grains.[188]

[188] The section above is copied from the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Weishu*.

宣武時，其國王伏陁末多遣使獻方物，自是每使朝貢。[189]

During the reign of Emperor Xuanwu 宣武 its king Futuomoduo 伏陁末多 sent envoys to present its local products. From then on it often sent envoys to present tribute.[189]

[189] The section above is copied from the “Xiyu zhuan” of *Weishu*. For “Futuomoduo” 伏陁末多, the current edition of the “Xiyu zhuan” of *Weishu* reads “Futuomoduo” 伏陀末多.

拔豆國，去代五萬一千里。東至多勿當國，西至旃那國，中間相去七百五十里，南至罽陵伽國，北至弗那伏且國，中間相去九百里。國中出金、銀、雜寶、白象、水牛、氂牛、蒲桃、五果。土宜五穀。[190]

The state of Badou 拔豆: It is 51,000 *li* from Dai. To the east one reaches the state of Duowudang 多勿當, to the west one reaches the state of Zhanna 旃那, and between them the distance is 750 *li*. To the south one reaches the state of Jilingjia 罽陵伽, to the north one reaches the state of Funafuqie 弗那伏且, and between them the distance is 900 *li*. The country produces gold, silver, varied treasures, white elephants, water buffaloes, yaks, grapes, and the five fruits. The soil is suitable for the five grains.[190]

[190] The section above is copied from the “Xiyu zhuan” of *Weishu*.

嚈噠國[191]、大月氏之種類也，[192]亦曰高車之別種，其原出於塞北。自金山而南，[193]在于闐之西，[194]都烏滸水南二百餘里，[195]去長安一萬一百里。其王都拔底延城，蓋王舍城也。其城方十里餘，[196]多寺塔，皆飾以金。[197]風俗與突厥略同。[198]其俗，兄弟共一妻，夫無兄弟者，妻戴一角帽，若有兄弟者，依其多少之數，更加帽角焉。[199]衣服類［胡］，加以纓絡。頭皆翦髮。其語與蠕蠕、高車及諸胡不同。[200]衆可有十萬。[201]無城邑，依隨水草，以氈爲屋，夏遷涼土，冬逐暖處。分其諸妻，各在別所，相去或二百、三百里。其王巡歷而行，每月一處，冬寒之時，三月不徙。王位不必傳子，子弟堪者，死便受之。其國無車有輿。多駝馬。用刑嚴急，偷盜無多少皆腰斬，盜一責十。死者，富者累石爲藏，貧者掘地而埋，隨身諸物，皆置塚內。[202]其人凶悍，能鬬戰。西域康居、于闐、

沙勒、安息及諸小國三十許，皆役屬之，[203]號爲大國。[204]與蠕蠕婚姻。[205]

The state of the Yeda 嚈噠[191]: The Yeda are descended from a branch of the Da Yuezhi 大月氏[192], as well as from the Gaoche 高車. They originated north of the Great Wall and came southward from the Jin 金 Mountains.[193] It is located to the west of Yutian 于闐.[194] Its capital is at a distance of over 200 *li* to the south of the Wuhu 烏滸 River.[195] It is 10,100 *li* from Chang'an. The seat of the king's government is the town of Badiyan 拔底延, which means something like "the town of Rājagriha". This town is over ten *li* square.[196] There are many temples and pagodas, which all are decorated with gold.[197] Its customs are about the same as those of the Tujue.[198] They also have a custom by which older and younger brothers marry the one wife. If one has no older or younger brother, his wife wears a one-horned hat. If one has brothers, horns are added to the hat, according to their number.[199] Their clothing is similar to that worn by the Hu 胡 people, with the addition of tassels. They all clip their hair. Their speech is different from that of the Ruru, the Gaoche, and the various Hu people.[200] Their massed hordes number perhaps 100,000 men.[201] In their country there are no towns and settlements. The people go where there is water and grass. They live in felt tents. They migrate to cool lands in summer and to warm lands in winter. Dividing his wives and having each live in a separate place, with a distance of 200 or 300 *li* between them, its king makes his rounds, going to a different place each month, but does not go into retreat for the three cold months of winter. The throne is not necessarily handed down to the [king's] sons. If a child from another [branch of the royal house] is qualified, [the throne] is conferred upon him as soon as the king dies. Their country is without *che* 車 [a chariot pulled by horses] but has *yu* 輿 [a cart pushed or pulled by persons] and an abundance of camels and horses. They apply punishments harshly and promptly: regardless of how little a robber or a thief has taken, his body is cut in half at the waist, and even though only one person has committed a robbery, ten may be condemned. When a person dies, wealthy families pile up stones to make a [burial] vault, while poor ones simply dig a hole in the ground and bury [the corpse]. All of the deceased's personal effects are placed in the tomb.[202] Its people are fierce and violent, and make mighty warriors. Kangju 康居, Yutian 于闐, Shale 沙勒, and Anxi 安息, as well as the small states in the Western Regions, altogether more than thirty, are all subject to it.[203] They are reputed to be a

large state.[204] [Its royal family] is intermarried with that of the Ruru.[205]

[191] The three characters, 嚈噠國 (the state of the Yeda), are copied from the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Weishu*. For "Yeda" 嚈噠, the "Yiyu zhuan (xia)" of *Zhoushu* reads "Yanda" 嚈噠, and the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Suishu* reads "Yida" 挹怛.[11]

[192] "The Yeda are descended from a branch of the Da Yuezhi": This is copied from the "Yiyu zhuan (xia)" of *Zhoushu*. From the Northern Zhou onward, the origins of the Yeda became gradually obscure for the Chinese, who only knew that the center of the regime was where the Kushan (Guishuang) kingdom rose, and for this Guishuang kingdom, the Chinese, "basing themselves upon the old appellation, speak about 'the Da Yuezhi'" ("Xiyu zhuan" of *Hou-Han shu* 後漢書), which led to the erroneous assertion that "The Yeda are descended from a branch of the Da Yuezhi".

[193] "...as well as from the Gaoche. They originated north of the Great Wall and came southward from the Jin Mountains": This is copied from the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Weishu*, with the exception of 亦曰 (is also), which is added by Li Yanshou.

[194] "It is located to the west of Yutian": This is copied from the "Yiyu zhuan (xia)" of *Zhoushu*, where the record on Yanda immediately follows that on Yutian; hence the transition.

[195] "Its capital is at a distance of over 200 *li* to the south of the Wuhu River": This is copied from the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Suishu*.

[196] "It is 10,100 *li* from Chang'an. The seat of the king's government is the town of Badiyan, which means something like 'the town of Rājagriha'. This town is over ten *li* square": This is copied from the "Yiyu zhuan (xia)" of *Zhoushu*. The capital of the Northern Zhou was Chang'an, and the distances are given in reference to that city. The Yeda were originally nomads who followed water and pasture. When Song Yun 宋雲 and his company reached that state in the second year of the Shengui 神龜 reign-period (519 CE), they still observed that "There were no walled towns for residences; [the area] was kept in order by a patrolling army" (Yi-t'ung Wang, trans, *A Record of Buddhist Monasteries in Lo-yang* by Yang Hsüan-chih, p. 225). It can be said that the Yeda did not settle down and build a capital until the time when their state was about to collapse. This is why there was no record about its capital until the "Yiyu zhuan (xia)" of *Zhoushu*.

[197] "There are many temples and pagodas, which all are decorated with gold": This is copied from the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Suishu*.

[198] "Its customs are about the same as those of the Tujue": This is copied from the "Yiyu zhuan (xia)" of *Zhoushu*: "Its penal laws and customs are about the same as those of the Tujue". Li

Yanshou omitted 刑法 (the penal code), for the passages he copied from the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Weishu* had a special discussion on the Yeda penal code.

[199] "They also have a custom by which older and younger brothers marry one wife. If one has no older or younger brother, his wife wears a one-horned hat. If one has brothers, horns are added to the hat, according to their number": This is copied from the "Yiyu zhuan (xia)" of *Zhoushu*. For 妻戴一角帽, the current edition of the "Xiyu zhuan" of the *Weishu* reads 其妻戴一角帽; for 更加帽角焉, it reads 更加角焉.

[200] "Their clothing is similar to that worn by the Hu people, with the addition of tassels. They all clip their hair. Their speech is different from that of the Ruru, the Gaoche, and the various Hu people": This is copied from the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Weishu*. The character Hu is added after the section on the Yeda in the "Xi Rong (wu)" 西戎五 of the "Bianfang (jiu)" 邊防九 section of *Tongdian* 通典 (ch. 193).

[201] "Their massed hordes number perhaps 100,000 men" 衆可有十萬: This is copied from the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Weishu*. The current edition of the text in *Weishu* reads "衆可十萬".

[202] The text from "In their country there are no towns and settlements" to "All of the deceased's personal effects are placed in the tomb" is copied from the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Weishu*. In the current edition, 子弟堪者, 死便受之 reads 子弟堪任, 死便授之; 富家 reads 富者.

[203] The text from "Its people are fierce and violent" to "are all subject to it": This is copied from the "Yiyu zhuan (xia)" of *Zhoushu*. "Kangju" 康居 and "Shale" 沙勒 (or "Shule" 疏勒) are missing in the "Yiyu zhuan (xia)" of *Zhoushu*; it seems that something is omitted or copied erroneously. Although there are no independent sections on Kangju and Shule, it is not impossible for them to be mentioned in the section on the Yanda. In the section on Anxi, it is stated that the state "adjoins Kangju to the north".

[204] "They are reputed to be a large state": This is copied from the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Weishu*.

[205] "[Its royal family] is intermarried with that of the Ruru": This is copied from the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Weishu*.

自太安以後，每遣使朝貢。正光末，遣貢師子一，至高平，遇万俟醜奴反，因留之。醜奴平，送京師。永熙以後，朝獻遂絕。[206]

Since the Tai'an 太安 reign-period they often sent envoys to present tribute. At the end of the Zhengguang 正光 reign-period [525 CE] they sent envoys to present a lion.

The envoys met the rebel Moqi Chounu 万俟醜奴 when they reached Gaoping 高平, and thus were detained. The lion was not sent to the capital until [Moqi] Chounu was put down. After the Yongxi 永熙 reign-period their payment of tribute thereupon stopped.[206]

[206] The section above is copied from the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Weishu*. In the current edition of the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Weishu*, " 遣貢師子一 " reads " 遣使貢師子一 ".

至大統十二年，遣使獻其方物。廢帝二年、周明帝二年，並遣使來獻。後爲突厥所破，部落分散，職貢遂絕。[207] 至隋大業中，又遣使朝貢方物。[208]

In the twelfth year of the Datong 大統 reign-period [546 CE], they sent envoys to present local products. In the second year of the reign of Emperor Fei 廢 [of the Wei Dynasty] [553 CE], and in the second year of the reign of Emperor Ming 明 of Zhou 周 Dynasty [558 CE], they also sent envoys to present tribute. Later they were destroyed by the Tujue. Their tribes were scattered and their tribute stopped.[207] During the Daye 大業 reign-period of the Sui Dynasty they again sent an envoy to present their local products.[208]

[207] The above is copied from the "Yiyu zhuan (xia)" of *Zhoushu*.

[208] The above is copied from the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Suishu*.

其國去漕國千五百里，東去瓜州六千五百里。[209]

The state is 1,500 *li* from the state of Cao 漕, and 6,500 *li* from Gua Province to the east.[209]

[209] The section above is copied from the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Suishu*. The current edition of the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Weishu* reads: "It is 1,500 *li* from the state of Cao to the south" 南去漕國千五百里.

初，熙平中，明帝遣賸伏子統宋雲、沙門法力等使西域，訪求佛經。時有沙門慧生者亦與俱行，正光中還。慧生所經諸國，不能知其本末及山川里數，蓋舉其略云。[210]

Originally, during the Xiping 熙平 reign-period [516-518 CE], Emperor Ming 明 sent the Sub-Supervisor of Valets, Song Yun 宋雲, and the *śramana*, Fali 法力, and others on a mission to the Western Regions to search for Buddhist *sūtras*. At that time, *śraman.a* Huisheng 慧生 also went with them, and then returned home in the Zhengguang 正光 reign-period [520-525 CE]. Although the details of the various states that Huisheng 慧生 traversed and the dimensions of the mountains and rivers are not known, we nevertheless provide a rough outline here.[210]

[210] The section above is probably copied from the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Weishu*.

朱居國，在于闐西。其人山居。有麥，多林果。咸事佛。語與于闐相類。役屬嚈噠。[211]

The state of Zhuju 朱居: It is located to the west of Yutian. The people dwell in the mountains. There are wheat and many trees and fruits. The people all believe in Buddhism. Their speech is similar to that of Yutian. The state is subject to Yeda.[211]

[211] The section above is probably adapted from the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Weishu*.

渴槃陁國，在葱嶺東，朱駒波西。河經其國東北流。有高山，夏積霜雪。亦事佛道。附於嚈噠。[212]

The state of Kepantuo 渴槃陁: It is located to the east of the Cong Mountains and to the west of Zhujubo 朱駒波. A river passes through the country and flows northeast. There are high mountains which are covered by frost and snow even in summer. The people also believe in Buddhism. The state is subject to Yeda.[212]

[212] The section above is probably adapted from the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Weishu*.

鉢和國，在渴槃陁西。其土尤寒，人畜同居，穴地而處。又有大雪山，望若銀峰。其人唯食餅麨，飲麥酒，服氈裘。有二道，一道西行向嚈噠，一道西南趣烏萇。亦爲嚈噠所統。[213]

The state of Bohe 鉢和: It is located to the west of Kepantuo. The land is especially cold. Men and animals live together in subterranean holes that they dig. There are great snowy mountains that look like peaks of silver in the distance. The people only eat round flat cakes and parched oat flour, drink beer, and wear furs and felts. There are two routes. One of them leads west to Yeda and the other leads southwest to Wuchang 烏萇. The state is also controlled by the Yeda.[213]

[213] The section above is probably copied from the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Weishu*.

波知國，在鉢和西南。土狹人貧，依託山谷，其王不能總攝。有三池，傳云大池有龍王，次者有龍婦，小者有龍子，行人經之，設祭乃得過，不祭，多遇風雪之困。[214]

The state of Bozhi 波知: It is located to the southwest of Bohe. The land is narrow and the people are poor, limited to the valleys of mountains. Its king cannot exercise control over the whole country. There are three lakes [in the country]. It is said that there is a dragon king in the large lake, the wife of the dragon king in the second, and the son of the dragon king in the small lake. When travelers go by the lakes it is necessary to sacrifice to the dragon king. They usually suffer difficulties from the wind and rain if the sacrifice is not performed.[214]

[214] The section above is probably copied from the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Weishu*.

賒彌國，在波知之南。山居。不信佛法，專事諸神。亦附嚈噠。[215]

The state of Shemi 賒彌: It is located to the south of Bozhi. The people dwell in the mountains and do not believe in Buddhism, but believe in varied gods. The state is also subject to Yeda.[215]

[215] The section above is probably copied from the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Weishu*.

東有鉢盧勒國，路險，緣鐵鎖而度，下不見底。熙平中，宋雲等竟不能達。[216]

To the east of it there is the state of Bolule 鉢盧勒. The route leading there is precipitous, and one has to cross bottomless chasms along iron-chain [bridges]. During the Xiping 熙平 reign-period, Song Yun and his companions were ultimately unable to reach this state.[216]

[216] The section above is probably copied from the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Weishu*.

烏萇國，在賒彌南。北有葱嶺，南至天竺。婆羅門胡爲其上族。婆羅門多解天文吉凶之數，其王動則訪決焉。土多林果，引水灌田，豐稻、麥。事佛，多諸寺塔，極華麗。人有爭訴，服之以藥，曲者發狂，直者無恙。爲法不殺，犯死罪唯徙於靈山。西南有檀特山，山上立寺，以驢數頭運食山下，無人控御，自知往來也。[217]

The state of Wuchang 烏萇: It is located to the south of Shemi. To the north there are the Cong Mountains, and to the south one reaches Tianzhu. The Brahmanic Hu are the superior stock in the state. Most of Brahmans know astronomy and the prognostication of good or ill fate. The king often visits them to decide his actions. In this land are many trees and fruits. The people channel water to irrigate the fields. There is an abundance of rice and wheat. They believe in Buddhism, and there are many temples and pagodas with extremely magnificent [Buddhist] ceremonies. If there are any arguments between litigants, they are given a drug to take. The wrong party will go mad and the right party will be safe and sound. There is no death penalty in its criminal law. If a man is guilty of murder, he is just exiled to a sacred mountain. To the southwest is Mount Tante 檀特 on which a temple has been erected. Several donkeys are used to carry food [up the mountain]; they come and go by themselves without anyone to drive them at the foot of the mountain.[217]

[217] The section above is probably copied from the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Weishu*.

乾陁國，在烏萇西，本名業波，爲嚈噠所破，因改焉。其王本是敕勒，臨國已二世矣。好征戰，與罽賓鬬，三年不罷，人怨苦之。有鬬象七百頭，十人乘一象，皆執兵仗，象鼻縛刀以戰。所都城東南七里有佛塔，高七十丈，周三百步，

即所謂雀離佛圖也。[218]

The state of Qiantuo 乾陀: It is located to the west of Wuchang. The state was originally called Yebo 業波, but it was defeated by Yeda, and was thus changed to the present name. Its king was originally a person of Chile. His family has already ruled the state for two generations. He is fond of expeditions, and has been fighting with Jibin for three years continually, causing the people to complain of hardship. He has 700 war-elephants, each of which carries ten halberdiers and attacks with swords tried to its trunk. Seven *li* to the southeast of the town that has been established as the capital is a pagoda, whose height is 70 *zhang* 丈, and the circumference of which measures 300 paces. This is the so-called "Queli 雀離 Stūpa".[218]

[218] The section above is probably copied from the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Weishu*.

康國者，康居之後也。遷徙無常，不恒故地，自漢以來，相承不絕。其王本姓溫，月氏人也。舊居祁連山北昭武城，因被匈奴所破，西踰葱嶺，遂有國。枝庶各分王，故康國左右諸國，並以昭武爲姓，示不忘本也。王字世夫畢，爲人寬厚，甚得衆心。其妻突厥達度可汗女也。[219]

The state of Kang 康: Its king is a descendant [of the royal house] of the Kangju 康居. They often change their residence and do not regularly live in their former land. Their family has continued without interruption since Han times. Its king was originally surnamed Wen 温 and he was a Yuezhi. In ancient times, they had lived in the town of Zhaowu 昭武 to the north of the Qilian 祁連 Mountains; after they had been crushed by the Xiongnu 匈奴 and gone west across the Cong Mountains, they came at last to possess this state. Each branch of this people respectively established itself as king, therefore the states to the left and right of the state of Kang have taken Zhaowu as their surname to show that they have not forgotten their origin. Its king, who is a man of generosity, styles himself Shifubi 世夫畢, and has won considerable popular support. His wife is a daughter of Khan Dadu 達度 of the Tujue (Türks).[219]

[219] The section above is probably copied from the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Suishu*.

都於薩寶水上阿祿迪城，多人居。大臣三人共掌國事。其王素冠七寶花，衣綾、羅、錦、繡、白疊；其妻有髪，幪以皂巾。丈夫翦髪，錦袍。名爲強國，西域諸國多歸之。米國、史國、曹國、何國、安國、小安國、那色波國、烏那曷國、穆國皆歸附之。有胡律，置於祆祠，將決罰，則取而斷之。重者族，次罪者死，賊盜截其足。人皆深目、高鼻、多髯。善商賈，諸夷交易，多湊其國。有大小鼓、琵琶、五弦、箜篌。婚姻喪制與突厥同。國立祖廟，以六月祭之，諸國皆助祭。奉佛，爲胡書。氣候溫，宜五穀，勤修園蔬，樹木滋茂。出馬、駝、驢、犎牛、黃金、硇沙、䞘香、阿薩那香、瑟瑟、麞皮、氍氀、錦、疊。多蒲桃酒，富家或致千石，連年不敗。[220]

Its capital is the town of Aludi 阿祿迪 on the Sabao 薩寶 River, and it has a large number of inhabitants. Three ministers attend to the affairs of the state together. The king binds up his hair and wears a crown [decorated with] the seven treasures and golden flowers, as well as [a robe made of] of silks, rich brocade, and *baidie* 白疊 (white cotton cloth). His wife wears her hair in a chignon which she covers with a silk kerchief. The men clip their hair and wear embroidered robes. [Kang] has a reputation as a strong state, and the various states in the Western Regions all defer to it. The states of Mi 米, Shi 史, Cao 曹, He 何, An 安, Little An 安, Nasebo 那色波, Wunahe 烏那曷 and Mu 穆 are all subject to it. There is a Hu legal code set up in a Zoroastrian temple; when there is a punishment [to be meted out], they consult it and pronounce judgment accordingly: a felon has his clan exterminated, a secondary felon is executed, and a robber has his legs amputated. The people all have deep-set eyes and high noses, and [the men have] thick beards. They are expert traders, the transactions of the various barbarians mostly being concentrated in this state. They possess large and small drums, the *pipa* 琵琶 (a type of lute), the *wuxian* 五弦 (a five-stringed plucked instrument), and the *konghou* 箜篌 (the harp). Marriage and funeral rites are the same as those of the Tujue (Türks). In the state an ancestral temple is set up where the people hold a memorial ceremony in the sixth month, and the various states all come to assist in the ceremony. It is the custom to worship the Buddha, and their script is the same as that of the Hu. The climate is mild and suitable for the five grains; they diligently cultivate vegetable gardens, and trees grow vigorously. The state produces horses, camels, mules, donkeys, humped cattle, gold, nušādir (sal ammoniac), *nalada*, *asarna*, jadeite, deerskin

rugs, *qushu* 氍毹 (wool carpet), brocade, and *die* 疊 (white cotton cloth). There is an abundance of wine made from grapes; a rich household will have as many as 1,000 *shi* 石 , and it will not spoil through the years.[220]

[220] The section above is adapted from the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Suishu*.

大業中，始遣使貢方物，後遂絕焉。[221]

During the Daye 大業 reign-period it first sent an envoy to present its local products, but afterwards [missions] were suspended.[221]

[221] The section above is copied from the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Suishu*.

安國，漢時安息國也。王姓昭武氏，與康國王同族，字設力。妻，康國王女也。都在那密水南，城有五重，環以流水。宮殿皆平頭。王坐金駝座，高七八尺。每聽政，與妻相對，大臣三人，評理國事。風俗同於康居。唯妻其姊妹，及母子遞相禽獸，此爲異也。[222]

The state of An 安: It is the state of Anxi 安息 of Han times. The king, whose clan is the same as that of the king of Kang 康 state, is surnamed Zhaowu 昭武 and styles himself Sheli 設力. His wife is a daughter of the king of the state of Kang. The capital is located to the south of the River Nami 那密. The town has five layers of walls and is surrounded by flowing water. The palaces all have flat roofs and the king sits on a golden camel throne seven or eight *chi* 尺 high. Whenever the king hears cases of government, he sits opposite his wife. Three ministers deal with the affairs of the state. The customs are the same as those of the state of Kang, only men marry their sisters and mothers their sons, like animals. This is what is different [from the state of Kang].[222]

[222] The section above is copied from the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Suishu*.

隋煬帝卽位，遣司隸從事杜行滿使西域，至其國，得五色鹽而返。[223]

After he had ascended the throne, Emperor Yang of the Sui dynasty sent the Attendant Official of the Metropolitan Colonel, Du Xingman 杜行滿, on missions to the Western Regions. [Du Xingman] reached the state, acquired five-colored salt, and returned.[223]

[223] The section above is copied from the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Suishu*.

國西百餘里有畢國，可千餘家。其國無君長，安國統之。大業五年，遣使貢獻。[224]

Over 100 *li* to the west, one reaches the state of Bi 畢. There are roughly over 1,000 households. The state has no overlord or chief, but is controlled by the state of An. In the fifth year of the Daye reign-period it sent an envoy to present tribute.[224]

[224] The section above is copied from the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Suishu*.

石國，居於藥殺水，都城方十餘里。其王姓石，名涅。國城東南立屋，置座於中，正月六日，以王父母燒餘之骨，金甕盛置牀上，巡遶而行，散以花香雜果，王率臣下設祭焉。禮終，王與夫人出就別帳，臣下以次列坐，享宴而罷。有粟、麥，多良馬。其俗善戰。曾貳於突厥，射匱可汗滅之，令特勤甸職攝其國事。南去鏺汗六百里，東南去瓜州六千里。[225]

The state of Shi 石: It is located on the Yaosha 藥殺 River, and its capital is over ten *li* square. Its king is surnamed Shi 石 and named Nie 涅. Southeast of the capital a house has been erected in the middle of which a throne has been set up. On the sixth day of the first month a gold urn containing the ashes of the king's parents is placed on the throne and [the court] parades around it strewing flowers, incense, and various fruits, the king leading ministers in making sacrifice [to his dead parents]. When the ceremony is over the king and his consort go outside to a separate tent [where] the ministers arrange themselves by rank and all sit down to feast, after which the events are concluded. There are millet and wheat and a large number of fine horses. By custom they are good at fighting. The state was once disloyal to the Tujue, with the result that

Khan Shekui 射匱 sent an army to destroy it, and ordered a *Teqin* 特勤, Dianzhi 甸職, to handle its state affairs in an acting capacity. It is 600 *li* from Pohan 鏺汗 to the south and 6,000 *li* from Gua Province to the southeast.[225]

[225] The section above is copied from the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Suishu*.

甸職以隋大業五年遣使朝貢，後不復至。[226]

In the fifth year of the Daye reign-period of the Sui Dynasty Dianzhi sent an envoy to present tribute, but afterwards its envoy no longer reached [the capital].[226]

[226] The section above is copied from the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Suishu*.

.........[227]

[227] The section above is the memoir on the state of Women 女國. Since this state does not belong to the Western Regions, I will not comment on the text. The section is copied from the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Suishu*:

.........[228]

[228] The section, copied from the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Suishu*, is still on the state of Women.

鏺汗國，都葱嶺之西五百餘里，古渠搜國也。王姓昭武，字阿利柒。都城方四里。勝兵數千人。王坐金羊牀，妻戴金花。俗多朱砂、金、鐵。東去疏勒千里，西去蘇對沙那國五百里，西北去石國五百里，東北去突厥可汗二千餘里，東去瓜州五千五百里。[229]

The state of Pohan 鏺汗: Its capital is over 500 *li* to the west of the Cong Mountains. It was the state of Qusou 渠搜 of antiquity. Its king is surnamed Zhaowu 昭武, and styles himself Aliqi 阿利柒. Its capital is four *li* square. There are several thousand persons able to bear arms. The king sits on a golden sheep couch, and his wife decorates

her hair with gilt flowers. There is an abundance of vermilion, gold, and iron. It is 1,000 *li* from Shule to the east, 500 *li* from the state of Suduishana 蘇對沙那 to the west, 500 *li* from the state of Shi 石 to the northwest, over 2,000 *li* from the "tusk tent" of the Tujue (Türks) to the northeast, and 5,500 *li* from Gua Province to the northeast.[229]

[229] The section above is copied from the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Suishu*.

隋大業中，遣使貢方物。[230]

During the Daye reign-period of the Sui Dynasty it sent an envoy to present its local products.[230]

[230] The section above is copied from the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Suishu*.

吐火羅國，都葱嶺西五百里，與挹怛雜居。都城方二里。勝兵者十萬人，皆善戰。其俗奉佛。兄弟同一妻，迭寢焉，每一人入房，戶外掛其衣以爲志。生子屬其長兄。其山穴中有神馬，每歲牧馬於穴所，必産名駒。南去漕國千七百里，東去瓜州五千八百里。[231]

The state of Tuhuoluo 吐火羅: Its capital is at a distance of 500 *li* to the west of the Cong Mountains. The people live together with the Yida 挹怛. Its capital is two *li* square. There are 100,000 persons able to bear arms, and they are all experienced at fighting. It is their custom to worship the Buddha. The brothers marry one wife, sleeping with her by turns. While one is in the wife's bed-room, he hangs his coat on the door as a signal. A child that is born [to the wife] will belong to the oldest brother. There are magical horses in its caves. If mares are grazed near the caves every year, then they are certain to give birth to renowned horses. It is 1,700 *li* from the state of Cao 漕 to the south, and 5,800 *li* from Gua Province to the east.[231]

[231] The section above is copied from the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Suishu*.

大業中，遣使朝貢。[232]

During the Daye reign-period it sent an envoy to present tribute.[232]

[232] The section above is copied from the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Suishu*.

米國，都那密水西，舊康居之地。無王。其城主姓昭武，康國王之支庶，字閉拙。都城方二里。勝兵數百人。西北去蘇對沙那國五百里，西南去史國二百里，東去瓜州六千四百里。[233]

The state of Mi 米: Its capital is located to the west of the Nami 那密 River. It is in the former land of Kangju 康居. There is no king in the state. Its master of the town is surnamed Zhaowu 昭武, who is a relative of the king of the state of Kang 康, and styles himself Bizhuo 閉拙. Its capital is two *li* square. There are several hundred persons able to bear arms. It is 500 *li* from the state of Suduishana to the east, 200 *li* from the state of Shi 史 to the southwest, and 6,400 *li* from Gua Province to the east.[233]

[233] The section above is copied from the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Suishu*.

大業中，頻貢方物。[234]

During the Daye reign-period it frequently sent envoys to present its local products.[234]

[234] The section above is copied from the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Suishu*.

史國，都獨莫水南十里，舊康居之地也。其王姓昭武，字狄遮，亦康國王之支庶也。都城方二里。勝兵千餘人。俗同康國。北去康國二百四十里，南去吐火羅五百里，西去那色波國二百里，東北去米國二百里，東去瓜州六千五百里。[235]

The state of Shi 史: Its capital is ten *li* to the south of the Dumo 獨莫 River. It is in the former land of Kangju. Its king, who is also a relative of the king of the state of Kang, is surnamed Zhaowu 昭武 and styles himself Dizhe 逖遮. Its capital is two *li* square. There are over a thousand persons able to bear arms. The customs are the same

as those of the state of Kang. It is 240 *li* from the state of Kang to the north, 500 *li* from the state of Tuhuoluo 吐火羅 to the south, 200 *li* from the state of Nasebo 那色波 to the west, 200 *li* from the state of Mi 米 to the northeast, and 6,500 *li* from Gua Province to the east.[235]

[235] The section above is copied from the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Suishu*.

大業中，遣使貢方物。[236]

During the Daye reign-period it sent an envoy to present its local products.[236]

[236] The section above is copied from the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Suishu*.

曹國，都那密水南數里，舊是康居之地也。國無主，康國王令子烏建領之。都城方三里。勝兵千餘人。國中有得悉神，自西海以東諸國並敬事之。其神有金人，破羅闊丈有五尺，高下相稱。每日以駝五頭、馬十匹、羊一百口祭之，常有數千人食之不盡。東南去康國百里，西去何國百五十里，東去瓜州六千六百里。[237]

The state of Cao 曹: Its capital is several *li* to the south of the Nami River. It is in the former land of Kangju. There is no ruler in the state, so the king of the state of Kang charges his son Wujian 烏建 with governing it. Its capital is three *li* square. There are over a thousand persons able to bear arms. In this state is the goddess of Dexi 得悉 who is revered and served by all the various states east of the Western Sea. There are gold images of the goddess, as well as golden *poluo* 破羅 for the worship of the goddess that are about fifteen *chi* 尺 high, the taller and shorter forming a well-proportioned group. Every day five camels, ten horses, and one hundred sheep are sacrificed to them. Often several thousand men cannot eat them all. It is 100 *li* from the state of Kang to the southeast, 150 *li* from the state of He 何 to the west, and 6,600 *li* from Gua Province to the east.[237]

[237] The section above is copied from the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Suishu*.

大業中，遣使貢方物。[238]

During the Daye reign-period it sent an envoy to present its local products.[238]

[238] The section above is copied from the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Suishu*.

何國，都那密水南數里，舊是康居地也。其王姓昭武，亦康國王之族類，字敦。都城方二里。勝兵者千人。其王坐金羊座。東去曹國百五十里，西去小安國三百里，東去瓜州六千七百五十里。[239]

The state of He 何: Its capital is several *li* to the south of the Nami River. It is in the former land of Kangju. Its king, who is also a clansman of the king of the state of Kang, is surnamed Zhaowu and styles himself Dun 敦. Its capital is two *li* square. There are 1,000 persons able to bear arms. The king sits on a golden sheep throne. It is 150 *li* from the state of Cao to the east, 300 *li* from the state of Little An 安 to the west, and 6,750 *li* from Gua Province to the east.[239]

[239] The section above is copied from the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Suishu*.

大業中，遣使貢方物。[240]

During the Daye reign-period it sent an envoy to present its local products.[240]

[240] The section above is copied from the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Suishu*.

烏那遏國，都烏滸水西，舊安息之地也。王姓昭武，亦康國王種類，字佛食。都城方二里。勝兵數百人。王坐金羊座。東北去安國四百里，西北去穆國二百餘里，東去瓜州七千五百里。[241]

The state of Wunahe 烏那曷: Its capital is located to the west of the Wuhu 烏滸 River. It is in the former land of Anxi 安息. Its king, who is also a clansman of [the king of] the state of Kang 康, is surnamed Zhaowu 昭武 and styles himself Foshi 佛食. Its

capital is two *li* square. There are several hundred persons able to bear arms. The king sits on a golden sheep throne. It is 400 *li* from the state of An 安 to the northeast, over 200 *li* from the state of Mu 穆 to the northwest, and 7,500 *li* from Gua Province to the east.[241]

[241] The section above is copied from the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Suishu*.

大業中，遣使貢方物。[242]

During the Daye reign-period it sent an envoy to present its local products.[242]

[242] The section above is copied from the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Suishu*.

穆國，都烏滸河之西，亦安息之故地，與烏那遏爲隣。其王姓昭武，亦康國王之種類也，字阿濫密。都城方三里。勝兵二千人。東北去安國五百里，東去烏那遏二百餘里，西去波斯國四千餘里，東去瓜州七千七百里。[243]

The state of Mu 穆: Its capital is located to the west of the Wuhu River. It is also in the former land of Anxi, which borders on Wunahe. Its king, who is also a clansman of the king of the state of Kang, is surnamed Zhaowu and styles himself Alanmi 阿濫密. Its capital is three *li* square. There are 2,000 persons able to bear arms. It is 500 *li* from the state of An to the northeast, over 200 *li* from the state of Wunahe to the east, over 4,000 *li* from the state of Bosi to the west, and 7,700 *li* from Gua Province to the east.[243]

[243] The section above is copied from the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Suishu*.

大業中，遣使貢方物。[244]

During the Daye reign-period it sent an envoy to present its local products.[244]

[244] The section above is copied from the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Suishu*.

漕國，在葱嶺之北，漢時罽賓國也。其王姓昭武，字順達，康國王之宗族也。都城方四里。勝兵者萬餘人。國法嚴，殺人及賊盜皆死。其俗重淫祠。葱嶺山有順天神者，儀制極華，金銀鍱爲屋，以銀爲地，祠者日有千餘人。祠前有一魚脊骨，有孔中通，馬騎出入。國王戴金牛頭冠，坐金馬座。多稻、粟、豆、麥；饒象，馬、犎牛，金，銀，鑌鐵，氍 ，朱沙，青黛，安息、青木等香，石蜜，黑鹽，阿魏，沒藥，白附子。北去帆延七百里，東去刦國六百里，東北去瓜州六千六百里。[245]

The state of Cao 漕: It is located to the north of the Cong Mountains, and was the state of Jibin 罽賓 of Han times. Its king, who is a clansman of the king of the state of Kang, is surnamed Zhaowu and styles himself Shunda 順達. Its capital is four *li* square. There are over 10,000 persons able to bear arms. Its laws are severe; both murderers and robbers are executed. It is their custom to worship [gods] indiscriminately. In the Cong Mountains there is a heavenly god by the name of Shun 順 whose ceremonial and trappings are extravagant. His dwellings are made of gold and silver plates, with a silver floor. There are over 1,000 persons who come to offer sacrifices to the god every day. In front of his temple is a fish skeleton, the orifice of which is open and large enough for a horse and rider to pass through. The king wears a golden ox-head crown and sits on a golden horse throne. In the land there is an abundance of rice, millet, beans, and wheat, as well as elephants, horses, humped cattle, gold, silver, steel, *qushu* 氍毹, vermilion, indigo, benzoin, costus and other aromatics, crystallized sugar, half honey, dark salt, *axwai*, myrrh, and white monkshood. It is several hundred *li* from the sea to the west, 700 *li* from Fanyan 帆延 to the north, 600 *li* from the state of Jie 刦 to the east, and 6,600 *li* from Gua Province to the northeast.[245]

[245] The section above is copied from the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Suishu*.

大業中，遣使貢方物。[246]

During the Daye reign-period it sent an envoy to present its local products.[246]

[246] The section above is copied from the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Suishu*.

論曰：自古開遠夷，通絕域，必因宏放之主，皆起好事之臣。張騫鑿空於前，班超投筆於後，或結之以重寶，或懾之以利劍，投軀萬死之地，以要一旦之功，皆由主尚來遠之名，臣徇輕生之節。是知上之所好，下必効焉。[247] 西域雖通於魏氏，于時中原始平，天子方以混一爲心，未遑及此。其信使往來，得羈縻勿絕之道。[248]

Commentary: From of old, the opening up [of the lands] of distant barbarians and the communication with isolated regions have necessarily been due to the vision of sovereigns who have promoted ambitious ministers. Zhang Qian 張騫 pioneered the way earlier while Ban Chao 班超 cast away his pen later. Either we bound [foreign states to the Middle Kingdom] using valuable treasures or we made them submit in fear using sharp swords. Those who threw themselves into places where there were ten thousand [different] deaths [awaiting them] did so for the momentary glory of the dynasty, and this was all due to the emphasis placed by the Sovereign upon the dynasty's achievement of far-reaching fame: the ministers perished, considering it meritorious to think little of their own lives, and this was from knowing that what the one above thought good, those below must embrace with even more enthusiasm.[247] Although the Western Regions communicated with the [Western] Wei, at that time the Central Plains had just seen peace; what the Son of Heaven had in mind was to unify China, and he had no time to heed the affairs of the Western Regions. Messengers and envoys came and went continuously, and thus communications with, and management of, the Western Regions were maintained without interruption.[248]

[247] The above is copied from the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Suishu*.

[248] The text from "Although the Western Regions communicated with the [Western] Wei..." to "maintained without interruption" was written by Li Yanshou.

及隋煬帝規摹宏侈，掩吞秦、漢，裴矩方進《西域圖記》以蕩其心，故萬乘親出玉門關，置伊吾、且末鎮，而關右暨於流沙，騷然無聊生矣。若使北狄無虞，東夷告捷，必將修輪臺之戍，築烏壘之城，求大秦之明珠，致條支之鳥卵，往來轉輸，將何以堪其弊哉！古者哲王之制也，方五千里，務安諸夏，不事要荒。豈威不能加，德不能被？蓋不以四夷勞中國，不以無用害有用也。是以秦戍

五嶺，漢事三邊，或道殣相望，或戶口減半。隋室恃其強盛，亦狼狽於青海。此皆一人失其道，故億兆罹其苦。載思卽敘之義，固辭都護之請，返其千里之馬，不求白狼之貢，則七戎九夷，候風重譯，雖無遼東之捷，豈及江都之禍乎！[249]

Emperor Yang's 煬 enterprise was so grandiose that it eclipsed both Qin and Han. No sooner had Pei Ju presented his *Xiyu tuji* (Maps and Records on the Western Regions) to stir the imagination than he set off to personally lead ten thousand chariots from the Yumen 玉門 Barrier and establish strongholds at Yiwu 伊吾 and Qiemo 且末. From the Barrier west as far as the Flowing Sands the people had become disaffected and were deprived of their livelihood. If there were no worries about the Northern Di 狄, and the battle against the Eastern Yi 夷 were won, [the emperor] would repair garrisons at Luntai 輪臺, build the walls at Wulei 烏壘, seek luminous pearls from Da Qin 大秦, and solicit birds' eggs from Tiaozhi 條支, having them transported to and fro through many hands. How could the hardship [from so much effort] be borne? In ancient times, under the system of the sage emperors, the sphere of activity was limited to an area of 5,000 *li* square, and they brought tranquility to the Xia 夏 people (Chinese) while permitting themselves no desire for territorial aggrandizement: yet how could their authority not increase, and their virtue not spread? We should not trouble ourselves over the various barbarians, and not let the useful be damaged by the useless. Thus, when Qin garrisoned the five mountain ranges, and when Han became preoccupied with the three frontiers, people died on the roads from starvation, one after another, and the population was reduced by half, [and also when] the house of Sui relied upon its strength but found itself helpless at the Qing 青 Sea [Kokonor]. These were all cases where only one man went astray, but hundreds of millions fell victim to the consequences. If we think deeply about the truth that "the Western Rong were then reduced to order", resolutely refuse requests to send a Protector-General, return their thoroughbred horses, and not seek the tribute of white wolves, then the seven Rong and nine Yi will all find out how the wind blows [and come to the court] with [the help of] a series of interpreters. [In this way,] though the victory at Liaodong 遼東 would not have been gained, disaster at Jiangdu 江都 would not have befallen.[249]

[249] The section above is copied from the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Suishu*.

案西域開於往漢，年世積久，雖離併多端，見聞殊說，此所以前書後史，踳駁不同，豈其好異，地遠故也。人之所知，未若其所不知，信矣。但可取其梗概，夫何是非其間哉。[250]

In my opinion, because the Western Regions had been opened up during the Han Dynasty in the past, with the passage of many years and many generations, [the various states] were disrupted or annexed many times; hence some information given is at odds with other information. This is the reason why there are contradictions and differences between earlier and later historical books. It is not that they seek novelty, but that the places are distant. What a man has already known is not as much as what he has not yet known. This is indeed trustworthy! Therefore we should take their outline, but distinguish clearly between what is correct and what is incorrect.[250]

[250] The section above was probably written by Li Yanshou.

NOTES

1 For the reasons why these texts are regarded as identical to the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Weishu*, see Yu Taishan, *Liang Han Wei Jin Nanbeichao zhengshi Xiyu zhuan yanjiu* 兩漢魏晉南北朝正史西域傳研究 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2003), pp. 65-94. The same below.

2 Cf. the collation notes in the punctuated text of *Weishu* published by Zhonghua shuju.

3 Matsuda Hisao 松田壽男, *Kodai Tenzan no rekishi-chirigakuteki kenkyū* 古代天山の歷史地理學的研究 (Tokyo: Waseda daigaku, 1970), pp. 138-142.

4 *Tulufan chutu wenshu* 吐魯番出土文書 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1981), 2: 4.

5 Yu Taishan 余太山, *Yeda shi yanjiu* 嚈噠史研究 (Ji'nan: Qi Lu shushe, 1986), pp. 193-216.

6 See "Longyou dao (xia)" 隴右道下, *Yuanhe junxian tuzhi* 元和郡縣圖志 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1983), p. 1031.

7 "Shui (yi)" 水一, *Qinding Huangyu Xiyu tuzhi* 欽定皇輿西域圖志 (ch. 24).

8 Wang Binghua 王炳華, *Fang gu Tulufan* 訪古吐魯番 (Urumqi: Xinjiang renmin, 2001), p. 170.

9 See the collation notes in the punctuated text of the *Zhoushu* published by Zhonghua shuju.

10 Cf. Tanabe Katsumi 田邊勝美, "Rōma to Chūgoku no shisho ni himerareta Kushano-Sasanchō"

ローマと中國の史書に秘められたクシャノ・ササン朝 (Kushano-Sasanian governors in Roman and Chinese sources), *Tōyō bunka kenkyūjyo kiyō* 東洋文化研究所紀要 (Memoirs of the Institute for Advanced Studies on Asia) 124 (1994): 33-101.

11 For the reasons that the texts are regarded as identical to the record on the Yeda in the "Xiyu zhuan" of *Weishu*, see Yu Taishan, *Yeda shi yanjiu*, pp. 152-159.

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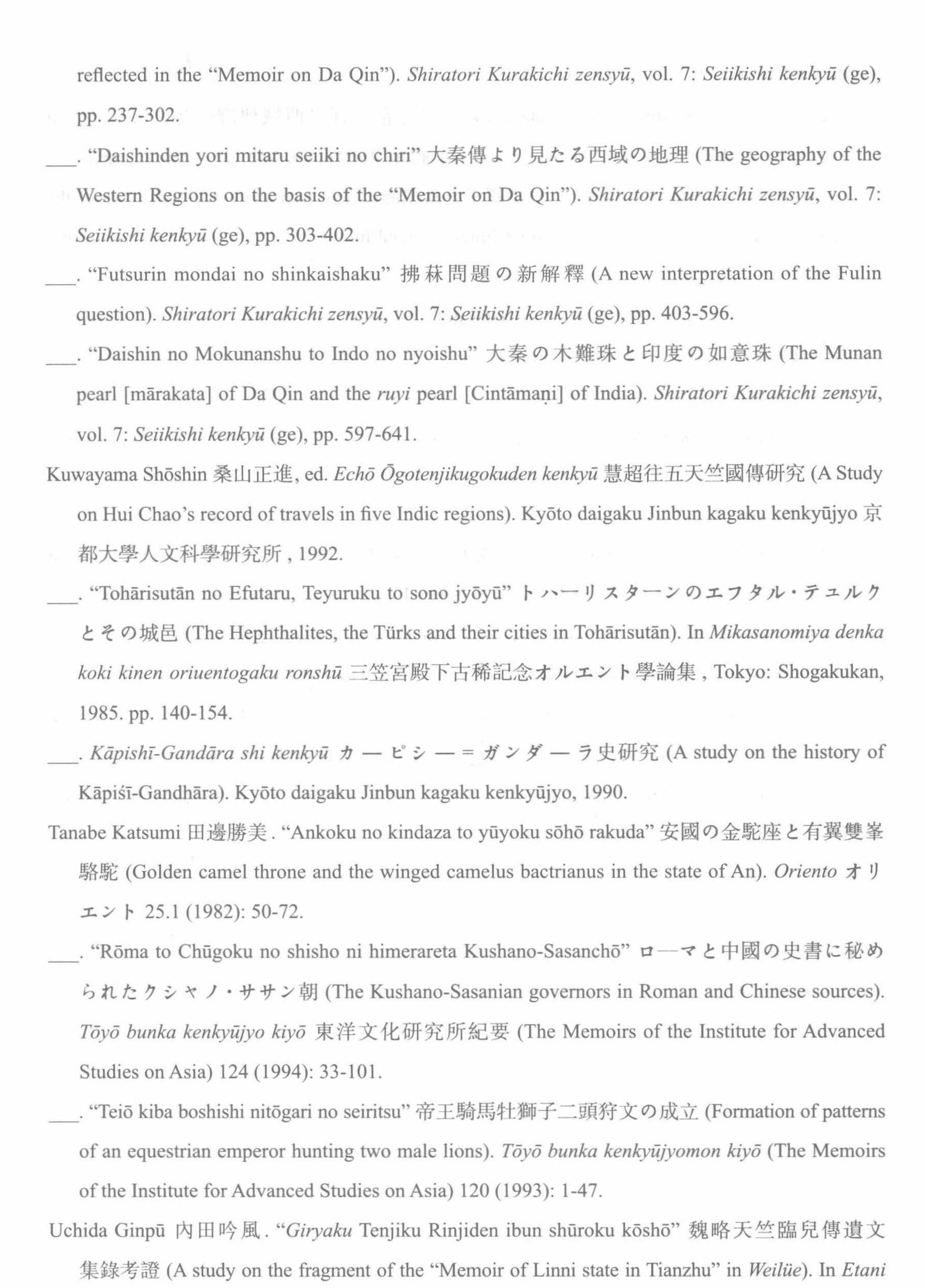
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Afterword

The rise of the Türks was an epoch-making event in the history of the Western Regions, so the pre-Türk history of the area constitutes an era in itself. The relevant historical records are concentrated in the memoirs on the Western Regions in the official histories of the Western and Eastern Han, Wei, Jin, and the Southern and Northern Dynasties. These materials can be seen as a system, since they are characterized by similar philosophical and political outlook and views, as well as the same historical assumptions and mode of composition.

The history of the Western Regions in the Pre-Türk period is extremely complicated, with no consensus reached on many issues, and as a result heated argument has long been sustained. However, if one makes a systematic textual study of relevant materials in the memoirs on the Western Regions in the official histories of the Western and Eastern Han, Wei, Jin, the Southern and Northern Dynasties, one can find the clues needed to resolve some of the issues.

On the basis of the above understanding, and as an outcome of some other circumstances, I decided to write the Commentary on these memoirs, although I am personally aware that I am not quite qualified for the task—a case of doing something while knowing it to be perhaps impossible.

Since the commentaries on the "Six Classics" reveal much of the commentators themselves, my commentary on these memoirs treating the Western Regions can well be seen as a means to examine and supplement my own research. This makes it impossible for me to produce a collection or compendium of previous annotations. Moreover, the previous commentaries on this body of literature are seldom systematic or consistent. If one simply collects the opinions scattered here and there, it will be time-consuming but

ineffective; a true scholar would surely also laugh at such an attempt.

In addition, there is the methodology that demands evidence on two fronts, that is, the complementarity of archeological discoveries and textual evidence. However, the archeological evidence is based on objects, and objects and texts are qualitatively different. For me at least, there are unresolved issues about how the two can be combined. I, therefore, have no intention of adopting this approach. Nevertheless, this method has become so accepted in academic circles that it has become impossible to bypass it. Thus, when I have to cite the findings based on this methodology, although I do so with the utmost caution, I cannot help but feel uneasy.

In an effort to avoid mistakes, I have submitted parts or the whole of the manuscript to the following scholars for their perusal: Chen Ling 陳淩, Li Jinxiu 李錦繡, Lin Ying 林英, Ma Xiaohe 馬小鶴, Mao Min 毛民, Rui Chuanming 芮傳明, Rong Xinjiang 榮新江, Xu Wenkan 徐文堪, Yin Qing 殷晴, and Zhang Xiaogui 張小貴. I have benefited much from their comments and suggestions, and I sincerely express my gratitude to them.

The writing of this book was partially supported by funding for the Category B Project, "The Early Texts about the Silk Road", under the auspices of the Academy of Social Sciences of China.

Yu Taishan 余太山

5 January, 2005